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FROM

Longfellow heirs

9 January, 1895.

To

Professor H. W. Longfellow

respectfully

by
The Author.



ADAM.

AN
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
IN
A SERIES OF LETTERS:
BEING A
Complete and Impartial Narrative
OF THE
MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS OF ALL NATIONS,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.
FORMING A COMPLETE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Gustavus
BY G. C. HEBBE, LL.D.



VOL. I.
ANCIENT HISTORY.

NEW YORK:
DEWITT AND DAVENPORT,
TRIBUNE BUILDINGS.
1848.

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TO
His Excellency,
M. LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS,
THE STATESMAN, THE PATRIOT, THE ORATOR, THE HISTORIAN, AND THE
FRIEND OF LIBERTY,
OF SCIENCE, AND OF LITERATURE,
THIS WORK
IS,
FROM A SENTIMENT OF ADMIRATION,
Humbly Dedicated by
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E .

"Who dares think one thing, and another tell,
My heart detests him as the gates of hell."

It is now about twenty years since I conceived the idea of composing an historical work. But in the midst of many other avocations, it was not until after the lapse of more than ten years, I found leisure to engage myself directly on the task of writing a work of this description. I then began to collect materials for a history of modern times, visiting, during some years, several foreign countries, and making myself acquainted, not only with many of the most eminent men of the age, but also mingling with the masses of the people. It is the historian's duty to gather knowledge from every source. The wish, however, to make my readers familiar with the history of the human race, from its infancy to the present time, has given birth to this more extensive work. The form in which this has been accomplished may be objectionable to many readers; still I shall be satisfied if no other fault is found with it. I frankly confess, however, that I anticipate many heavier charges will be made, to some of which I may be compelled to plead guilty.

The bold censures I have passed upon the prejudices and superstitions of mankind; the severity with which I have treated the disgraceful artifices, and ridiculous pretensions of princes, priests, and aristocrats; together with my vindication of the people's rights, and of the free sway of their reasoning faculties; cannot but raise many enemies against this work and its author. These reflections, with the importance and sublimity of the work itself, has, at times, made me doubt the propriety of offering my thoughts to the public; but, convinced that my readers will find that I have had the promulgation of truth for my chief object, and that no pusillanimous fear of human enmity and criticism has

prevented me from uttering that which I deemed would promote the true interests of my fellow-men, I flatter myself with the hope, that the lovers of truth will acknowledge that my labor has not been in vain; and that History, from the point of view I have represented her, will afford to mankind the strongest evidence of God's providential care—inspire us with the greatest confidence in his wisdom and goodness—fill our hearts with love and gratitude towards Him, and, at the same time, give us a clear insight into the means by which man can attain more general happiness during his terrestrial existence, by proving that the attainment of this great end depends chiefly upon himself.

THE AUTHOR.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

SOME OF THE AUTHORS REFERRED TO IN VOLUME I.

Agatharcides, a philosopher and historian of Samos, who is generally supposed to have lived about two hundred years before Christ.

Appian of Alexandria, governor and manager of the imperial revenues under Trajan, Adian, and Antoninus Pius, in Rome. He wrote a Roman history, from the earliest times to the reign of Augustus, in twenty-four books, of which only half the number have come down to us, an unequal work according to the sources from which the author drew his materials. A good edition of this work was issued 1785, in three volumes, by Schweighæuser, Leipsic, and Strassburg.

Athenaus, a Greek Grammarian, born at Naucratis in Egypt, flourished in the third century of our era. He was one of the most learned men of his time—of all his works there remains only that entitled the *Deipnosophists*; that is, the *Sophists at Table*, where he introduces a number of learned men, who converse upon various subjects, at the table of a Roman citizen, called Larensius. But all the editions we have of this work are very imperfect. There is, however, an infinite variety of facts and citations in it, which make it very interesting.

Bayle (Pierre), a native of France, born in 1647. He gave early proof of an extraordinary memory, and of great mental endowments. He filled, successively, professorships at Sedan, in France, and at Rotterdam, and his life was entirely devoted to literary pursuits. He died at the age of fifty-nine years—of his several works his 'Historical and Critical Dictionary,' is the most celebrated. He was a skeptic, but he never attacked the principles of morality.

Belzoni, (Giambattista)—that is, John Baptist—was born at Padua, and educated at Rome. In 1803 he proceeded to England, when he acted the part of Apollo and Hercules, at Astley's amphitheatre. During his stay in England he is said to have acquired much knowledge of the science of hydraulics, the study of which had been his brief occupation in Rome, and which afterwards carried him to Egypt. He left England, after a residence of nine years, and took his way through Portugal, Spain, and Malta, to Egypt. There he remained from 1815 to 1819, at first as a dancer, till he acquired the favor of the Pacha, who made use of his services. He undertook and succeeded to open two of the greatest Pyramids of Egypt, and several catacombs near Thebes, as we have already had occasion to see. The drawings which he has furnished of these ancient monuments are considered to be very exact. In the year 1816 he succeeded in transporting a bust and a sarcophagus of alabaster, found in the catacombs, from Thebes to Alexandria, from whence they came to the British Museum. Belzoni's narrative of his discoveries, accompanied by a folio volume of forty-four copper plates,

was received with general approbation. This distinguished man died on the 3d of December, 1823, when *en route* to new discoveries.

Bockart (Samuel), a Protestant clergyman, at Caen in France, was one of the most learned men that has ever existed. He was born in the year 1599. Being of a very respectable family, he got an excellent education. He studied at Leyden, the Arabic language, under Erpenius. When he returned to France he was made a minister. His victory in the year 1628, in the famous literary controversy between him and Father *Veron*, established his reputation, which increased greatly in the year 1646, by the publications of his *Pholeg* and his *Canaan*, wherein he treats, first, of the dispersion of mankind, caused by the alleged confusion of languages; and second, of the colonies and language of the Phœnicians. The inquiries which he must have made in order to compose these works and some others, made it necessary for him to search into all the ancient authors and the most hidden treasures of the languages of Western Asia. He was invited to Sweden, by the learned Queen Christina, and went thither in the year 1552. In 1650 he published a letter about the authority of kings, and about the institution of priests and bishops; and in 1663 one in which he showed, by many good reasons, that there is no likelihood that *Æneas* ever arrived at Italy. He died in Caen, May 16, 1667, having lost his speech and his senses, all of a sudden, in the Academy that met at the house of M. de Briens. His modesty is said to have equalled his learning.

Clarke (Edward Daniel, LL.D.), a very celebrated English traveller and mineralogist. His travels in the north of Europe, and in Asia, and in Africa, have been published and are of much value. He died in 1821.

Diogenes Laertius, an historian, so named from Laerta, a little town in Cilicia, where he was born in the time of the Emperor Antoninus, the philosopher. Still there are some who think that Laertius was his proper name. He was reputed an Epicurean, and some say that he wrote his ten books for a woman named Arria, beloved by the Emperor.

Hippocrates, called the Father of Medicine, the most famous among the Greek physicians, was born in the Isle of Cos, 456 B. C., and lived to the age of ninety.

Janblichus, an eminent philosopher of the sect of the later Platonists. He was a native of Syria, and flourished in the beginning of the fourth century of our era. One of his chief works is a treatise on the mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians.

Lactantius (Lucius Cælius Firmianus), lived in the third century, and at the beginning of the fourth. Some make him to have been an African, others say that he was born at Fermo, a city of Italy, and that from the place of his birth he was called Firmianus. He stood in so high repute that the Emperor Constantine made him teacher to his son Crispus Cæsar. He wrote his book of Institutions, in answer to two philosophers who were opposed to the Christian religion, in which he set down some propositions that made the Pope Gelasius rank them among Apycrophal books. Many of his theological and historical statements have been pointed out as erroneous by different writers. His works were printed 1660, with the notes of Joseph Isaacus, and in 1652, at Leyden, with those of Anthonius Thysius.

Lucian, a Greek author distinguished for his ingenuity and wit, was born in Samosata, the capital of Cemagene, on the Euphrates, during the reign of Trajan. He was of humble origin, and was placed while young, with his uncle to study statuary, but being unsuccessful in this attempt, he went to Antioch, and devoted himself to literature and forensic rhetoric. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius he was made procurator of the province of Egypt, and died in the reign of Commodus, between eighty and ninety years old. The works of Lucian which are still preserved, are narrative, rhetorical critical and satirical, mostly in the form of dialogues. The most admired are those in

which he ridicules with great wit, the popular mythology and the philosophical sects, particularly his dialogues of the gods and of the dead. They have given him the character of one, if not the wittiest, of ancient writers.

Mela (Pomponius). A Spaniard by birth. He lived in the first century, and wrote a geographical work entitled *De Situ Orbis*, in three books, which has been furnished with notes by several distinguished men. The best editions are those of Holland, with the notes of Vossius and Gnonovius.

Michælis, (John David), a very celebrated German theologian, especially remarkable for his immense acquaintance with the oriental languages. He died in 1791, at a great age.

Pausanias, a Greek topographical writer, who flourished during the reign of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. If he be the grammarian who is mentioned under this name, he was a native of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and studied under the celebrated Herodes Atticus. He taught at Athens and afterwards at Rome, where he died. His account of Greece, a kind of journal of his travels, in which he describes everything remarkable, temples, theatres, tombs, statues, pictures, etc., is a valuable work for the antiquarian. The work, however, is full of fables, which are connected with the works he describes: but the most implicit confidence, it is generally admitted, may be put in Pausanias where he speaks as an eye-witness. The French translation of Clavier, contains the Greek text and notes in seven volumes; 1814, 1821.

Polyhistor, (Alexander), a Greek historian and philologist, who lived in the time of Sylla and Marius, and is said by Suidas to have been born at Mitelum, but by Stephanus, to be of Cotyæum, in the present Natolia. He was surnamed Cornelius, because having been made prisoner, he was purchased by Cornelius Lentulus, who becoming aware of his merits, became his disciple. He was by him manumitted, married at Rome, and perished in the fire of Laurentium, eighty-six years before Christ.

Porphyry, (Malchus). A Platonic philosopher, who lived about the end of the third century of our era. Jerom makes him to be a Jew, but others tell us that he was of Tyre, that his first name was Malchus, which in the Syrian language signifies a king, and that the sophist Longinus, his master in rhetoric, called him Porphyrius, in allusion to the purple which kings bear. He wrote a work of the lives of philosophers, of abstinence from flesh, and an explication of the categories of Aristotle. He composed also fifteen books against the Christian religion, which however Augustine and some others tell us that he once professed. He was answered by Methodius, bishop of Tyre, and Eusebius afterwards had his books burnt, in 388.

Stephanus Byzantinus was an expert grammarian, who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries. He composed a dictionary, wherein he inserted the nouns adjective, derived from the nouns substantive of places, which served to denote the inhabitants of those places. This was attended with many observations borrowed from mythology and history, which discovered the origin of cities and colonies and their changes, whereby the author equally showed his exactness and learning. We have only a very incorrect abridgment of that work, which the grammarian Hermolaus thought fit to make, and which is dedicated to the emperor Justinianus; but in spite of the ignorance of the abbreviator and transcribers, it has proved very useful to the learned, who thought that no ancient book did better deserve to be corrected and explained in a critical way. It appeared in Latin, 1678, at Amsterdam, and ten years later a new edition at Leyden.

Suidas. A Greek grammarian, who lived according to some in the eleventh century, according to others in the tenth. He wrote an Encyclopædia, particularly relating to geographical and historical subjects, which though not altogether accurate, is yet important, as it contains many things not to be found elsewhere. A good edition of this work appeared in 1705, by Kuster, Cambridge.

Tatian. An Herisiarch of the second century, a Syrian by birth, and a disciple of Justin Martyr. He was looked upon at first as very orthodox, and employed his talents for Christianity; for Origen quotes a book of his in defence of the Christians against the heathens, which is now extant; yet there are some doctrines in this treatise, which have been deemed false. Tatian returned to the east after the death of Justin, and became the chief of the Encratites, condemned marriage, and advocated many absurdities. He composed a harmony of the four evangelists entitled *Diatessaron*, wherein he left out the proof of Christ's humanity.

Theophrastus. A philosopher, son of Melancthus. He first was a disciple of Lucippus, then of Plato, and at last of Aristotle, who changed his name Tyrtanus to Theophrastus, on account of his divine eloquence. He succeeded this philosopher, and composed several treatises mentioned by Diogenes Laertius. His characters of virtues and vices are translated very excellently by M. de la Bruyere. Cicero says that at his death, he expostulated with nature for making stags and ravens long lived, who needed it not at all; and the life of man so short, who could improve a longer life in rendering themselves more perfect in all sorts of literature and arts.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, about 385, was so much considered for his learning, that he was in 389 ordered to decide the difference between Evagrius and Flavian, both ordained bishops of Antioch. He wrote against the Origenists and Anthropomorphites, and about the day of celebrating Easter.

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VOLUME I.

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LETTER I.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

THE study of History is the most fitting nourishment to promote the growth and strength of the expanding intellect of youth.

The sports of childhood, and the convivialities of youth, we may cheerfully and innocently enjoy during their proper season. The joys of innocence, and the playful words of pure lips, leave to the future no bitter regrets. But, as the vernal days of life are short, let us enjoy their golden hours, and gather the flowers that bloom beneath their sunny rays, not forgetting to cultivate the fields, that, during the summer heat, are to bring forth the fruits; so that when the chilly days of autumn, and the snows of winter shall have come, we may enjoy a rich recompense in place of the transient gifts of the spring.

Time is precious, and bitter will be our regret, should the days of our youth have been spent without enriching our minds with something of the knowledge of God and of the human race, which is hoarded in the lap of History. But having acquired this treasure, which neither the misfortune nor the power of man can deprive us of, we shall feel amply rewarded for our labor, not only by a superior knowledge of human affairs, but also from a conviction that the hand of Providence leads mankind towards a glorious destiny.

The reminiscences of our childhood are feeble; so is the light which History casts upon the cradle of the human race; but as the mists of ignorance are dispersed, a clearer light appears, until, amid the splendor of the noon-day's sun, we discern the hand of our Heavenly Father, and recognize, with grateful hearts, the wisdom and goodness of the plan he has prescribed for the advancement of mankind towards civilization and perfection.

Many persons deem History too grave and serious a goddess for their devotion; and instead of cultivating her graces, and adorning their minds with the inestimable treasures showered upon her votaries, they while away their time with the gay damsels who surround her throne, known under the general name of Novels. Still, the real merits of the few of these inferior divinities who can justly boast of noble parentage, pure morals,

and even elevated principles, can bear no comparison with those of History. Besides, the most of them are seductive syrens, who, fair in appearance, utter from their lips enchanting words, while their breath is poisonous and destructive.

Although it must be conceded that the study of History appears grave and serious at the first view, yet, from my own experience, I venture to assert, that, upon a close examination, we will find her beauty irresistible, and soon become enamoured of her. Yea, when you shall have made yourselves acquainted with her most excellent endowments—which are at first hidden from your sight—she will be the constant object of your dearest thoughts.

Fictitious writers allow themselves to deviate from truth, while the great end and aim of History is to represent man and his actions in true colors. Yet, in days gone by, some of her most gifted lovers—and who in all other respects were worthy of her favors—have sullied their own renown, and tarnished her fair reputation, by bequeathing to posterity gilded falsehoods, by flattering tyrants, and slandering the wise and the good. Here, then, let me observe, that it is only by degrees that History has attained the high pinnacle of her present position. In her infancy she ran, gossip-like, from man to man, from hut to hut, and from country to country, full of tattling tales, and so mixing together the truthful and the fabulous, as to render it almost impossible to discover the gold amid the profusion of sand. For many ages she persisted in these traditionary fables, until the art of writing was invented, when she penned them down with the credulous simplicity of a child. But she was soon roused to the consciousness of her faults, by observing the whispered doubts and satirical smiles of the sagacious Greeks, as Herodotus publicly recited his charming tales of the ancient nations. Therefore, in Thucydides, we soon find her much wiser, and in many instances questioning the traditions which she herself had handed down from generation to generation. She began then to examine with scrupulous earnestness the evidences before her, as well in support of, as also against an alleged fact, summed up the case before her with impartiality, and either passed sentence of immutability, or set it aside in default of sufficient proof of its truth. Thus she ascended to the highest earthly tribunal, and reserved to herself the power to reward, by her applause, all those who have either signalized themselves by their benefactions conferred on mankind, or by glorious deeds; and to punish, by her condemnation, those who have trampled upon humanity, and proved themselves the enemies of mankind.

With the view of inciting a more eager desire to make yourselves familiar with History, I will relate the inducements that led me to its study, and the course I have pursued in regard to it. My curiosity was first awakened by listening, in my childhood, to the conversation of intelligent and accomplished men, among whom my father was most

eminent, on account of his great learning, admiration of history, and love of liberty. My views soon became enlarged, and I felt a burning thirst after knowledge; and while attempting to make myself thoroughly acquainted with the actions of mankind in ages gone by, I feasted with pleasure on the most glorious productions of the human mind.

I have wandered, with the immortal leader of the Israelites, through the countries which cradled the human family; I have sought, with Herodotus, amid the Egyptian sages, for gems of antiquity; with the admirable Thucydides, I have paid the tribute of admiration to the genius of Pericles, and deeply deplored the internal struggles of the Greeks. I have, with the charming Livy, followed the great Carthagenian chieftain over the glaciers of the Alps to the battle field of Cannæ, and have stood aghast at the wonderful yet terrible triumphs of his tactics over a numerous army of the bravest people on earth. The infamous deeds of Roman tyrants, as recorded by Tacitus, have made my blood boil within me; and fain have I wished for the power to depict the tyrannical acts of more modern despots in the same vivid colors. By perusing Gibbon, I have acquainted myself with those centuries of darkness over which his brilliant genius has shed an inextinguishable light, and have smiled at the impotent attempts of pigmies to defame this glorious monument of historical architecture, raised by the gigantic labor of this extraordinary man. Often, by the midnight lamp, have my eager eyes devoured the pages in which Johannes Von Müller has so admirably described immortal deeds in the cause of freedom. Many instructive and delightful hours have I spent with Machiavelli, the noble victim to republican principles, yet the subtle teacher of diabolical king's-craft; with Hume, the keen judge of human nature, and the most rational sceptic of philosophic historians; with Voltaire, the venomous scoffer at human follies, the blasphemer of the Christian religion, but at the same time a most powerful champion for the enfranchisement of the human mind; with Sismondi, the grave historian and generous patriot; with Rotteck, the stout friend of freedom, and able advocate of enlightened ideas; with the entertaining Becker, the learned Mosheim, the profound Bossuet, the sagacious Guizot, and the eloquent Geijer.

But the more I read, the more I panted and thirsted after knowledge, until my love of History became a predominant and ruling passion. I unhesitatingly sought after facts, by wading through voluminous works, which were neither enlivened by wit nor by eloquence, nor by sublime ideas, nor by subtle thoughts. But I soon hastened to refresh myself from the goblets which Chateaubriand, Madame de Stael, Brougham, Mitchelet, Mignet, Macauley, and many other bright geniuses, have filled with intellectual nectar.

At last, too, I have, with Thiers—the greatest historian of our age—admired the terrible sarcasms of Mirabeau, the brilliancy of Verginaud's

eloquence, and the heroic death of the high-minded Madame Roland. I have rejoiced with him over the glorious triumphs of reason, the downfall of feudal power, and at the flight of infamous priests; with him deplored the degradation of human nature, and gloried in the immortal deeds of the republican armies. With him I am now following the eventful career of the greatest warrior and prince of modern times, fully coinciding in his belief in an all All-Ruling Providence.

I am sure that more than sufficient has been said to inspire you with a sincere desire to make yourselves familiar with History, and with those ornaments of the human race to whom I have alluded, and who have proved themselves worthy votaries at her shrine. I will therefore endeavor, to the full extent of my ability, to meet your wish; not doubting but that this sublime study will animate your souls with generous sentiments and ennobling ideas; enriching your minds with a vast amount of experience, and preventing you from becoming contaminated by the prejudices which ignorance generally engenders; and lastly, confirming your belief in the goodness of our Heavenly Father.

LETTER II.

MAN IN HIS INFANCY.

It is now generally acknowledged by those who are the most competent judges, although many still entertain a different opinion, that the earth was not at once created in its present state, but that, by degrees, it has assumed it. This opinion receives additional weight from its conformity with the laws our Creator has, in all other instances, prescribed for nature—as, for example, the oak emanates from the acorn, and the butterfly from the chrysalis.

The last great transformation which this globe underwent, occurred, probably, more than eight thousand years ago. Its form is now nearly spherical. About two-thirds of its surface is covered with water, while the other third is composed of greater and lesser isles of land, the greatest of which is formed by Europe, Asia and Africa; the second in extent, by North and South America; and the third, bearing the name of New Holland. The three first mentioned continents are known by the title of the *Old World*, and America by that of the *New World*; the cause of which distinction will hereafter be made manifest to you.

Learned men have disputed much upon the point whether the human family originated from one pair, or from several, and to this day the

question remains unsettled. That the former was the case, is, however, the prevailing opinion, and to my mind yields the most satisfactory conclusions. Nevertheless, the remarkable variations of color in the human family are arguments to the contrary not easily refuted. Let this be as it may, the Creator gave to man the dominion over the earth, and made him "lord of the brutes," but provided him with no raiment wherewith to cover himself, no houses in which to take shelter from the inclemencies of the seasons, no arms to defend himself from the beasts of prey, no implements of husbandry, nor tame beasts of burthen. In this primeval state his existence would have been short, had he not been placed in a region where abundance of fruits satisfied the cravings of hunger, and where a genial climate enabled him to dispense with raiment and shelter.

Notwithstanding he had dominion over all things upon the earth, yet in his earlier existence, he was more defenceless than many of the brutes. But the Creator had endowed him with that intellectual capacity which has enabled him not only to supply his own wants, but also to make his authority valid. He was not, however, destined to a life of indolence or voluptuous repose, but rather, that his industry in striving towards perfection, might appear as undeniable evidence of his origin from Him, of whose ceaseless activity nature-daily gives us the most evident proofs. His necessities awakened the creative ingenuity within him. The earth, in all her magnificence, was but the dust from which he had to form the works which should make him worthy of that dominion and noble origin. The energies of his mind were brought to bear upon every thing around him—the earth, air and sky; and as each successive generation has passed away among the things that were, we find his intellectual knowledge expanding. The mind of man has enabled him to plough the ocean's pathless billows with security; to speed from territory to territory with bird-like velocity; to make the lightning of heaven itself subservient to his will; to read with certainty the countless myriads of stars in the firmament; to float in the thin expanse of air above us, o'ertopping the clouds, and almost to grapple with the very throne of the Omnipotent.

Man, in his first attempts at the improvement of his condition, doubtless had to contend with many serious difficulties, and it has only been by his indomitable energy and inventive faculties that he has attained his present glorious state of civilization.

With the want of positive information it is reasonable for us to suppose that Nature herself has been man's first tutor in the improvement of his condition; and here I will allude to some of the means by which this may have been accomplished.

When man first beheld a conflagration caused by the electric fluid, he trembled with terror at the phenomenon; but when it had been repeated, in so many instances, that it ceased to be an object of fear, he made it subservient to his will. Such a fire may have been accidentally kindled

upon a bed of mineral, the consequence of which was, that the ore was melted, thus leading him to the idea of extracting from the earth those durable substances of which he was so much in need.

Man, finding himself unable to compete in strength or agility with the animals, either in offensive or defensive attack, soon learned to arm himself with stones and clubs. Observing that these weapons were more effective when thrown from a distance, he soon invented the sling and javelin, and pointing the javelin with a piece of his newly-discovered iron, held in his hand a lance or spear.

When the earth became more populous, and mankind found it difficult to supply the cravings of their appetite, and milk and fruits began to fail them, how natural it was that they should be led to taste of flesh, by seeing animals prey upon each other. Men thus became hunters and herdsmen, while the rude skins of the slaughtered beasts supplied them with primitive raiments. Then, too, they felt the need of shelter, both from the peltings of the storm, and the rays of the sun; nor were they secure from the beasts of the forest; which naturally gave rise to the erection of habitations. These were at first but very rude and humble, yet how important the step in civilization, for in that he had a home and foretaste of the domestic endearments of life.

Although the wants, curiosity, and evil passions of men have divided them, and spread them over the whole face of the earth, yet, by nature man is a sociable being. Hence, even in the earliest ages, their habitations were erected in proximity to each other, thus laying the foundation of society. Undoubtedly their first employment was that of hunters and herdsmen, and many nations to this day still adhere to those primitive occupations; but the traditions handed down to us, prove also that there were people who early tilled the earth and cultivated the vine.

It was a very natural wish of man to gather the harvest and store it, as the fruit of his toil; and thus becoming husbandmen they ceased to lead a wandering and nomadic life. Thus inducements were offered them to bestow more care upon their habitations. Having provided themselves with the necessities of life, they began to promote comfort and the arts. But it is a curious fact, which I cannot pass over in silence, that the most industrious, and those who contributed most to the comforts and luxuries of life, were generally held in contempt, and it is even so in many countries to the present day. The cause—which will be self-evident to you in the continuation of these letters—was, that the industrious classes of society were subject to the sway of men, whose superior strength, bravery and cunning, to say nothing of their recklessness, made them masters over their fellow-men.

Envy, jealousy, avarice, and sometimes devouring hunger, soon armed man against his fellow, and the earth was drenched with human blood, shed by a brother's hand. Strong, brave but wicked men, soon found that

the weapons used against the brutes, were not less serviceable as instruments of death and terror against their fellow-creatures. Hence originated the sway of the strong over the weak. But the Creator has left nothing without a counterpoise, for strength, courage and violence soon had to contend with cunning sagacity and deception, for the dominion over mankind.

From the earliest date of time, mankind have been conscious of the existence of a Supreme Being. Some philosophers argue that this was innate with man, and others that he derived it from contemplating the wonders around him. The genial warmth of the sun ; the fragrance of the flowers ; the glittering stars upon the broad blue canopy of heaven, and the ever returning seasons, inspired man with gratitude, while the awful thunder, the bright, vivid flashes of lightning, and the devastating hurricane, alike engendered trembling and fear. Thus, how naturally was he led by gratitude and fear, to worship that Great Being who was the great cause of such emotions in him. But having endowed that Divinity, by the strength of his imagination, with a human form and human desires, though of transcendent power, man then, in his simplicity, worshipped him by offerings, upon their altars, of the choicest productions, both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

But the manifold phenomena of nature struck man with astonishment ; and, conscious of his own weakness, they seemed to him as exceeding the power of a single being, and led him to worship several deities ; some from love, and others from fear. Hence the origin of idolatry.

The power of speech—one of the most precious gifts with which man has been endowed by the Creator—is, without doubt, a faculty innate in man. “But is it so with language, or had man to form it of himself? Many have advocated the former, though it is opposed to the analogy of all nature.” Nor is there any want of great writers who have proved conclusively, that language is formed only by degrees. History does not satisfactorily decide this question, nor does she inform us which was the first language of man.

Two very opposite opinions also prevail in regard to the primitive condition of mankind. Traditions of the ancient world, for the most part, and particularly those transmitted to us in the religious books of various oriental nations—the Jews, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Indians, and the Chinese—commence with a golden age of innocence and felicity ; while others lead us to believe, that man’s primitive state was one of barbarism and wildness. Some say that the human race has, in each generation, become more debased ; and others, that it has gradually advanced toward perfection. In accordance with the former, man must have left the Creator’s hands in perfect beauty, to dwell on the earth in immortal youth ; while the latter contend that he was formed by the slow labor of Nature, and only attained his present superior physical conforma-

tion after many progressive generations. Truth is apparent in both views. Undoubtedly, men were at first innocent and happy in the undisturbed enjoyment of Nature's richest gifts; but they were ignorant, for their mental faculties lay dormant.

Asia is generally acknowledged to have been the cradle of the human race; and, as the largest, richest, and most fertile part of the globe, it was worthy of that honor. But in what part of Asia are we to look for it? Upon the high plains of Thibet—where the vine, the olive, the rice, and many other plants adapted to the sustenance of man, spontaneously grow, and where the ox, the horse, the ass, the sheep, the camel, the hog, the dog, and the reindeer run wild? Or, in the fragrant vale of Cashmire, where eternal spring reigns supreme, and man, animals, and plants, exist in the greatest physical perfection? Or, on the exuberant fields watered by the Tigris and Euphrates? These are questions which never have and probably never will be satisfactorily answered; but the general opinion is, that man's first abode, or, as Moses calls it, "the garden of Eden," was situated in the vicinity of the above named rivers.

Here I will give you the views of the celebrated historian Johannes Von Müller, upon this subject: "The continents," says he, "which are inhabited by the human race, were raised from the fertilizing bosom of the ancient ocean, during the course of unnumbered ages, by certain movements of the primeval waters, and by the influence of foreign worlds, the laws of which are scarcely imaginable. Where the primitive rock, on which everything rests, had those elevations we call mountains, high levels were formed around their sides, and living nature was there enabled to increase and develop itself. This occurred first in Asia; then in Europe; and lastly in America." Still further, he says, "that the noblest animals, and plants, and also man, their lord, were natives of the salubrious mountains, and beautiful valleys of Asia." There are also writers of authority who locate the garden of Eden in Persia—the charming land of roses.

History does not define the time when the Creator inspired the first man with a spark of His divine spirit. It is in vain that we consult all human records. They are so contradictory that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty.

Herodotus yields to the Egyptian nation an era of over 17,000 years, Diodorus, 23,000, and an anonymous writer swells it to 36,000 years. The Babylonians boasted of an antiquity of a hundred thousand years, while the Chinese pretensions stop not short of millions. Improbable and rejected as these computations are, they however deserve mention at our hands. The earth's age is now acknowledged, by the most enlightened naturalists and geologists, to be far elder than the general opinion of the civilized world has for many centuries attributed to it.

The Pentateuch itself gives us no satisfactory guidance with regard to the age of the human family. Besides, the Hebrew and Samaritan

versions do not agree with that of the Greek of the seventy interpreters generally called the Septuagint.

Many learned and talented men have endeavored to arrive at the age of the human race, as well from these sources, as from the works of the famed Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, and other ancient writers, but the time has been unprofitably spent, as their computations have generally disagreed, even to the extent of 1700 years. Thus, for instance, Johannes Von Müller assumes that 5722 years had elapsed from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ. Other historians, of equal celebrity, have followed the chronology of Dyonysius Petavius, who computed that only 3983 years occurred between these epochs. This difference is the more remarkable, from the fact that both Müller and Petavius took the chronology of Moses as the foundation of their computations, which proves, almost conclusively, the impossibility of arriving at the age of mankind.

The many obstacles which man met with in his first attempts at civilization, make it more probable that a longer, rather than a shorter period of time, transpired ere magnificent cities were erected and powerful empires established. I agree therefore with Von Müller, who ascribes to mankind a greater age than with those who believe in a lesser. Still, as the generality of modern historians give but about 4000 years between the creation of man and the birth of Christ, we will follow the computation most generally assumed, and take it for granted that mankind have existed 4004 years anterior to the birth of Christ. But the nearer we approach the time of Christ, the greater certainty we find in the dates of those historical events which it will be my duty to relate; consequently, in order to be as correct as possible, I will date the occurrence of events, not from the creation of Adam, but from the birth of Christ, both for anterior and succeeding events.

LETTER III.

THE ORIGIN OF SOCIETY, AND OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT,—THE FOUNDATIONS OF STATES, AND THE AGGRANDIZEMENT OF EMPIRES.

THE most precious and inestimable gift with which man was endowed, was, unquestionably, his natural freedom; but it was necessary, for the benefit of the whole human family, that each individual should sacrifice some part of it. Had not men been united by social ties, mankind would never have attained any important degree of civilization. Still, there have been writers of brilliant genius, who, from the great objections which can

be brought against even the very best forms of society, have endeavored to prove that it would have been better for man had he always maintained his right to the full exercise of his natural freedom. Absurd as such principles are, we find many palliating circumstances, when we review all the sufferings which man has undergone in the social state. But Providence has decreed that only by woes, difficulties and trials, in the school of experience, man can acquire knowledge how to attain happiness.

As history gives us no definite information regarding the origin of human society, we must, while investigating this subject, follow in part the most probable theories of the learned.

There may have been a time when men lived promiscuously, as the brute creation; but whether this was, or was not so, we know that family regulations were established at an early period. The father was the supreme head of his family, the arbiter and judge of all the disputes and quarrels which might arise within it. He was the protector and defender of this little society, for which his will was law. There was no limit to his authority over those who composed his family, save that engendered by his own natural love and tenderness. Hence the mildness or the severity with which a family was governed depended solely upon the disposition of each individual head.

One treated his wife and children with harshness, and ruled as a tyrant over them; while another did nothing without consulting the former, and even the latter, when they had arrived at years of maturity. Thus the patriarchal mode of government, which has been so much applauded by many, bore in itself the germ no less of despotism than democracy, and was subject to the same variations from good to evil as every other kind of government.

In the course of time families became divided into various branches, and as these smaller societies became more numerous, each, with its own chief, whose different interests and characters oftentimes kindled feelings of enmity between their respective families, it was found convenient and advisable to entrust the government of a whole neighborhood to a single individual, or to a limited number of individuals, in order to check, by his or their authority, the ambition of the others, and to maintain the peace of the community. It would have been well had this power been entrusted only to the wise and the good, but such was not always the case. Power then, as even at the present day, oftentimes fell into the hands of wicked and designing men, who either by cunning or working upon the fears of others, obtained the preference over their fellows.

It is but reasonable to suppose that it was the intention of those who elected these chief magistrates, that the power committed to their hands should always be exercised with moderation, and be bounded by certain limits. The result, however, oftentimes proved the very reverse, and particularly so, when that power became hereditary in certain families, who

soon forgot that their possession of it was derived from the voluntary gift of their ancestors' equals.

In those communities where the chief magistrates continued to be elected, love of freedom was nourished, and the various forms of republican government invented. There is therefore no foundation in truth for the assertion that republics are the inventions of more recent times.

"Liberty," as Madame de Stael so justly observes, "is older than despotism;" but it cannot be denied that man was early made to writhe under this most terrible scourge.

Many fathers, from various motives, gave to their first-born sons the greater part of their property, and empowered them to exercise authority over their sisters and younger brothers, equal to that they themselves exercised over all their children. Hence the claims of primogeniture; hence hereditary chief magistrates, without any previous consent of those who were subjected to their authority; hence the unlimited power of kings; and hence the preposterous assertion that monarchies and the succession of princes are founded on divine right, and that it is unlawful for the people to abrogate the former, or to alter the order of the latter.

Among those tribes who cultivated the earth, villages, towns and cities soon arose, whose communities were doubtless governed by their own chief magistrates. But in process of time a great number of them became united, from various causes, such as mutual consent, inheritance, or conquest—under one individual, or under an assembly of chief magistrates. In one or the other of these ways all the great kingdoms and republics, which are to pass in review before us, have grown into importance and greatness. Yet, however sorrowful it is, it cannot be denied, that the growth of vast empires has generally required the moisture of human blood. But wars, terrible as they are, have not been the most detestable means by which ambition has founded greatness. Hypocrisy, falsehood, and every artifice degrading to human nature, have been used by men and by nations to satisfy their inordinate love of power.

The various forms of government are:—*Monarchy*, where one individual rules, but subject to limitations defined by laws, and whose power is divided with a Senate, a Diet or Parliament—*Despotism*, which knows no law save the arbitrary will of one individual, is considered by some as a corruption of Monarchy—*Aristocracy*, in which ancient families exercise by birthright, the supreme power, either in a whole body, or by a select number from among them—*Timocracy*, where the laws define that possessors of property are alone eligible to office—*Oligarchy*, where the chief power, either by law, by descent, or by accident, is confined to a very small number of men—*Democracy* is, in accordance with the old signification of the word, that form of government in which every citizen partakes of the supreme power, and is called *Ochlocracy* when, in consequence of injurious laws or violent commotions, the power which

legally belonged to all the citizens, has been transferred to the populace alone.

All these forms of government have produced both good and evil results. Democracy, though most favorable to freedom, and most worthy of man, has, nevertheless, in some instances, proved no less detrimental to the welfare of the people, than the worst of despotisms. In other instances despotism has, at times, greatly promoted the interests of the people. The truth is, that nations have been reared to power and prosperity, and have been prostrated in ruin, under all these forms of government. Are we therefore to consider them all as equally good? Certainly not! Exceptions cannot be taken as rules, and history teaches us—as you will see—which form of government to prefer, and, at the same time, that the distribution of power is the best, both as avoiding excesses, and combining the vigor of monarchy with the mature wisdom of a Senate, and with the free and animating debates of a Democracy.

But there is one form of government which I have not as yet mentioned, that deserves our particular attention, and is called *Theocracy*—signifying the government of a state by the immediate direction of the Deity. Although often promoting the well-being of the people, and holding in check the violent passions of men, this form of government is decidedly the most objectionable, because it is founded in deceit, and, under the cloak of divine authority, conceals the ambitious designs of a cunning priesthood. Spectres are not seen at noon-day, nor this form of government in the bright sunshine of modern civilization. It can only flourish where ignorance and superstition prevail. Yet, in some instances, it has had its origin with good and wise men, who were desirous that a whole people should submit to order and law, but whose knowledge of human nature taught them, that if they did not pretend to act by divine authority, they would not succeed. Their motives being good, they overlooked the principle that man is not permitted to use objectionable means, not even to further the very best of intentions.

But almost every page of history gives us clear evidences of the great truth, that God, as the supreme Ruler, disposes of every event, determines the fate of nations and their rulers, and that He transfers the power from one man to another, and from one nation to another, for His own wise ends. History also clearly proves that He has used certain men and certain nations for certain great purposes; still, it cannot be said that He has taken less care of the meanest Persian, than He did of Cyrus himself; nor less care of the most insignificant Indian tribe, than of the Roman people, because He has bestowed upon the one as well as on the other, those qualities and that fortune which enabled them to accomplish the objects for which each of them were brought into existence.

LETTER IV.

THE DIVISION OF ANCIENT HISTORY INTO PERIODS, AND THEIR DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS.

ANCIENT HISTORY may very conveniently be divided into three distinct periods, as follows :—

The *first*, extends from the creation of Adam down to Cyrus, the celebrated founder of the Medo-Persian kingdom ; or from the creation of the human race to the year 560 B. C.

The *second*, from Cyrus to Cæsar Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, or from 560 years B. C. to 30 years B. C.

The *third* period, from Augustus' victory, over Antonius, at Actium, to the dethronement of Romulus Augustulus, by Odoacer, and the end of the Western Roman Empire, or from the year 30 B. C. to the year 476 A. C.

The history of man during the first period, is to a great extent, so fabulous, as to deserve little credit ; still, the rays which now and then lighten up the darkness that envelops the truth, renders it possible, by close investigation, and mature reflection, to acquaint ourselves with every event important to us.

At war with nature and the beasts of prey, and soon too with his own brother, man, both from his necessities and from his passions, begins, at an early age, to develop his good and his evil propensities. In youthful strength he proves himself the lord of the earth, and either from curiosity, or in search of food and wealth, overruns a great part of its surface. Renouncing his natural freedom, he enters into society ; but his dreams of a better state are often delusive. Instead of enjoying the right—as he had hoped—of framing the laws by which he is to be governed, he oftentimes finds himself compelled to submit to the will of a despot. Inquiring for the origin of the universe, and unable to solve his own doubts or answer his own questions, he becomes the slave of superstition and the victim of deceit—kings trample him in the dust, and priests blindfold his awakening reason.

His first steps toward civilization may have been slow, but during the latter part of this period we find that he must have made rapid strides, as testified to by the magnificent cities, by the courtly pomp of princes, by the immense and well-filled warehouses of the Phenician merchants, of which the history of that time speaks ; and, above all, by the productions of immortal poets, which still exist.

But in the warm and luxuriant Orient, man soon becomes too effeminate

to preserve his freedom, and to pursue the course of civilization which he had so nobly commenced. He lacks tenacity of purpose, and yielding to the allurements of sensual pleasures, he stops in his glorious career. Already majestic Asia—the home of everlasting slavery—groans under the chariot wheels of conquering tyrants, and fertile Egypt is become the devoted land of superstition and despotism.

Following the impulses of his feelings, and the wild extravagance of an unbridled imagination, rather than the sober judgment of reason, man is in general become idolatrous. The Israelites alone worship—under the name of Jehovah—the sole Great Cause of everything that exists. Entertaining the rational belief in his Oneness and providential care, nevertheless their views of him are so narrow and contracted that they think him principally occupied with things concerning themselves. But let us not wonder at this, for the selfishness of man always makes him ready to appropriate everything to himself, and he is only to be enlightened by experience and reflection.

In glorious Greece and sunny Italy man is laying the foundation of those structures, which, by their beauty, variety, simplicity and greatness, and by their very defects, are to attract the attention and admiration of all coming generations.

The *second period*—fertile in writers of almost every kind, and among them a great number of trustworthy historians—is much better known to us than the first; but many events necessarily must have happened of which no mention is made, while others are so very slightly alluded to as to leave us in much doubt concerning them. These, however, are difficulties with which we have to contend, not only throughout this period, but also through all subsequent time. Some works of history, which, in many respects, merit our approval, are yet deformed by the ignorance, carelessness, partiality, and sometimes falsehoods of their authors. But zeal in the search of truth will, in this, as well as all subsequent periods, meet with a just reward.

What a great number of memorable events and great men adorn this age of the world! How productive it is of everything that attracts attention, excites admiration, and calls forth applause. Great empires rise and fall successively; while eminent men, almost uninterruptedly, fill the world with the renown of their glorious deeds and admirable productions. In no other period of time, perhaps, has the human mind developed itself in such grandeur.

Man has attained the age of majority, and exults in the consciousness of his power; he displays with pride all the wonderful capacities with which he is endowed, and makes such mighty strides towards perfection, that, in many instances, he has outstripped rivals of much later date.

It is the era of Plato and Aristotle; of Æschylus and Sophocles; of Demosthenes and Cicero; of Phidias and Praxiteles, and of Pindar and

Horace; of sublime theories and ingenuous reasonings; of grand thoughts and impassioned poetry; of graceful diction and consummate elocution; of pure taste and accomplished workmanship; of lofty imagination and pungent wit.

When did love of liberty and patriotism victoriously contend against such dreadful disparities as during this period? When did such a handful of heroes conquer such an innumerable host? When did the pride of kings receive a more terrible rebuke, or the people of a single city become the masters of the world?

The reign of reason begins to succeed that of the passions; brutal strength is subjected to order, and the natural appetite of man to social regulations, more or less praiseworthy. Refined and also corrupt manners are succeeding the rural simplicity of the former period. Tiresome forms of etiquette are introduced at many courts, in order to make the approach to majesty more difficult, and to inspire the people with more reverence for his person.

It will be self-evident that I here speak only of those nations which, during this period, signalized themselves by a high degree of civilization.

This grand drama—which occupies more than five hundred years—presents to our view, the remarkable exploits of a great conqueror, and the foundation of a vast empire upon the ruins of many mighty states and flourishing cities. Millions are made the slaves of ambition, and despotism glories in the triumph of Cyrus. Bleeding Asia is prostrate at his feet, while her mourning children are treated as herds of cattle! What a stain upon human nature that numerous nations can submit to such a degradation!

But, lo! what a different spectacle bursts upon our sight! There is Greece—the enkindler of the holy fire of freedom, the parent of genuine greatness, and of such a rich galaxy of mighty intellects, and of such excellent social institutions, that some of them—though not without defects—have never, perhaps, been surpassed. Our hearts rejoice at man's susceptibility of moral dignity and high culture. How sincerely do we wish that no blasts of tyranny may extinguish the sacred flames that burn within the bosom of every Greek, and how deeply do we sympathize with this heroic nation in its immortal defence of everything that is sacred to man. But, alas! there is no stability in human affairs; that which the myriads of Asia in vain attempted, was brought about by intestine discords, and the corrupting influence of wealth and of pleasures. Frail, indeed, is human nature!

Heroic Greece obeyed the voice of the Macedonian Philip, and followed the victorious standard of his son, who, carrying his arms to remote India, was declared by trembling priests, the son of the supreme God. In this do we see the contemptible vanity of the conqueror, or the shrewd invention of a man who well knows the nature of his fellow man? That

which is withheld from the mortal is willingly awarded to the offspring of a God.

Greedy of conquest as Cyrus and Alexander were, the Roman people, however, were even yet more insatiate. But, by magnanimity in misfortune, immutability of purpose, and unconquerable courage, they made themselves worthy of holding the sceptre of the world. Yet, alas! this grand aim was not attained by virtue alone, for it was commingled with the vilest policy. Just, therefore, was the punishment of the depraved Romans when they received as a master the most crafty of princes. But how dearly bought was this victory of despotism over freedom! Humanity has to bewail the mistaken zeal of independent spirits, the assassination of the great Cæsar,—and the furies by which the retributing Nemesis drove the noblest of his murderers to an untimely death. The nations are dressed in mourning and endeavor to forget their former glory and recent losses, amid repose and sensual pleasures. The energy of man seems to be exhausted, and he cares for nothing but tranquillity and peace.

The *third period*, by far less brilliant than the preceding one, and stained by the depravity of the Romans themselves, and of almost all who were subject to their sway, is, however, relieved by many traits of the purest virtue and nobility of soul, and by many memorable actions and remarkable productions. True, civilization does not continue to advance; on the contrary, it is materially retarded; but its sphere is enlarged, and the greater part of mankind participate in it. This is the justification of the empire which Rome holds over the world. It gives to many barbarous nations order and government, theatres, circuses, aqueducts and roads—no mean monuments of its creative activity and power of organization.

In Judea is kindled the flame, which, nourished by love, is to purify the air of the pestiferous vapors bred by the enormities of the Roman world. The divine fire spreads itself with slow but irresistible power, and dissipates by its glorious rays, the thick fog of superstition which presses on the minds of mankind. But even that is soon made subservient to the vile arts of ambitious hypocrites, and becomes the means of advancing the preposterous claims of princes and priests.

The eternal city finds in Constantinople a determined rival, and the Roman Empire soon after becomes divided into two parts, which often enough war against each other. The terror of the Roman name is no more, and barbarians venture to scoff and scorn the imperial eagles which they had before this viewed only with awe and terror. Many men of superior qualities attempted in vain to restore the ancient vigor of Rome. The age of infirmity has arrived and nothing will avail. Slavery—the worst of social evils, and the canker which had undermined so many monarchies and even the republics of Greece,—also brings ruin upon the Western Roman Empire. The human mind is indolent and slothful, and the most violent efforts are required ere it is aroused to full activity again.

LETTER V.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE
EVENTS OF ANCIENT HISTORY TRANSPIRED.

BEFORE I proceed to touch upon the chief subject of this letter, I will note the opinions, which, being bred by ignorance, were considered as established truths for thousands of years, and some of which are even so held by many to this day.

From the Chaldean herdsmen—who, while watching their herds by night, contemplated with eager eyes those bright orbs that rose, noiselessly pursuing their solemn course through space, and sank again beneath the horizon—down to the present day, the heavenly bodies have invariably attracted the attention of every reflecting mind.

Mankind, in the earlier ages, having no instruments by which to obtain a closer view of the sun, moon, and stars, were necessarily led into various errors, regarding their nature, and the purposes for which they existed.

Many nations then worshipped these illuminated globes as divinities. The Israelites, by entertaining a too elevated opinion of man, fell into an opposite error, and looked upon them as having been created solely for the purpose of providing mankind with light and heat, and to feast the eye on their brilliant and glittering rays. The Christians also participated in this error.

The earth's form was variously described by different philosophers, but the general belief was, that the earth was flat and circular, upon the edge of which rested the heavens, forming a canopy over the land and the water, and that the earth itself was immoveable.

Somewhat later, some philosophers taught that the earth was a globe, and the immoveable centre of the universe. As this flattered the vanity of man, it was generally considered to be an unquestionable truth, and particularly so by the Christians, as it was thought to be supported in part by the authority of the Bible. How often has this excellent book been used as the shield of ignorance?

Therefore, when Copernicus, in the sixteenth century of the Christian era, revealed the true system of the universe, and Galileo confirmed it, and consequently asserted the motion of the earth; these great truths were vehemently resisted, and pronounced to be impious; but being proved beyond all reasonable doubt, they at last triumphed.

By the astonishing invention of the telescope, Galileo also snook the belief of the old philosophers, that the heavenly bodies were mere spheres

of a smooth surface. With this mighty instrument he discovered that the moon's surface was covered with mountains and inequalities, which flung their shadows darkly around.

Still more remarkable discoveries have been made in later times, through the far mightier telescope of Sir William Herschell, and recently by the almost incredibly powerful one of Lord Rosse. We now know that the sun and planets, the latter of which perform their evolutions around the former in elliptic curves, in accordance with the laws discovered by the immortal Kepler—"are only parts of a mighty universe, of which there are scattered through space a greater number than can be observed stars in that to which our earth belongs."

It is but reasonable to infer, from the discovery of these numberless worlds, that they must have been created for some wise purpose, and thus be inhabited by intelligent beings. The opinion which mankind so long entertained of the earth's high rank in the material world, has been completely overthrown. Is it not time, therefore, to discard the old cant, that the heavenly bodies were created solely for the use and gratification of man? And shall we not act wisely, by considering mankind simply as a link in an infinite chain of rational creatures?

The illustrious Bacon justly states: "That we cannot approach the temple of science without first demolishing the idols, or false images, that beset the passages which lead to its sacred chambers;" or, in other words, that our first duty, while desirous of arriving at the knowledge of truth, is to guard against the influence of prejudice. Sir John Herschell, in the introduction to his *Treatise on Astronomy*, also gives us this advice: "In entering upon any scientific pursuit, one of the student's first endeavors ought to be, to prepare his mind for the reception of truth, by dismissing all such crude and hastily adopted notions respecting the objects and relations he is about to examine, as may tend to embarrass or mislead him, and to strengthen himself by something of an effort and a resolve, for the unprejudiced admission of any conclusion, which shall appear to be supported by logical arguments, even should it prove adverse to notions he may have previously formed for himself, or taken up, without examination, on the credit of others."

These remarks may be very properly applied to the study of history. In order to arrive at the truth, we have, in many instances, to disregard the opinions, which, sacred by centuries, have gained the reverence of millions, and have often been supported by men of the very highest authority, but who, imposed upon by the prevailing prejudices and superstitions of their day, have failed, or, perhaps, in spite of their better knowledge, have not dared to disentangle their minds from the bonds of darkness.

The historians and geographers of old, generally considered the limits of the earth to be as contracted as their own knowledge of it. We shall

see that of India very little has been related, and of China even less. Singularly enough, historians of more recent date have not paid that attention to these countries which they deserve.

But, as modern astronomy has proved the incorrectness of the opinions which were so generally entertained, and which had been supported by such high authorities, regarding the form and the importance of our earth, and, as a reasonable consequence, depressed the elevated pretensions of man; so also have the later investigations established the imperfect knowledge of the old historians. We cannot longer doubt but that India and China had attained a high degree of civilization at a very early date; and I hope, that, in the course of these letters, I shall be able to make it evident, that Providence has taken no less care of the numerous nations which have for so many centuries inhabited these fertile regions, than of the rest of mankind; that the study of their history is richly rewarded; and that the social institutions of the Chinese have done more towards solving the problem, of how best to prepare the general prosperity of man, than any other that ever existed; and, consequently, that our superiority over them is more a vain boast than a reality.

These great errors of opinion, on various important subjects, of which mankind have been convicted, renders it our duty to investigate carefully everything that is offered us as established truths, and more particularly so in history. To err is the common frailty of man, and even the brightest intellects have been unable to avoid it; but he alone is excusable who has used every means in his power to enlighten himself. We should, therefore, accept of as little as possible upon the authority of others, without a thorough and a strict examination for ourselves. This becomes more obligatory for the historian who writes in general for those who have neither the time nor the opportunity of investigating the truth. I cannot picture to myself a more contemptible man than the historian, who, from fear of man, or from any other motives, may neglect to diffuse the truth, or who has the hardihood to give impressions foreign to the truth.

The principal theatres of the events known to us during the first of the periods into which we have divided ancient history, were: the south-western part of Asia, between the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) and the Caucasian mountains, the Caspian Sea (Hyrcanicum Mare,) the Tartary, or Dshagatai (Scythia,) the river Indus, the Indian Sea (Erythraeum Mare,) the Persian Gulf (Sinus Persicus,) the Red Sea (Sinus Arabicus,) and the Mediterranean; Egypt and the northern coast of Africa, Greece, Italy, and the coasts of France and Spain to Gibraltar, (the Pillars of Hercules,) and almost all the Mediterranean islands. Nothing was known of China, and but very little of India, although we are now aware that at that time these countries must have been inhabited by a dense population, who had obtained no contemptible degree of civilization. Of the frozen regions, inhabited by the Scythians and the Celts, and the

warm countries, where dwelt the Ethiopians, our information is very faint.

The nations which play the principal part during this period, are the Assyrians, (under which title we also comprehend the Babylonians;) the Egyptians and the Medes; the Ionians, the Phenicians, and the Lydians, signalize themselves by a somewhat high degree of culture; and the Jews, by the purity of their religion. The Greeks, the Romans, and the Carthaginians, are laying the foundations of their future greatness.

The theatre of the events which marked the second period, is considerably enlarged, and principally to the West and the East. The territory of the Gauls, or the Gallic Celts, and that of the Iberians,—France and Spain,—are now completely known; and to some extent, those of the British Celts and the Germans—England and Germany, and the Low Countries. The culture and power of India is made better known by Alexander's expedition to it. History, however, very soon afterwards, loses sight of it. Persia, Greece, Macedonia, and Rome, become most prominent, as inhabited by the nations which, during this period, acquired the most glory. Next in renown are the Carthaginians and the Parthians, but, however, far behind the former.

The events enacted during the third period are principally confined to the Roman empire, which comprised in itself the most beautiful parts of the known world, except those of the East, where the Parthians placed an insurmountable barrier against the advance of the Roman legions. But Rome, which had so long trampled upon other nations, and appropriated to herself the name of the Eternal City, was now in her turn to experience the uncertainty of human calculations. Her glory waned, and her greatness crumbled in pieces. The barbarians she had so often humbled and always despised, deprived her at last of that sceptre which she had no longer the power to wield. Was it China, the unknown giant of the East, that with outstretched arms drove the innumerable hosts, who nomadized upon the wide steppes of the Asiatic highlands, onward to the West? This question we will take another opportunity to discuss. It was, however, the Asiatic hordes that then deluged the civilized world.

I am now about to give a more detailed description of the countries in which the principal events of ancient history transpired, and will begin with those which are most generally considered to have been the cradle of the human race, or at least of civilization.

Between, and bordering on, the rivers Euphrates and Tigris,—from their sources in the Armenian mountains, to their junction, and still farther, until their united stream (now called Schat-el-Arabi) throws itself into the Persian Gulf,—lies the three countries: Mesopotamia, (now Al Djesirah,) Assyria, (Kurdistan,) and Babylonia, (Jrak Arabi,) which present to our view, during the first period, evident testimonies of the astonishing progress mankind had at that early age made in the mechanical arts. But, alas!

the grandeur of Nineveh—the ancient capital of the Assyrian monarchy—and the splendor of Babylon, are departed without scarcely leaving a trace save that which history has preserved of them. Hippocrates, who lived in the fifth century before the Christian era, when speaking of these countries, says:—"All the productions of Asia are larger and more beautiful than those of the region we inhabit; the climate and the manners of men are more gentle; the people are benevolent and generous; many impetuous rivers, flowing between banks, shaded by noble trees, roll their waves through extensive plains; no country, except perhaps Egypt, is more fertile in men and animals, nor are the natives anywhere of greater stature or finer proportions. They love pleasure, and yet are not the less brave. They have certain national traits of countenance, in which they resemble each other more than the people of Europe, whose countries and seasons are exposed to more frequent and greater vicissitudes." It was very seldom that the vanity of a Greek permitted him to praise anything that belonged to the barbarians, hence we may put the more confidence in this description.

These countries were equally remarkable for their want of wood and stone; hence, bricks were used instead of granite, as the material of building; consequently, it is not to be wondered at that there are scarcely any ruins extant of those large cities, which were once the pride of the inhabitants, and the astonishment of strangers.

At the lower Euphrates, Babylon extends itself from Susiana (Khusistan) to the Arabian desert, comprising the richest corn-fields and most flowery meadows, at least as far as the inundation of the river reaches, which here exercises the same fertilizing influence as the Nile, and is led, like it, through canals, of which the royal canal would bear comparison with Lake Moeris, in Egypt. But many of these canals are now decayed, and the greater part of Babylon has become a desert.

Mesopotamia lies between the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, northward of Babylon, and presents to the view a remarkable variety of hills, steppes, deserts and luxuriant fields, rich in towns, and still richer in ruins, and famed battle fields.

Assyria lies on the east bank of the river Tigris, and is separated from ancient Media, by the mountain ridge of Zagrosch. It has almost always been inhabited by warlike hordes, who, carrying destruction around them, were considered more terrible than the pestiferous breath of Simoom, which, sweeping from the sulphurous mountains of Assyria, carries terror and death to remote lands. But where is the great city of Nineveh—which was built, as Moses informs us, by Assur, and according to the Grecian historians, by Ninus? It is crumbled in pieces, and heaps of ruins are to be found in the vicinity of Mosul. Here stood *Ctesiphon*, the winter residence of the Parthian kings; and, almost opposite on the

eastern bank of the Tigris, was Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator, and, at that time, rivalling Antiochia and Alexandria.

Bagdad, on the Tigris, is at present one of the most important cities in the Turkish empire.

LETTER VI.

CONTINUATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

WE come now to Media, which, after long submission to the Assyrian sway, at last hoisted the standard of independence, and made itself free. It extends north and north-east to the shores of the Caspian Sea, and Bactriana. Many chains of mountains cross this country, forming numerous valleys, both fertile and beautiful. Near the Caspian Sea, however, the land descends abruptly, and from the low land many naphtha-springs are to be seen, containing their mysterious fire. Nothing now remains of the once splendid cities of Ecbatana and Gaza, save some heaps of stone of the latter. The former is believed to have been situated at the foot of the mountain Elwind, where Hamadan now lies.

Media is divided into several parts, to which are given the following names:—*Schirvan*, taken by the Russians in 1812; *Adserbidsjan*, for the most part romantic mountain land, and also under Russian dominion; *Erivan*, with the town of that name, in the vicinity of which are the ruins of Artaxata—the residence of Tigranes, and built under the advice of Hannibal—and the celebrated monastery of the Armenians' Idschimiazin, *where a piece of Noah's ark is to be seen*. Mount Ararat, upon which the ark is supposed to have stopped after the deluge, is also in Erivan. *Ghilan*, *Musenderan*, and *Jrak Adschemi*, (the principal part of Media, and afterwards of Parthia,) in the East, bordering on the salt desert, called Naubendan. Here is Teheran and Isfahan; the latter, down to 1790, having been the capital, while the former is the residence of the present Schah of Persia. Of Isfahan it is said that about two hundred years ago it contained a million of inhabitants, while at the present day there is scarcely a tenth part of it.

Eastward of the charming fields of Susiana Khusistan, at the lower Tigris, south of Media—where some antiquarians say that Elam lived, who fought with Abraham—lies the elevated plains of Persis (Faristan or Fars,) bounded on the south by the sea, on the east by Caranania (Kerman,) on the north-east by Parthia, and on the north by Media. As

this land almost always enjoys a cloudless sky, it has received the name of the "Land of Light," which is the signification of the word *Pars*, from which Persia is derived. The hills of Persia are, for the most part, rich in pasture. Approaching the sea, however, where the land is low, it is composed of sandy and barren plains. It produces many of the most delicate kinds of fruits, and abundance of corn, and has always been inhabited by a healthy and energetic race of men. But their numbers have latterly been considerably decreased; nor do they now so industriously cultivate the soil as their ancestors did when they obeyed the precepts of Zoroaster.

There are about 4000 Guebrers, or descendants of the ancient Persians, now residing in the city of Jezd—which contains a population of 80,000, and where the most valuable shawls and silks are manufactured—who still worship the fire as the symbol of divinity.

Imperishable monuments yet remain of Persepolis, (or Istakhar in the language of the land,) the once famous capital of Persia, which attract the attention of travellers, and bear witness to the present generations, not only of their ancestors' former greatness, but also remind them of their own comparative insignificance.

The ruins of Persepolis are to be found where the sandy plains meet the mountain chain, and consist of stairs, steps, columns, walls, apartments, and graves in colossal style, and formed of enormous marble blocks, ingeniously joined together, some yet unhurt, while others are crumbling to pieces. The walls are for the most part covered with figures, whose signification is almost incomprehensible, and with characters of some ancient dead language,* says Mr. Rotteck, from whom I have partly borrowed this description.

Situated about sixty miles from these, are the ruins of Pasargada, of which more hereafter.

The countries, or rather provinces, south-east of Persia proper, were :—*Carmania* and *Gedrosia*, bordering on the Indian sea; in the east, *Arachosia*, *Drangiana*, *Aria* and *Paropamisus*, on the borders of India; in the north-east, *Bactriana* and *Sogdiana*, (the former south, and the latter north of Oxus,) in the north *Hyrcania*, which borders on, and lies south-east of the Caspian Sea, and extends to the Oxus; *Margiana*, east of Hyrcania and west of Bactriana, and *Parthia* south of Hyrcania, and east of Media.

All these countries—which were a long time subject to the dominion

* I suppose these characters to have been what is called Zend, which, Mr. W. Jones, the great Orientalist, who lived in the last century, informs us,—upon the authority of a learned Persian, who was a believer in the religion of Zoroaster—was the name given to the characters which the ancient Persians used in writing, and that the language they spoke was called *avesta*. The precepts of Zoroaster was written in the Zend, but were soon translated into the Pehlvy language.

of Persia, and often comprehended under the same name, and of which some still belong to Persia, while others are under the authority of Beludsjestan, in the east, and of Afghanistan in the south-west—were, with the exception of Sogdiana, but including Media, Assyria, and Persia, sometimes signified by the Greeks under the collective title of Ariana, (in the Zend language, Erine,) and in the middle age called Jran, when the name of Turan was given to the country north of Oxus.

The country which Moses and Homer call Aram, but known to us by the name of Syria, is situated between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and is separated in the north from Asia Minor, by the mountain chain of Amanus, and bordering in the south and south-east upon Arabia; thus comprehending Phœnicia and Palestine under this title, and which some historians have extended even to Mesopotamia and Assyria itself.

With regard to the climate and fertility of Syria, nature has divided it into three distinct parts:—The *coastland* upon the Mediterranean,—sheltered in the east by a mountain ridge, which, back but a few miles, runs parallel with the coast, except in a few instances; and particularly between Beirout and Tripolis, where it projects out to the sea, is in general flat and sandy, while the climate is hot and moist. It produces abundance of corn and precious fruits. The *highlands*, eastward of the mountain ridge, has a very different climate; the air is more dry and healthy, excepting only in the valleys of the Jordan and Orontes, where, encompassed by mountains, it is warmer than at the coast. The coastland in February is fragrant with flowers, while, in the highlands, the shoots of grass are scarcely perceptible. In the former the snow seldom remains even for a few minutes, while in the elevated dales at Haleb and Damascus, the land is oftentimes covered with it for weeks at a time. The natural beauties of these dales, formerly called Cœlosyria (the hollow Syria,) between the mountains of Lebanon and Ante-Lebanon are very remarkable. The hand of man has also been well employed upon these points. Far-famed Damascus, yet deserving of attention, is here placed in a most enviable position, and the ruins, also, of Heliopolis, (Balbec,) which give evident signs of its ancient grandeur. Nature seems to have been more parsimonious of her gifts as we approach the Euphrates, and south of Palmyra—round the astonishing remnants of which the silence of the desert reigns—is a *vast plain of sand*. Palmyra was built, or at least enlarged, by Solomon, and about 270 A. C. it was the residence of the Queen Zenobia.

The Red Sea and its shores are next deserving of our attention. Its water is much saltier than that of the ocean, and very bituminous, and many things float upon its surface which would sink in other waters. Here lay the fertile valley of Siddin, once decked with flourishing towns, but whose fruitful soil—mixed with naptha, and undermined by the

river Jordan, which here loses itself in some subterranean opening—took fire, and the towns of Sodom and Gomorrha were lost in the burning abyss.

Palestine, including the lands of the Philistines in the south-west, of the Edomites in the south, and of the Moabites and Ammonites in the east, extends from Ante-Lebanon, in several sloping chains of hills, southward to the Dead Sea, and from thence, on the other side of it, to the mountains, of which the famous Sinai is the centre. In the east the land extends itself over a sloping plain, toward the Syrian desert, and in the west toward the Mediterranean Sea, and Phœnicia. Palestine proper, however, was bounded on the east by the river Jordan; which, in its course southward forms several lakes, and among others that of Genesareth, and on the south by the Philistia.

Palestine was in the olden time called Canaan, and since divided in Judea and Samaria. The capital of the former was Jerusalem, in Greek, Hierosolyma; yet Herodotus calls it Cadytis, as there was no other city in Syria to which this name can be applied than to Jerusalem. This city was built upon two hills; southward, Zion, where David erected his castle, and northward, Akra, (including Moriah,) where Solomon raised the renowned temple of Jehovah. This city is surrounded, at a distance, by high mountains, among which is the Mount of Olives. Between the city and these mountains is the valley of Jehosaphat, watered by the Kidron. Solomon's temple was built 1007 years B. C.; burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, in the year 588 B. C.; rebuilt by Zorobabel between 535—15, and again rebuilt by Herod, and destroyed by Titus in the year 71 A. C. Under the reign of Khalifen Omar, Solomon's Mosqué was erected upon the same place, and was one of the most magnificent buildings in the Ottoman Empire.

Samaria, in Hebrew Schomron, was the capital of the ten tribes of Israel from the year 928 to the year 722 B. C., when it was taken by Salmanassar; where it was situated is now very uncertain.

We must also observe in Syria, the renowned Phœnician cities of Sidon, Tyre and Tripolis, and to which may be added the more recent ones of St. Jean d'Acre and Beirout. Sidon (Saide) was, even in Joshua's day, "a large city," trading in glass and purple-colored stuffs. It was taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the year 590 B. C., and is now a very insignificant place.

Tyrus (Sur) a colony of Sidon, was the metropolis of the trade of the known world, from the year 1000 to the year 332 B. C., when it was destroyed by Alexander, of Macedónia. During the middle ages it was of some importance, but now of none.

Tripolis (Tarablys) was built collectively by Sidon, Tyrus and Aradus, and was the residence of the Phœnician Diet.

St. Jean d'Acre, in Hebrew Akka, in Greek Ake or Ptolemais, is situated

at the mouth of the rivers Belus and Kison, and surrounded by charming gardens.

Beirout, formerly Berytas, is at present the most important trading city upon the Syrian coast.

Haleb (Berrhaea) is in Upper Syria, and was rebuilt by Seleucus Nicator. In the middle ages it was the capital of the Seldsjuks, and is now one of the greatest cities in Turkey, numbering about 200,000 inhabitants, prior to 1822, when it was partly destroyed by an earthquake. Haleb is called by Europeans, Aleppo.

Armenia is a considerably elevated steppe-land, northward of Syria and Mesopotamia, in which we find the great lake Wan, (the Matianean Sea,) together with the sources of the rivers Euphrates, Tigris and Araxes. It is bounded in the west by Capadocia, and in the east by Media, being divided by the Upper Euphrates, in *Great Armenia*, lying to the east, and *Little Armenia*, to the west, of this river. It is still inhabited to a great extent by a Nomad-people, called the Turkomans, a Tartarian tribe. A few fruit, pine, and fir trees are all its natural productions; rye and barley being cultivated by the natives in small quantities. The Armenians are Christians, and subject to the Turkish sway.

The mountain country of Caucasus is north of Armenia and Persia. This famous chain of mountains extends from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, eastward to the peninsula Abscheron, on the Caspian Sea, and is about 570 miles in length, varying in breadth from 120 to 250 miles. The highest peaks are Elburus, 16,700 feet, and Kasbek, 14,400 feet. At the base of the former are the sources of the rivers Kuban, (formerly Hypanis Verdanes,) and Rion, (formerly Phasis,) which flow towards the Black Sea, and Kuma, running towards the Caspian Sea. At the base of the Kasbek the river Terek has its source, which also runs towards the Caspian Sea, through a pass (Caucasi portæ) which, together with that at Derbend, are the only ones from the north to Persia. The communications are here very difficult, as the road winds round steep mountains, near yawning gulfs and stupendous cataracts. The river Cyrus [Kur] flows from the southern slope of Caucasus.

This is the land of heroism and adventurous spirit; it is here that man has attained the highest degree of external perfection. Here are to be found the most beautiful men and women in the world; here is the cradle, not only of the Sarmatians, but also of many other renowned people. Almost all the principal nations of Europe boast of their descent from the Caucasian race, more especially the Scandinavians, who have very good reasons to believe that Odin and his Asas came from these regions.

Snow and ice are to be found in abundance upon Caucasus, but their highest peaks are quite bare. Below the ice and snow, its sides are covered with the fir and pine trees; still lower, other trees in broad leaf; and descending further, you find the cherry, the plum, and the walnut,

bearing excellent fruit. Around the base are gardens, full of peach and apricot trees, and the vine, and in some places, rye, barley and maize are cultivated. The principal occupation, however, of the inhabitants, is the breeding of cattle, and alas, that of robberies too.

Poverty first, and afterwards avarice, here introduced the custom of parents selling their own children as slaves. Unjust as is the Russian war against these people, the Emperor is to be applauded, however, in having forbidden this barbarous custom among the tribes he has subjected to his sway.

North of the river Rion is Mingrue, or Mingrelia, and Ghuria, which were known to the Greeks under the name of Colchis. Here were brought the products of India, by the route of Bactria, across the Caspian Sea, and through Georgia. This route was less frequented after the Ptolemies, and the Romans led the Indian trade to Alexandria. These provinces have been under the dominion of Russia since 1812.

The Circassian people are, and always have been, divided into several tribes, and distinguished by different names. Their social institutions seem evidently to have originated from those of the family, where the authority of the father is supreme, and give to a number of chiefs almost despotic power over the rest.

LETTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

WE come now to the great peninsula known as *Asia Minor*, in times of old interwoven with luxuriant fields, ornamented with flourishing cities, and inhabited by a vigorous and enterprising population, widely varying from each other in civilization, manners, and character. Then, as now, the most delicious fruits and excellent wines feasted the palate and warmed the blood of the Orientals, who are such competent judges of dainties. Its shores, in general, present the most charming gardens, and insensible indeed must be that heart which is not filled with the most delightful emotions by their captivating smiles.

Its flowery plains and shadowy hills are covered with abundant grass, on which innumerable herds of cattle and sheep are feeding. The slothfulness of the greater part of its present population makes them neglect the cultivation of the earth.

Asia Minor (lesser) is rich in silk, copper, and many other things valuable in trade. In the north it is bounded by the Black Sea, till the river Phasis (now Rion) intervenes, which separates it from Mingrelia

(formerly Colchis); in the east by the river Halys (now Kizil Irmak) but in the more general opinion by the Euphrates; thus making little Armenia a part of Asia Minor; in the south-east by the mountain Amanus (now Almatagh,) through which the famous passes of Syria and Cilicia run; in the south by the Mediterranean; and in the west by the Ægean Sea.

The Turks have divided Asia Minor into six provinces, of which *Anadolia*, in the north-west, comprises nearly the half; but we will follow the division best known to history, viz:—

Pontus, between Phasis and Iris, (now Jeschil Irmak,) was formerly the kingdom of the celebrated Mithridates; but after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, in 1204, became the residence of the imperial family of the Comnenes. It is now called Trabezan, and by the French, Trebisonde.

Paphlagonia lies on the coast of the Black Sea, between Halys and Parthenius, (now Bartan) with the city of *Sinope*, once the residence of Mithridates, and now called Sinab.

Bithynia is west of the river Parthenius, and east of Mount Olympus. In this province we find the city of Chalcedon, where 451 years A. C., one of the general councils assembled. Nicomedia, (now Ismid,) built by Nicomedes the first, 287 years B. C., was for more than 200 years the capital; and Nicæa, at the Lake Ascanius, where the celebrated general council of 325 was assembled; it is now called Iznik. Lastly, Prusa, near Olympus, said to have been founded by Hannibal, now bearing the name of Brussa, or Bursa, the ancient capital of the Turks before their conquest of Constantinople.

Mysia, between the mountains of Olympus and Temnus, is one of the most fertile provinces of the Peninsula, and in which stood Ilium or Troy, between the rivulets Simois and Scamander, until destroyed by the Greeks about 1200 years B. C.

Is it true that the invincible Achilles, and the noble Hector, ever did perform those memorable deeds, and did the Trojan war ever take place, of which Homer has left us so vivid and picturesque a description in his immortal poems? I unhesitatingly answer, in opposition to all that has been said to the contrary, that there is some foundation for it in truth, but that no one can say how much the brilliant imagination of the author has added, in order to heighten the interest of that important event.

Lydia is bounded in the north by the Temnus and the Cape Mycale, and in the south by the river Mæander. Here the twelve Ionian cities once presented an interesting and powerful confederacy. The principal places formerly were Mitylene on the island of Lesbos, and Cyme on terra firma. Here are to be observed Phocæ, once a very important city, of which Marseilles, (Massilia,) in France, was a colony. Smyrna, one of the largest of the Ionian cities, and generally supposed to be the birth-

place of Homer; it is now the most important city in Asia Minor, and contains about one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. Next was Ephesus, the prosperity of which did not commence until after the ruin of Phocæa. Here once stood the famous Temple of Diana, which was destroyed by fire by Herostratus—the same night that Alexander the Great was born—solely for the purpose of acquiring an immortal name. Mad passion after renown, whither dost thou carry the reason of man! One burns a temple, and another proclaims himself the son of a god! Miletus, on Carian ground, was the most powerful of the Ionian cities, and the only one of them which Cræsus was unable to subdue; and Sardis, near the mountain Timolus and the river Pactolus, was the residence of the Lydian kings, and in the time of Cræsus, the capital of an empire which extended to the Halys. All the Ionian cities were Grecian colonies.

Caria is situated south of Lydia, but is less fertile. The Dorian Greeks here formed a confederacy, and associated with them three cities of Rhodes, and the capital of the Isle of Cos; but this confederacy never became so powerful as that of the Ionians. Halicarnassus was the most important city of the Dorian confederacy, and was the birth-place of the amusing Herodotus. Here also was the famous Mausoleum, the grave of the emperor Mausolus, and was considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

Lycia lies south of Lydia, where existed another confederacy of twenty-three maritime cities, the principal of which was Zanthus.

Pamphylia and *Pisidia*, two mountain countries, were separated by the river Melas from Cilicia. The valley was fertile, and the hills embellished with the vine and the olive.

Cilicia is the most southern part of Asia Minor, of which Tarsus was the capital, renowned as the birth-place of the apostle Paul.

Cappadocia, lying south of the river Halys, is mountainous and somewhat barren. Cataonia,—an elevated table land; Pontus and Miliene, are all sometimes understood under the above name.

Phrygia presents a most charming country, and comprises Lycaonia, near the Salt Lake, Coralis and Tatta (Tuslag) and Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia, the latter so called from the Celtic tribe, Galatae.

The great mountain chain of Taurus, which in the east joining with the Armenian mountains, and in the north with the Moschian, and through the latter is connected with Caucasus, spreads over the whole of Asia Minor, several branches, varying in height, some of which are covered with eternal snow, and others at times vomiting forth fire. The Taurian chain of mountains crosses beneath the sea and strait that separates Asia Minor from Europe, and by elevating itself here and there, forms a great many islands, until at last it grasps the hand of its twin brother, the hoary Haemus, and its numerous offspring.

Standing upon the green hills of Ida, at the foot of which fated Troy once lay, you can feast your admiring eyes upon the highest peaks of the Macedonian and Thracian mountains, and also upon the enchanting gardens of the smiling islands that interweave the Ægean Sea. Perhaps you would say, were all this yours, you would feel satisfied. But the Macedonian Alexander once stood upon that hill, and could call all within the verge of vision his own; still, he turned his back upon it, and, sword in hand, went in quest of the booty of the world.

Instead of continuing our course westward, let us make a retrograde movement, and take a cursory survey of the land of frankincense and spices, and where are nursed the fleetest horses of the world.

Arabia is bounded on the north by Syria, on the east by the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Arabian Gulf, or the Red Sea, being almost surrounded by water. The ancients divided this peninsula into three parts; the *stony*, *sandy*, and *happy* Arabia. This country, it is easily perceived from this, presents a variable aspect, and that its respective parts differ very much in fertility. The most valuable animal to the inhabitants is the camel, yet upon the horse they bestow the most assiduous and tender care. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the fiery temper of this horse, its lightning speed, and its astonishing indefatigableness, are qualities which cannot fail to gain the sympathy of this passionate and high-spirited people.

Here we have to observe the Mount Sinai, from which Moses promulgated the ten commandments to the children of Israel. Elath and Eziongeber, at the end of the east arm of the Red Sea, were the harbors from which Solomon carried on his trade with the land of Ophir. Elath is now called Akaba, or Aila. *Suez* lies at the western arm of the Red Sea, and Medina upon the elevated plain. It was to this city that Mohammed fled for refuge from Mecca, 622 years A. C., and it was here, that this extraordinary man died ten years afterwards. The mosque which contains his grave is very beautiful. *Mecca* was the birth-place of Mohammed, and of the religion by which he has acquired an immortal name, and the high reputation—for generation after generation of hundreds of millions—of being the sole mediator between God and man. Was he deceived himself, by a fiery and wild imagination, or did he knowingly deceive his fellow men for sordid purposes of his own? Or was he at once a fanatic and a cheat? I think it impossible to answer these questions in a decided manner; but that he was an instrument in the hands of Providence for certain great purposes, no one can reasonably doubt; and in its proper place I will endeavor to show what those purposes were.

Happy Arabia is now called Yemen, and was formerly celebrated for its gold, balsam, frankincense and myrrh. Its inhabitants, particularly those of Saba, were very wealthy. Gold cannot now be obtained there, and it

is very probable that it, as well as many of the spices which were exported, came in general from India and Æthiopia. The Arabians of this region are much more civilized than those of the other parts of this country, tilling the earth and cultivating the famed Mocha coffee, which is exported from a city of that name. Aden is an ancient city, mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel, in whose time it was a very important mercantile city. The higher levels of the interior are mostly occupied by the Wahabits, an Arabian tribe, who do not acknowledge Mohammed as the delegate of God, but look upon him as solely a very wise man. They are the rationalists of the Mohammedan religion.

The Isthmus of Suez forms the only land communication between Asia and Africa; all the rest being surrounded by water. Africa was but little known to the ancients, who called it Libya, and the greater part of it is still unknown to the present generation. The country which first meets our view after traversing the Isthmus into Africa, is that of Egypt, which the ancients looked upon as part of Asia.

Egypt is called in the Bible, Misraim; and in the Turkish and Arabian languages, Misr, (the valley of the Nile.) Delta, or Lower Egypt, is generally considered to have been gradually deposited by the waters of the Nile, without the beneficial influence of which, this country would never have attracted the attention of the world, but would have presented the same desolate appearance with the deserts which border on it.

The Nile, rising in the interior of Africa, passes over the high mountains of Nubia, and descends in deafening cataracts into a deep valley, which extends about seven hundred miles, and empties itself into the Mediterranean; at first being from twelve to eighteen miles broad, but the further it runs northward, the wider it becomes, until it covers a vast plain, through which it flows in several arms to the sea, where the distance between the most widely separated mouths is about two hundred miles. This valley, rendered so fruitful by the annual inundation of the Nile, and the many canals which are made for the purpose of distributing its fertilizing waters, is bounded in the east by the Mokattam, an elevated table land, which extends to the Arabian Gulf; and in the west by the Libyan ridge of mountains, that loses itself in the desert. In this waste of sand, you, however, sometimes meet with places, though generally very distant from each other, where grass, water, and a shadowy grove are to be found presenting to the traveller, panting with heat and thirst, a blessed refuge, called Oases; one of which is to be found a little eastward of the basalt mountain of Harusch, which was anciently adorned with a temple, consecrated to the mysterious Jupiter Ammon.

The inundation of the Nile was a problem which the ancients could not solve—seeming the more curious to them from the fact that it very seldom rains in Egypt. As it may be amusing to know the different opinions held by the Greeks with regard to this subject, I will relate what Herodotus

says thereof.* "There have been," says this venerable historian, "three different opinions of the cause of it, (the rise of the Nile,) two of which deserve no further attention than barely to be mentioned. One opinion asserts, that the increase of water is owing to the Etesian, (the north-east,) winds, which, by blowing in an opposite direction, impede the flow of the river into the sea. Still it has often been the case that the wind has not blown from this quarter, while the phenomenon of the Nile has been exactly the same. The second opinion is still less acceptable to reason, though more calculated to awaken astonishment. It affirms that the inundation of the Nile is occasioned by the flowing of the water from the ocean, by which the earth is entirely surrounded. The third opinion, though seemingly more plausible, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates that the excess of water is occasioned by the melting snows which, coming from Libya, through the regions of Ethiopia, discharges itself in Egypt. But, how can this river, descending from a warm into a much colder climate, be possibly composed of snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy every person of good understanding that it is contrary to fact." Diodorus Siculus says, that the second of these opinions was entertained by the Egyptians, but not by the Greeks. Herodotus, after showing the absurdity of these respective opinions, states the following:†—"That the Nile overflows in the summer season, because during the winter the sun, driven by the storms from its usual course, ascends into the higher regions of air above Libya." The arguments which he advances in support of this hypothesis, are equally absurd with itself, and unworthy of repetition.

We know now that almost all rivers in tropical countries‡ overflow their banks at the season of the periodical rains, which fall in torrents for months at a time. It is therefore no wonder that the Nile, which receives its waters from such regions, presents the same phenomenon, though more extensively, but which is caused partly by art, and partly in consequence of the lowness of the valley through which it passes.

Egypt has always been famed for its abundant productions of corn. Its soil yielding several harvests in a season, yet produces but little wood, and fruits only of the ordinary kinds. Yet, blessed as Egypt is with a cloudless sky and fruitful soil, it very often happens that pestilence is bred

* Chap. 20—22: Book 11.

† Chap. 24: Book 11.

‡ The earth is, through the tropics and polar circles, divided into five zones, which receive their names from their different degrees of heat. The torrid zone, (*zona torrida*), is situated between the tropics, and divided by the equator into two equal parts. The moderate zones lie between the tropics and the polar circles; of which the northern is called arctic, (*circulus polaris arcticus*) and the southern, antarctic, (*circulus polaris antarcticus*.) The frigid zones, (*zonæ frigidæ*) are situated round the poles. The distance between the equator and each of the tropics is 23 deg. 28 min., and between each of the tropics and the nearest polar circle is 43 deg. 4 min., and between each of the polar circles and the nearest pole 23 deg. 28 min.

within its bosom. The origin of this dreadful plague is not yet certainly known. Some impute it to the putrid substance with which the soil is covered after the inundation of the Nile, which, as they say, breeds a poisonous breath; while it is ascribed by others to different causes.

There can be no doubt that Egypt was very early inhabited, and the seat of high culture. How far back we are to look for the first establishment of its social structure, is as yet an undecided question; and which, I think will, in defiance of recent investigations, remain uncertain; but in another place I will give the opinions of several men upon this subject, who are deserving of much credit for their search after truth. Certain it is that the Egyptians were celebrated for their proficiency in the arts and sciences, at the time that Greece began to emerge from barbarism, and that many noted men of that nation, travelled hither in order to enrich themselves with knowledge. Its religion, social institutions, and works of art, were objects which awakened the astonishment of reflecting travellers. "Its system of laws," says Johannes Von Müller, "was well constituted, and in the strictest keeping with the nature of the country and people. Hence the native government long maintained its authority, while in after times every foreign dominion and institution was frail and transient." But I must here observe, however, had not the government been chiefly in the hands of the priesthood, it is very probable that Egypt would not have so often fallen a prey to foreigners.

Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians were divided into seven different castes or classes; but Diodorus Siculus does not mention more than three, of which the priests were the first class, the warriors, who were also husbandmen, the second, and the artizans the third.

The celebrated Count Volney concludes, that the ancient Egyptians were real negroes,—from what Herodotus, in chapter 104, book 11, says of the Colchians, who, as being black and having curly hair, he thought may have been,—as the Egyptians pretended they were,—descendants of a part of Sesostri's troops, which he had left as a colony at the Black Sea.

Still, as there may have been Ethiopians in the army of Sesostri, the above opinion of Mr. Volney is not conclusive enough for us to accept it as truth, though it else would afford a strong argument of the negro's susceptibility of civilization.

Egypt is divided into Upper Egypt, or Said, (formerly Thebais); Middle Egypt, or Vostani, (formerly Heptanomis); and Lower Egypt, (Bahari,) formerly called Delta, from its form.

In Upper Egypt we find the astonishing ruins of its most ancient capital Thebes, or Diospolis, (now Luxor,) called by Homer, the city of a hundred gates, and spoken of by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, as in the highest degree opulent and magnificent. Here, too, was the celebrated statue of Memnon, which was said to vibrate with sounds as the first rays of the sun fell upon it.

Memphis, in Middle Egypt, was later the capital of Egypt, but the place where it stood cannot now with certainty be proved. Its magnificent temples—among which was that dedicated to Vulcan—are spoken of in the highest terms of praise for splendor and display of art; although they were crumbled to dust before the superstitions had vanished to which they were sacred; and do not, even to the present day, some of them, keep hold of the Egyptian populace? But within the walls of these temples, perhaps that doctrine was bred which is so encouraging, and I think at the same time so agreeable to the wisdom and goodness of God—I mean that of the immortality of the soul—which Moses seems to have taken but little or no notice of. Mr. Gibbon says that the Egyptians were the first to entertain the doctrine of the resurrection.

Of the Pyramids, the Labyrinth, and Lake Moeris, (now Birtzet el Kerum,) I will speak in another place.

Heliopolis, called On in the Bible, is situated in Lower Egypt, where the sun was worshipped as the divinity, or, more probably, as the symbol of it. It had a college for priests, which was the most celebrated in Egypt, where Plato, that finest of all human intellects, received part of his education. Some antiquarians say, that the province of Goshen, where the Israelites lived so long, lay east of this city, and that the high priest of Heliopolis was the son-in-law of Joseph.

Alexandria (in Arab Skanderi,) lies on a small isthmus, between the Mediterranean Sea and Lake Marcotis; which, having been founded by Alexander, affords sufficient evidence that this gifted man was more than a mere conqueror. This city was the capital of the Ptolemies, and the seat of learning for hundreds of years. Here stood the statue of Pompey the Great, eighty-eight feet high; and the obelisk of Cleopatra, sixty-three feet high. Here, also, was the celebrated light-house of Pharos. Alexandria once contained a population of three hundred thousand, exclusive of slaves. Here Arius and Anastasius fought their remarkable religious battles, in which faith triumphed over the reason of man. Here Cæsar, in the arms of a beautiful woman, almost forgot to continue his victorious career. Was it the voice of ambition, or the remembrance that Cato lived, which called him to himself? What did the third one of the greatest civilized conquerors think, when he planted the tri-colored banner of France upon its walls? Did that firm will then take the resolve to equal the Macedonian and the Roman? Three brilliant meteors—for so they appeared in three different regions of the globe—what millions of men did they sweep from their path!

Nubia lies south of Egypt, and is bounded on the east by the Arabian Gulf, and on the south by Abyssinia, (Habesh.) The Nile is here formed by the juncture of many rivulets and small streams, flowing through a narrow valley, and descending by several remarkable cataracts, as said before. Nubia is inhabited by different tribes, the most of them of Arabian origin.

The town of Moroe is situated on a peninsula, in Sennaar, the south-western part of Nubia. In ancient times this was the seat of a most powerful priesthood, and here the Hieroglyphs were said to have been invented. Obelisks and pyramids were erected here probably prior to those of Egypt. Some antiquarians think that Moroe was an Indian colony, and that through its priests the Egyptians were first raised from barbarism. For a long time it was the centre of the Ethiopian trade; and its vicinity is now full of the ruins of pyramids, sphinxes and temples.

The Scheygyan tribe of Arabians, famed as skilful horsemen, live in this same part of Nubia. Mount Berkel is in their country, with the ruins of pyramids and temples, probably of Napata, which became after Moroe the residence of the Nubian princes, among whom we find Queen Candace.

The mountains of Nubia proper present many grottoes, temples and statues, covered with Hieroglyphics. Travellers say that these monuments are of nobler style than those of Egypt. On a small island of the Nile, at the little cataract, near the line of Egypt and Nubia, (Ethiopia,) is Philæ, where it is said Osiris and Isis were interred.

Dongola lies in the western part of Nubia proper, and presents the ruins of many ancient temples.

It would be very absurd, indeed, to doubt, for a moment, that these regions were once inhabited by a powerful people, who, as Herodotus informs us, defied the power of the Egyptians.

Abyssinia is situated south of Nubia, and being a mountainous land, is exalted over all the neighboring countries; it slopes towards the north, and particularly towards the Arabian Gulf. In the south, where the two highest mountains are situated, the rivers Bahr-el-Azrek and Tacazze have their sources, which flow northward, and, with many others, form the Nile.

The products of this country are very various, as is but natural, when we consider that the climate varies from the hottest to almost the coldest temperature. Coffee here grows wild. The inhabitants profess to be Monophysitian Christians, (acknowledging but one nature in Christ;) but they are very superstitious, and scarcely half civilized. Ethiopian language (the Ghees) is a Semitish dialect, but it is now discarded.

Axome, or Auxume, (now Axum,) is also situated in this country: it was formerly the capital of a mighty state, and the centre of the ivory trade. Berenice Epidires was, in the days of the Ptolemies, the storehouse of African myrrh. Saba was, in ancient times, a large city, from which the Troglodytes (a people said to live in caves,) carried cinnamon to Arabia, in boats without rudder or sails. Ptolemais Theron is a large forest in which elephants of war were caught during the times of the Ptolemies. Herodotus informs us, that the Ethiopians were remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their longevity.

The whole northern coast of Africa was peopled prior to the time of

Herodotus, and, excepting Egypt, was called by him, Libya, (now Barbary,) which he divided into three parts: that of the north being inhabited by men, the middle infested with beasts of prey, and the third a vast parched desert. The aborigines—called Libyans, by Herodotus—now bear the names of Barber, Tiblos, and Tuarihs, living in part among the Moors who have emigrated thither, but in larger numbers south of them, towards the region extending to the river Niger.

The second of the parts into which Herodotus divided Libya, has since been called Getulia, and is now known by the name of Biledulgerid, or Bilad-al-dscherid, which signifies the land of dates. It is formed principally of the mountain chain which runs almost parallel with the shores of the Mediterranean through the north of Africa, the western part of which is called Atlas, and the eastern Harndshian, (mons ater,) which loses itself in the desert. This part of Africa is now, as well as in the time of Herodotus, overrun by wild beasts, and not much inhabited by man, as it yields but little to sustain him save the date tree, and little grass for his herds. "The Getulian people," says Mr. Rotteck, from whom I have in part borrowed this description, "belonged to the Libyan race, together with the Garamantes, in the present Fezzam, and their northern neighbors, the Nasamons. The desert, or sandy Libya, presents a very sorrowful view. This sea of sand extends itself almost three times the length of the Mediterranean, where Africa is the broadest, on both sides of the tropic. This kingdom of death is very various in breadth; but in the west—where it is still more sterile than in the east—there are, however, several larger and smaller insular verdant spots. They are watered by solitary springs, and through them; and thus through the immutable ways of Providence the communication between northern and interior Africa becomes possible."

This part of Africa was divided in the time of the Romans, into the following provinces:—Mauritania, situated in the neighborhood of Atlas, bounded by the river Ampsaga in the east. Numidia was, during the Punic wars, the coastland from the river Malua, to the river Ampsaga; but in the time of the emperors it received the name of Mauritania Cæsariensis, and the name of Numidia was transferred to the region lying between the rivers Ampsaga and Tusca. *Africa propria* was the coastland east of Tusca to the greater Syrtis. The country in the neighborhood of Carthage was called Zengitana, and its southern part, Byzacena; while Cyrenaica was the name given to the coast of Libya proper between the Syrtis Major, (the greater,) and Egypt.

This latter province consists chiefly of the desert Barca; still the western part is fruitful, the mountains being plentifully supplied with springs, and are watered by rain. *Byzacena* is now called Tripoli, having a capital of the same name, which is the residence of the reigning prince, bearing the title of Bey, who rules under the supremacy of the Sultan of

Constantinople. Cyrene is here situated, which, Herodotus tells us, was founded by the Dorian Battus, 712 years B. C.

Zeugitana is now called Tunis, which is governed by a Bey, also under the authority of the Turkish Sultan. Carthage was situated on the north-eastern shore of the same lake with the city of Tunis, and was founded by the Tyrians, probably about 800 years B. C., and destroyed by Scipio, the junior, 146 years B. C. It is said to have had a population of over seven hundred thousand inhabitants; was rebuilt by Augustus, and afterwards became the seat of the Vandalic princes, but was again destroyed by the Saracens in the seventh century of the Christian era.

Utica was situated twenty-four miles north of Carthage. It was also a Tyrian colony, and believed by some antiquarians to be of more ancient date than Carthage; it was once the residence of the Roman pro-consuls. Cato the younger here killed himself, to avoid falling into the hands of his generous victor.

Algiers is that part of Africa which was formerly known under the name of Mauritania Cæsariensis, (first called Numidia,) together with that part which was afterwards named Numidia. In more recent days it was governed by an aristocratic assembly, at the head of which was a despotic prince under the title of Dey, who was amenable, however, to the Sultan of Turkey, and who was, in reality, but a privileged robber, until France at last took possession of the state, and probably—as it is to be hoped—will retain it.

Algiers is inhabited by Moors and Barbers, who are called Kabyls. Oran is here situated, with a fortress near the sea. Tenez is an insignificant place, but has in its vicinity the ruins of Cæsarea, a Phenician colony, which was, however, in the time of Bocchus and Juba the second, the capital of the kingdom. Constantine is built upon a rock, and is, next to Algiers, the largest city. The remarkable ruins of Cirta are also to be found in this country, having been the old Numidian capital, and once the residence of Massinissa.

Mauritania proper was that part of Africa which now constitutes the empire of Morocco; and is situated on both sides of the mountain chain known as Atlas. Here is the river Mulluvia, (formerly Malua or Mallucha,) which separated the kingdom of Jugurtha from that of Bocchus; and since called Mauritania Tingitana, (from the town of Tingis,) to distinguish it from Mauritania Cæsariensis.

The capital of the empire of Morocco is called by the same name, and is situated on a plain surrounded by forests of orange, lemon, and palm trees, about one day's journey from Atlas. But, favored by nature as it is, the city itself is in a decayed state.

Fez is the residence of the Emperor or Sultan, and is the most important city in Barbary. It is also situated on a plain, better built than Morocco, and far more populous, having about one hundred thousand

inhabitants. Tangiers is situated on the western side of the strait of Gibraltar, together with the fortress of Ceuta, belonging to Spain.

But in mentioning Carthage, it is impossible to prevent the memory from reverting to the glorious name of Hannibal; or that, speaking of Algiers, our thoughts should not be led to that less illustrious, though still memorable one, of Abd-el-Kader. Great as the difference undoubtedly is between the genius and talents of the Carthaginian general and those of the Arabian chieftain, there is, however, much similarity in their fortune. The former had to contend against the bravest people of ancient times, and the latter against the superior tactics of the most warlike people of the present day. Hannibal, notwithstanding all his astonishing skill, and his numerous victories—contending against the immutable decree of a higher power—was doomed to see his father-land become a prey to the enemies against whom he had sworn hatred to the death. The chivalrous heroism of Abd-el-Kader has gained him nothing but glorious defeats; and his memorable actions have brought home to him the very same reward as did the far more brilliant ones of Hannibal, viz:—the conquest of his native country by his most implacable enemies. Surely, we cannot but feel admiration and pity for such men, who have struggled with heroic virtue in so noble, though fated a cause.

LETTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

THE beauty of nature consists, to a great extent, in its infinite variety; so is it with history and geography, their charms being considerably increased by the continual variations of scenes which are presented to our view. Retracing our steps, then, through Libya, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, to Lampsacus in Mysia, we again stand in sight of Europe, and upon the very spot where Xerxes had collected the mighty hosts by which he thought to lay Greece at his feet.

Crossing the Hellespont (now the Straits of the Dardanelles) from Asia to Europe, you have upon the right, the Propontis, (now Mare di Marmora,) and on the left, the Ægean Sea, (now the Archipelago,) and arrive at Gallipoli, (formerly Callipolis,) in the peninsula, known by the name of Chersonesus Thracicus. To the north of, and joining the Propontis, is the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, (Pontus Euxinus.)

It is said that but two persons ever swam across the Hellespont, and they were Leander, in ancient times, who ventured it for the possession of his mistress, and the immortal Byron, of our own day.

About twelve miles from Gallipolis lies the rivulet of *Ægos Potamos*, where the Athenian fleet was destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, in the year 404 B. C.

On the European side, at the inlet of the Bosphorus to the Propontis, Byzantium is situated, (now called Constantinople by the Europeans, and Stamboul by the Turks,) on a spot graced with the most unrivalled natural beauty, and the most fit place imaginable for the capital of the Roman World. It was founded about 660 years B. C., by the Megarenses, with the aid of Byzas, a Thracian prince, after whom it was named Byzantium. In the year 330 A. C., it was made, by Constantine, the capital of the empire, and called after him Constantinople. Yet when the Roman territory was divided into the Eastern and Western empires, it remained until 1453 the capital of the former, at which time it was taken by the Turks.

Selivria (formerly Selymbria) is situated at the Propontis, and was founded by the Megarenses before Byzantium. Ereklia, a Lamish colony, was also at the Propontis, and, anterior to the time of Philip of Macedonia, was as powerful as Byzantium; it was then called Perinthus, and afterwards Heraclea.

The part of Thracia where Constantinople lies is now called Rumili, (the land of the Romans;) and here also we may observe Adrianople, (Turkish Edrene,) situated upon the small stream Maribza; it was formerly called Hadrianopolis, from its founder, the Emperor Hadrianus, and was the residence of the Turkish Sultans from the year 1360 A. C., to the conquest of Constantinople. Adjacent to which is Enos, (formerly *Ænos*,) where Xerxes reviewed his army; and Abdera, notorious for the stupidity of its inhabitants, and as the birth-place of the celebrated philosopher Democritus.

Thracia is bounded on the east by the Black Sea, on the south by the Propontis and the *Ægean Sea*, on the west by Macedonia, and on the north formerly by the Ister, (Danube,) but after it came into the possession of the Mysians, extended itself to the mountain *Hæmus*, having therefore the same borders that the Rumili of the present day has.

The land of the Mysians, which people had immigrated from Asia, was called *Mœsia*, by the Romans, and was bounded on the north by the rivers Save and Danube, on the west by the river Drina, on the south, as above alluded to, by Mount *Hæmus*, and on the east by the Pontus Euxinus.

The country north of the Danube was called by the Romans Dacia, and inhabited by the Daci, who were, in all probability, the same people that the Greeks called *Gatæ*, and who lived south of the Danube until Philip of Macedonia compelled them to remove to the northern bank of

that river. When Dacia was subject to the Romans, it extended northward to the Carpathian mountains, westward to the river Theiss, and eastward to the Pruth (formerly Poros or Pyretos.)

Mæsia and Dacia now form Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Walachia: we will now turn our attention to

Macedonia, which, after the conquests of the renowned Philip—the father of Alexander the Great—was extended eastward to the river Nestus and the mountain Rhodope, southward to the Ægean Sea, (the peninsula Chalsidice was before a part of Thracia,) and to Thessaly, which was separated from Macedonia by the Cambunian mountain chain, and by Olympus westward to Illyria, and northward to those ridges of the Hæmus chain of mountains, then known as Scardus and Orbelus, but now named Schartay and Argentara.

Illustrious as is the Macedonian name in the annals of war, we find but little else in that country worthy of our particular attention, not even monuments of remarkable architecture. It was not the people, but rather two gifted kings, that made Macedonia renowned.

Salonichi (Thessalonica) is situated on the Sinus Thermaicus, and was once the residence of the Roman emperors. On the peninsula Chalsidice, you find the following places of note in ancient days: Potidea was a Corinthian colony, and the order of the Athenians to demolish its walls hastened the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war; Olythus, the Athenian colony, which flourished until destroyed by Philip of Macedonia; and Stagira, famed as the birth-place of Aristotle. This illustrious philosopher was born 384 years B. C., and it is said, was a descendant of Æsculapius. He was the most celebrated disciple of Plato, and founded the peripatetic school of Grecian philosophers, exercising, through his ingenious works, a great influence for many centuries upon the Christian world. He was the tutor of Alexander the Great, and was highly esteemed by that monarch. He died in Chalcis, in Euboca, 322 years B. C.

Pella, situated near the rivulet Ludius, was the ancient capital of Macedonia, and the birth-place of Alexander the Great; it is now called Vodina.

Amphipolis was an Athenian colony, situated on the Strymon, with a harbor called Eion, now named Orfan.

We cannot pass over with silence the most famous city in Macedonia, called Philippi, where—speaking in the figurative language of the Orientals—the ghost of the murdered Cæsar haunted Cassius and Brutus to an untimely death, giving an easy victory to Antonius and Octavius. How painful must have been the feelings of the noble Brutus when he saw that the glorious spoil, of which he had deprived the greatest of Romans by assassination, was about to fall into the hands of such unworthy men. Memorable lesson! May it ever serve as a caution to every friend of freedom not to attempt to serve the cause of liberty by the despicable means of the assassin's dagger.

Macedonia is separated from Greece by the Cambunian chain of mountains, which, at the *Ægean* Sea, ends with High Olympus, and extends westwards, under the name of the Ceraunian Mountains, to the Ionian Sea, into which it projects the promontory Acroceraunia. Greece—the Greek name of which is *Hellas*—is, in all other parts, bounded by the *Ægean* and Ionian Seas.

This country, so small in dimensions and so insignificant in the number of its inhabitants, has been the theatre of everything that is great and glorious. No other country, with the exception of Palestine, has ever bequeathed to posterity so valuable an inheritance; therefore, in justice, we mention its name with reverence and gratitude. But for it, despotism would have been early established in Europe, and the gratification of the senses would have been more thought of than the development of the mind.

Nature herself has adapted it to become the home of freedom, of science, arts, and literature. Access to it by land is very difficult, as the many narrow defiles, through which an enemy would have to pass, would be easily defended by a small number of brave men, even against the most numerous army. It is naturally divided into many small parts by the numerous chains of mountains which run through it; each part being admirably calculated to form an independent state of itself. Its climate is very healthy, neither too hot, nor generally too cold, but very different in different parts of this little country, being, with but few exceptions, well calculated to animate man with vigor and activity. To a great extent surrounded with water, which at many points runs far inland, forming harbors and bays, its communication with foreign countries is very easy; which fact greatly contributed to its early and high mental culture. "It is," says Mr. Rotteck, "generally speaking a truth, that inland countries have not attained civilization as early as those upon the coast; and that the manners and mental acquirements of the people depend much upon the facility of communication by water, and particularly by sea, with other countries. For instance, compare Africa with Europe. Peloponnesus has so many very long promontories as to make the coast bear a strong resemblance to a leaf of the vine; while *Hellas* and Thessaly display the most manifold variety of bays, capes, and promontories. Besides, Greece is surrounded by so many islands, naturally connected with it, that it can be said with truth that there is no other country extant, which, in proportion to its small area, has such extended coasts, so many points of communication with the sea, with so great a number of inlets and harbors. Thus formed, and situated in the centre of three parts of our globe, was it not intended by nature for the most active and industrious people, and as a point from which to receive, exchange, and spread ideas, inventions, knowledge, and productions?"

The most remarkable bays are those of Pagasæan and Maliacian,

opposite the northern coast of Euboea; and on the other side, exactly parallel, is the Ambracian Sea. More southward is the Saronian Bay, and corresponding with it, on the other side, is the Bay of Corinth. They are separated only by an isthmus about six miles wide, which joins the northern part of Greece, or Hellas proper, with its southern part, called Peloponnesus, now Morea, which has also its deep bays, as the Argolian, the Laconian, and the Messenian.

The most remarkable mountains of Greece, are Pindus, which runs south from the Cambunian ridge, until it meets Mount Ceta, which again runs parallel with the last-mentioned ridge; more southward the several mountain chains approach each other nearer, and among them the majestic Parnassus, the romantic Helicon—the celebrated seat of the muses—and the wild Citheron.

The largest and most fertile plains in Greece, are found in Thessaly, between the Cambunian ridge and Mount Ceta, through which flows the river Perseus, the length of which is, however, not so great as that of the river Achelous, which discharges itself into the Bay of Corinth. These rivers are very small, and so are the Alpheus and Eurotas, in Peloponnesus.

Excepting Thessaly, Greece cannot be looked upon as a very fertile country; yet its hills are covered with good pasture, and its valleys produce rich harvests. Hence Attica alone was formerly compelled to rely in part upon foreign countries for its bread-stuff. The principal production of Greece is the olive, which here attains its highest perfection. Still, it produces, to some extent, many kinds of excellent wine, delicious fruits, and much silk.

The first inhabitants of Greece, or rather those who first obtained some degree of civilization, were known by the name of Pelasgi. The traditions of the Greeks say, that they originally came from Asia Minor; this is probably correct, but we have no authority that such a people ever existed in Asia, otherwise than the traditions alluded to. It appears that they afterwards associated themselves with another tribe under the name of Hellans, which appellation they received from Hellen, the son of Deucalion. Subsequently they became divided into four different tribes: the Dorians, the Æolians, the Ionians, and the Achaians. According to Homer, the last named tribe was the most powerful during the Trojan war; but afterwards they were confined to that part of Greece called Achaia. The Ionians dispersed themselves over the coastland of Asia Minor; while those remaining in Greece only inhabited Attica and little Achaia. The Æolians were lost among the Dorians, who emigrated to Peloponnesus about eighty years after the Trojan war, and became the dominant people of that country. There was a remarkable difference of character between the Dorians and the Ionians. The former were of phlegmatic temper, much attached to ancient customs, and con-

sequently full of reverence for antiquity ; more apt in the exercise of the body than in that of the mind, and never attempting to rival the Ionians in literary pursuits. The latter were passionate and much inclined to enthusiasm ; they were endowed with the nicest taste, and the greatest perceptibility of the beautiful and harmonious. It is true their pleasures were more refined, which certainly cannot be a reason why they should be more open to condemnation than the grosser ones of the Dorians. What narrow views some of our moralists take of human virtue ! Brutal strength and heroism were almost all the qualities thought to be deserving of praise by the Dorians ; while, among the Ionians, the development of the mind was considered the most deserving of admiration. Not to the Dorian, but to the Ionian Greeks, are we chiefly indebted for those fine productions of antiquity which now command our highest admiration. It was not the Dorians, but the Ionians, who built up those forms of republican government which are worthy of imitation. The former, in general, deposited the power in the hands of aristocrats, while the latter reserved it for the people themselves.

During the middle ages the name of Morea was given to Peloponnesus ; to the western part of Hellas proper, that of Livadia ; and to the eastern coast, that of Albania ; while Thessaly was named by the Turks, Janiah. We shall therefore adhere to the old nominations and divisions of Greece.

From Macedonia you arrive at Thessaly, the largest State into which Greece of old was divided. It was separated in the west from Epirus by the mountain Pindus, and in the east it was washed by the bays of Maliacus and Pagasæus ; the latter being the point from which the argonauts sailed for Colchis.

The charming river Penetus (now called Salambria) runs through Thessaly, having made itself a course between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. "Thessaly was covered," says the learned Johannes Von Müller, "by an extensive sea, prior to the time when the river Penetus formed itself a channel by breaking through the rocks of Tempe." Here is the enchanting valley which forms the pass between Macedonia and Greece. The far-famed pass of Thermopylæ, where the heroic Leonidas and his brave followers devoted their lives to immortal renown, is situated in the southern part of Thessaly, between Œta and the sea. Thessaly is divided into eastern and western parts by the Othrys mountain. It is one of the most fertile countries in the world, being rich in corn, wine, olives, and silks ; having been particularly celebrated in ancient times for excellent horses and masterly horsemen. It is considered by many as the cradle of Grecian culture. It is very probable that the first tribe who came from Asia settled in this part, and afterwards spread themselves over the whole of Greece. The Pelaagi were first masters of Greece, after which the power was held in part by the Dorians and the Achæans. The country south of Othrys received the name of

Achaia, from the Achæans, over which it is said that, among other chiefs, Achilles ruled. The Ætolians took possession of the little peninsula formed by the Pelion Mountain, which was previously occupied by the Centauri. These Ætolians then bore the name of Magneti. But sixty years after the destruction of Troy the Pelasgi returned from Epirus—whence they had been compelled to withdraw—and drove away all the Hellenian tribes; giving the name of Thessaly to that State, when it ceased to be considered as belonging to Greece.

The following are some of the remarkable cities of Thessaly :—Lamia, which gave a name to the Lamian war; Hypata, where the women were considered the greatest masters of witchcraft; Pharsalia, where Pompey yielded, against his own better judgment, to the importunities of the young Roman patricians, and gave battle to Cæsar, when he was completely defeated. Larissa is a perfect paradise, and situated at the Peneus, and was always the principal city in Thessaly.

Epirus lies west of Thessaly, and separated from it by the Pindus; it is divided from Illyria by the Ceraunian mountain chain; washed by the Ionian Sea on the west, and on the south by the Ambracian Bay. Here we find the river Acheron, which poets inform us has its source in Tartarus. The country is full of good pasture. Its inhabitants were probably of Pelasgian origin, and divided into several tribes, among which were the Molossi, whose kings were said to have been descended from Achilles, and hence were of Hellenic origin. Pyrrhus, the famed conqueror at times of the Romans, was also of this family. The people of Epirus, however, always remained barbarians.

We must here also mention Dodona, which was the seat of the most ancient oracle in Greece; it was founded by the Pelasgi.

Acarnania, joined by a small isthmus with Epirus, and separated from Ætolia by the river Achælóus, is otherwise surrounded by the Ionian Sea and the Ambracian Bay.

Ætolia was inhabited by a wild and uncivilized people, whom the Greeks would not acknowledge as their countrymen. In ancient times they were always at war with the Acarnanians, and afterwards with the Macedonians, against whom they solicited the aid of the Romans; who, after subduing Macedonia, made themselves masters of Ætolia also. It is now inhabited by the Albanesi. Thermum was a mountain plain, where the Ætolians held a yearly meeting or diet, (Panætolum.)

Locris was the name which was given to two small territories separated from each other, by Phocis and Doris, and of which the one was situated at the Corinthian Bay, and the other at the Strait of Euripus. The first was inhabited by the Locrians, who were called the Ozelish, (the bad smelling,) and the latter by the Opuntish, and some more northward by the Epcnemidish Locrians. Ajax is said by Homer to have been leader of the last-mentioned people during the Trojan war.

Doris, the country inhabited by the Dorians previous to their taking possession of Peloponnesus, was a small valley about three miles broad, through which ran the river Pindus; it contained four small towns.

Phocis was separated from Bœotia by a mountain chain; being bounded on the south by the bay of Corinth, on the north by the ridge of Cœta, and on the east and west by the lands of the Locrians. The river Cephissus flows through a fertile valley in the interior of Phocis. But a great part of its surface is covered by the mountain Parnassus, the highest summit of which is seldom free from snow; its declivities, however, are covered with the olive and vine. In Phocis there were many small independent cities.

The Phœceans took possession of Delphi in the same year that Alexander the Great was born, and with its treasures carried on a ten years' war, that received the name of the Holy War; but at last being conquered, all their cities were destroyed by their enemies, and they were prohibited from rebuilding them.

Delphi lay at the foot of Parnassus, and was the most famed city of Phocis. Here was an oracle of Apollo, the most sacred and celebrated in Greece. Here the Amphictyonæ, or Diet of Greece, assembled; here the Pythian games were celebrated, and here were immense treasures collected as presents to Apollo.

Elatea is situated on a hill near the river Cephissus, and on the boundary line between Phocis and Bœotia—being the key to both of these States.

Bœotia is for the most part surrounded by mountains; on the south it was separated from Attica by the Citheron; on the west it was bounded by the Helicon, and on the north by the Parnassus. The Lake of Copais is situated in one of the deepest valleys of Bœotia, into which the river Cephissus discharges itself. Next to Thessaly, Bœotia was the most fertile part of Greece. Its air, however, was foggy and thick, which made the people dull and doltish; still they were fierce, gluttonous and ferocious.

Bœotia formed a confederacy of several cities, the principal one in ancient days having been Orchomenus, and afterwards Thebes.

The castle of Thebes was erected by Cadmus, a Phœnician; while its walls were built by Amphion. It was destroyed by Alexander the Great; subsequent to which it was rebuilt; its present name is Thiva. It was the birth-place of Pindar the poet, and of the two great generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas—the latter having been one of the most virtuous men history makes mention of—names which have given inextinguishable glory to Thebes.

We may also observe—in Bœotia—Platæa, on the declivity of the mountain Citheron, was, from envy and hatred of Thebes, always the ally of Athens, which it assisted at the battle of Marathon. It was at Platæa that, ten years afterwards, the memorable battle was fought between the

Persians and the Greeks, when the Grecian army was more numerous than it had ever been. The Thebans, however, at last destroyed Plataea. Thesbia is situated on the declivity of Mount Helicon; its citizens participated with the Spartans in the honorable defence of Thermopylae. Leuctra is famous for the victory of the Thebans, under Epaminondas, over the Lacedaemonians, in the year 371 B. C. Chæronea is renowned for the two battles fought in its vicinity; in the one the Macedonians conquered the Athenians and Thebans, who fought for the independence of Greece, 338 years B. C.; in the other, the famous Roman Dictator, Sylla, defeated Mithridates. Lebadia, (now Livadia,) was the seat of the Trophonic oracle, which continued long after the others had ceased to exist. Orchomenus, situated near the sea of Copais, was in Homer's days the capital of the mighty state of Minyæ; its wealth was compared, (though probably very much exaggerated by the poet,) to that of Egyptian Thebes. Still, it is evidence to our mind that Lebadia must have carried on an extensive trade, otherwise it could scarcely have attained the reputation of great wealth. Aulis was the harbor in which the Grecian fleet was detained by contrary winds, when destined for the Trojan war; here also was Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, doomed, by the artifices of the priest Calchas, to be sacrificed to Diana. How baleful has corrupt priestcraft ever been to the children of men!

Let us now turn our attention to Attica, with its fragrant air and transparent sky. Rich in nothing but honey and olives, nature has blessed it with the most delicious climate, fit for the favored place of the muses. Why was not the perishable part of the immortal Byron deposited in the soil and under the starry canopy of Attica, as it was to have been anticipated that the hypocrisy of his enemies would refuse it a meaner resting-place in Westminster Abbey!

Attica is bounded on the north by Bœotia, and extends south-east into the sea in the form of a wedge, the outermost point of which forms the promontory of Surinum. Being mountainous, it is cultivated but little. Mount Laurium, in Attica, contained the only silver mines in Greece. But it was not silver nor gold, but wealth of a nobler kind, that gave the capital of Attica an immortal name. To what well educated person is the name of Athens unfamiliar? Does it not fill every lover of intellectual enjoyment with veneration and wonder? Ought it not to be remembered with gratitude by every friend of freedom and humanity? Did ever a city in the world so recommend itself to the admiration of all mankind?

Athens did not, like Rome and Egypt, awaken the awe and curiosity of foreign lands, excite the admiration of strangers, and bequeath a famed name to posterity by a display of spoils taken from a hundred nations, nor by stupendous structures raised at the expense of hundreds of thousands of human lives. No! Far nobler the means, and more lasting and glorious were the works by which Athens struck its visitors with surprise;

made itself spoken of with the highest praise in the most distant lands; awed the conquering Alexander; elicited from victorious Rome an acknowledgment of superiority, and acquired a glory far more bright than that of any other city that ever existed.

This honor and pre-eminence was gained by its liberal institutions; by its public entertainments, so highly worthy of an intelligent people; by the polished and gentle manners of its citizens; by their ardent patriotism; by their nice perception of the grand and beautiful; by their general relish of intellectual pleasures; by the most brilliant series of distinguished men that ever dazzled the world; by the *Atelier* of Phidias; by the Lyceum of Aristotle; and by the Academy of Plato.

Athens—the parent not only of Grecian but also of European civilization—was situated on the border of a plain, which was watered by two rivulets called Ilissus and Cephissus, which, during the summer, oftentimes became dry. The most elevated part of the city was called the Acropolis, on which the Parthenon—the temple of Minerva—stood; the goddess of wisdom having very properly been made the tutelary deity of that city, which was the birth-place of Socrates. The Parthenon was erected by the great Pericles through the famed architects, Ictinus and Callicrates. It received its name from having been dedicated to Minerva Parthenos (the maid.) It is said to have cost ten thousand Attic talents, or about three millions three hundred and sixty thousand American dollars. In this temple stood the statue of Minerva, thirty-nine French feet high, wrought by Phidias in ivory and gold. The ascent to the Acropolis, which was also a fortress, led through the magnificent colonnade called Propylæae, which Pericles caused to be erected either by Phidias or by Mnesicles. Were we to enumerate all the works of art which were to be found in Athens, it would detain us too long, but the trouble of acquiring such knowledge is richly rewarded. I cannot, however, neglect to mention the gigantic temple of Jupiter, called Olympium, with the majestic statue of this divinity, by Phidias; nor yet overlook the great theatre—the largest in the world, save those of Rome—which would contain 30,000 spectators.

What perceptibility of perfection must the Athenian people have had, who could appreciate such master-pieces as those of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides! Poets and musicians contended for pre-eminence in a place called the Odeum; while Stoa Poikile was a gallery containing the most beautiful paintings.

About four miles from Athens was the harbor of Piræus, which was connected with the former by a double wall, erected under the advice of Themistocles.

Eleusis is situated on a plain, and famous for the mysteries which were celebrated in honor of Ceres—the divinity which, according to the Greek mythology, had taught man the art of agriculture.

Megara was the principal city of an independent territory, which for-

merly belonged to Athens, and was situated on the most northern part of the isthmus. It was a very important commercial city previous to the maritime power of Athens, and distant from that city about twenty-four miles. Euclid, the great mathematician, was born here, during whose time the Athenians prohibited the Magarensis from entering their territory under the penalty of death. However, in defiance of this, Euclid, attired as a woman, visited Socrates in the night, and returned before the break of day.

Marathon was an insignificant place in itself, but renowned for the victory of the Athenians, under the command of Miltiades, over the army that Darius Hystaspes sent to subjugate Greece, 490 years B. C.

In the narrow strait between the main land and the little Isle of Salamis, the Greeks won, by a clever stratagem of Themistocles, a great naval victory over the Persians, 478 years B. C.

Corinth is situated upon that little isthmus which you pass on entering Peloponnesus from Hellas, lying between two seas, and having two harbors. Its castle, the Acropolis, was not only the strongest fortress in Greece, but was also the key to Peloponnesus. In the middle of this isthmus the Isthmian games were celebrated.

At the commencement of the Persian war, Corinth carried on an extensive trade; its vessels visiting almost every known sea. It was the richest city in Greece; and it is said that its citizens were much addicted to sensual pleasures. But it was not only rich in gold, but it was also very rich in works of art, and was one of the most beautiful cities in Greece. Subsequent to the victory of the Roman general Quintus Metellus, over the Achæans under the command of Diaeus, another Roman, Lucius Mummius, laid siege to Corinth, took and destroyed it, 145 years B. C.

The north-eastern part of Peloponnesus, between the Argolian and Saronian Bays, is a mountainous peninsula, called Argolis. The only large plain upon it is that where Argos and Mycenæ stood. Of all the Grecian states, Argolis was the first that began to emerge from barbarism. It was hither that the Egyptian Danaus, and Phrygian Pelops emigrated; the grandson of the latter being the famous Agamemnon, who was commander-in-chief during the Trojan war. He, together with his brother Menelaus, ruled over the Achæan tribes, who, later, were chased out of their country by the Dorians, headed by the descendants of Hercules.

Argos was the oldest city of Argolis, and said to be founded by Inachus. It was the residence of Diomedes at the outbreak of the Trojan war. It is now called Achos.

Naupalia, (now Napoli di Romania,) was the harbor of Argos, and is now an important fortress.

Mycenæ was once the residence of Agamemnon, and destroyed by the citizens of Argos shortly after the Persian war.

Tiryns was said to have been the birth-place of Hercules. Its walls are yet in part to be seen; and were built—according to tradition—by the Cyclops from Lycia, in Asia Minor.

Trazene was famed in ancient fables as having been the place of descent to the subterranean abodes. Here Pluto is said to have descended with his spouse, and here Hercules dragged forth Cerberus.

Nemea was known by its temple, and the games there celebrated.

The south-western coast of the Bay of Corinth, (now Lepanto,) was called Achaia; it was separated on the south from Arcadia, by a high mountain chain. It was well cultivated and populous, but was considered poor, for it had no commerce. Achaia received its name from the Achæans, who settled there after they had been driven from their ancient homes by the Dorians. Here there were as many states as towns, which became, after the time of Alexander the Great, by a confederacy among themselves, the most powerful state in Greece.

Helike was the city where the delegates assembled from the respective towns of Achaia.

Sicyon was once an independent city, but afterwards became a part of the Achæan confederacy. It was one of the most ancient cities in Greece, and its inhabitants the first Grecian manufacturers. It is said, but, in my opinion, with very little foundation in truth, by some to have been the cradle of painting and sculpture.

The coast of the Ionian Sea, from the rivulet Neda to the promontory Araxus, at the inlet of the Corinthian Bay, was called Elis, which on the east was separated from Arcadia by the mountain ridge of Pholœ. It was divided into three parts, of which Triphylia, the most southern, was hilly, and at the coast, sandy; Pisatis was the middle part, and formed both banks of the river Alpheus; it is one of the most beautiful valleys imaginable; Elis proper was the northern part, in which is the valley Korile Elis (the hollow Elis.) Elis was the best cultivated state in the Peloponnesian peninsula, and was sacred to Jupiter Olympicus. Its inhabitants never carried on war, nor did a foreign army ever dare to tread on its soil, before they had laid away their arms. It must be confessed that superstition was very beneficial to the small tribe that inhabited this state. The deceptions of the Grecian priesthood—blameable as they were—had the praiseworthy tendency, however, generally speaking, to prevent bloodshed, promote peace, and soften the manners of the people.

The Olympian groves were situated near the river Alpheus, in the vicinity of Pisa, the capital of a little state, the traces of which were soon lost. These groves were adorned with several temples, altars, statues, etc. The most remarkable, and, at the same time, the most venerated of these temples, was that dedicated to the worship of Jupiter, together with the statue of that divinity, by the master-hand of Phidias. It was here that every fourth year (from 775 years B. C.) games were celebrated, in which

every kind of mental and bodily exercise was publicly exhibited. As the conquerors were greatly honored, and supported during life by their native city, these games excited the ambition of the young Greeks, and stimulated them to every manly and honorable exercise. Strength, agility, and genius were here displayed, with the hope of receiving the applause of the assembled Greeks, and of acquiring fame. These games were otherwise very useful, as they were a point of union upon which the feelings of common nationality were roused among the several small tribes of Greece.

The capital of this state also bore the name of Elis, in which was a gymnasium, where those who intended to vie in the games could properly prepare and exercise themselves.

Arcadia, so celebrated by the poets, was situated almost in the centre of the Peloponnesian peninsula, and bounded, on almost every side, by mountains, among which Cyllene is the highest. The country itself is very hilly, and in some parts the snow remains until summer time. Being in general unfit for agriculture, and yet possessing fine pasture grounds, Arcadia was the home of those herdsmen, who, separated from the rest of the world, were praised for their innocence and simplicity of manners. Children of nature, without the artificial wants of civilized man, they had not to contend against unsatisfied desires, and therefore gained the reputation of being virtuous, without having sustained any struggle against temptation. Not meddling themselves with the other Greeks, they, however, sometimes sold their blood for money, in the prosecution of the wars of others.

We must here also observe Mantinea, which was one of the most ancient of the Arcadian towns. In the Peloponnesian war it was subjected to the Lacedemonians, who, however, were soon afterwards defeated by the Bœotians, (362 years B. C.,) under the command of the able and noble-minded Epaminondas, who met with his death at the moment of this glorious victory.

Tegea participated in the battle of Platea, with three thousand men. First Sparta, and afterwards Mantinea.

Megalopolis was founded by the advice of Epaminondas. It is said that the inhabitants of forty towns in the neighborhood were obliged to leave their household gods, in order to found new homes here; but this city was soon afterwards destroyed by the Lacedemonians.

The most southern part of the Peloponnesian peninsula was called Messenia; it was separated from Laconica by a branch of Mount Taygetus; from Arcadia, by mount Lycalus; from Elis, by the rivulet Neda, and was otherwise bounded by the sea. Generally speaking, it is adorned with verdant hills of plentiful grass, where fed numerous herds of cattle and of good horses—the only wealth of the country. The valley through which the Parnissus flows, is very fertile. In more ancient days Messenia constituted an independent State, but after a very long struggle

it was at last subjected by the Lacedemonians, who made the inhabitants their slaves. But retribution follows hard upon the commission of great crimes. At Leuctra, fortune turned her back upon the proud sons of Lacedemon, and the victorious Epaminondas presented to the Messenians their liberty and independence.

Ithome was situated on a hill near the banks of Parnissus, being at once both a town and fortress, which, next to that of Corinth, was the strongest in Greece. When the Messenians regained their freedom, they erected upon the same hill, the city of Messene. Here also the venerable Nestor's little kingdom of Pylos, was once to be found. The strong fortress of Navarino lies upon the coast, with a capacious harbor, which has gained some celebrity in our day.

Laconica was the most southern, and the largest of the Peloponnesian states. It was in the form of a horse-shoe; the eastern half circle of which ended with the promontory Malea, and the western half with Cape Ténarum; between both of which lies the Laconian Bay, into which the river Eurotas discharges itself. The valley on both sides of this stream was very fruitful, but all other parts of this country is interwoven by several mountain chains, of which that of Taygetus is the largest, and bears the wildest aspect. Its present brave inhabitants are, in all probability, descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, and known to us under the name of Mainotes, who preserved their independence in the midst of the degradation of their countrymen, and in our own days greatly contributed to render the cause of Greece victorious.

Lacedemon, or, as it was often called, Sparta, the capital of this state, was a large city, situated on the banks of the Eurotas, at the foot of Mount Taygetus, where the hills lose themselves in the sea. Next to Athens, this is the most famous city in Greece; yet its citizens were uncultivated, and the arts and sciences were there held almost in contempt. Mankind is not indebted to it for any benefit whatever. Its policy was selfish, narrow, and sometimes even cruel. The inhabitants had no regard for the sacred rights of man, for almost all his natural feelings were destroyed in order to make a Spartan of him. Even the very blush of modesty was driven from the maiden's cheek, as she had to divest herself of clothing, and to practise manly exercises, in order to strengthen her body, so that, as a mother, she might give birth to powerful children. Falsehood and theft were overlooked when performed with that skill which defied detection, as they were looked upon as proofs of sagacity and talent for stratagem—qualities highly necessary to a warrior. This is not to be wondered at, as the laws and education of the Spartans had no other tendency than to make them good soldiers. Their highest aim was not how to live most worthily, but rather how most worthily to die. The freedom of the individual was sacrificed to the independence of the state. Sparta was free, but its citizens were slaves; their greatest virtue consisted

in contempt of death; but indeed it would have been more meritorious had they made life more precious. The Spartans were praised for their moderate habits; but it would have been more justly bestowed upon them had it originated in their individual free-will, rather than in the law which imposed upon them this virtue. That the Spartans were brave, no one can deny; but their military achievements were the consequence of cruel discipline. It can be safely asserted, that the independence of Sparta was bought with everything that is dear to man, and that genuine liberty never had its home in that country. Indeed, how was it possible for such to have been the case in a State where the supreme authority was lodged in the hands of a set of aristocrats, and where the laws had no regard for human rights and human feelings?

The glory of Sparta set—almost without deserving of being bewailed—at Leuctra and Mantinea.

The Grecian race and language were not confined to the land of Greece, for there were, as we have elsewhere mentioned, flourishing Greek colonies upon the Asiatic coasts; and again, in Italy, Gaul, Libya, and even in the very wilderness of Scythia, the Greeks had made themselves homes. The adjacent islands were also peopled by Greeks; and it is to these islands that I will now direct your attention.

There are some ancient traditions, and particularly among the Samothracians, relative to the former existence of a land, under the name of Lectonia, and which would seem to have been situated upon the same position over which the *Ægean Sea* now rolls its waves. These traditions have more recently been confirmed by physical observations. It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that the numerous islands of that sea have been formed by some violent eruption of nature.* But we have no certainty whether it was an earthquake that broke the land of Lectonia into pieces, and submerged part of it with water, or whether it was inundated by the sea which formerly covered the Scythian plains, when it forced its way through the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and emptied itself into the Mediterranean Sea. It has been conjectured by some men of

* See "Observations sur la formation des Montagnes et les changements arrivé au globe, particulièrement à l'égard de l'empire Russe, par M. P. S. Pallas"—and his "Reise durch Siberia." Mr. Pallas entertained the opinion that the Euxine and Caspian Seas, together with Lake Aral and several others, are the remains of an extensive sea, which once covered a great part of Asia, north of them. From observations during his travels in Siberia, and during his long residence on the Tauric peninsula, he was induced to arrive at this opinion. The no less celebrated Klaproth—who travelled much in Asia, and who has written a great deal worthy of attention—fully coincides in this opinion. Count G. A. Choiseul Gouffier, after travelling through Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia, came to the conclusion that a great part of these countries bear evident traces of having once formed part of the same sea. A tradition of the Greeks mentions the opening of the Bosphorus as the cause which drained this vast sea from the midst of Europe and Asia. Strabo, Diodorus and the elder Pliny, have handed down to us the ancient memorials that existed of this catastrophe.

authority that the latter then first made an opening, at the pillars of Hercules, and joined the Atlantic Ocean.

Among the Grecian Islands that which first deserves our notice, is *Crete*; (now *Candia*;) it is interwoven with mountains, among which the majestic *Ida* is near the centre of the island. If we were to believe the ancient traditions of the Cretans, we should look upon this country as the parent of civilization, and the home of Jupiter,—whom the Greeks afterwards worshipped as the most powerful of their gods—and that *Minos* was his son. Of this, however, we are certain, that *Minos* was the law-giver of the Cretans, and that he exercised a preponderating sway over the surrounding island, a great influence upon several states, and, in a measure, extirpated the then existing pirates.

Candia, the present capital of this island, was, during the middle ages, a very important city. During the times of the Romans, *Gortyna* was the principal city.

Delos is the smallest, and yet the most famous island of the *Cyclades*—so called because they form a circle, (*cyclus*), round *Delos*. This island was formerly looked upon as the centre of the earth, and sacred as the pretended birth-place of *Apollo*. No children were allowed to be born upon this island, nor any dead bodies to be interred. Here were treasured up all the contributions which the Athenians received from their allies for the support of the fleet, as a means of preserving the liberty of Greece. After the ruin of *Corinth*, and the decay of *Athens*, it became a very important place of trade. It is now uninhabited.

Paros is renowned for its white marble. *Naxos* is the largest and most fertile of the *Cyclades*, abounding in corn, wine, and figs. *Ceos* (now *Zea*) is situated outside the promontory of *Sunium*; it is very fertile.

Eubæa (now *Egribos*, and in the Italian language called *Negroponte*) is not only the largest of the groupe called *Sporades*, but also of all the islands in the *Ægean Sea*. It is separated from the main land of Greece by the straits of *Euripus*, which at one point is so narrow that a bridge is thrown over it. *Calchis* (now *Egribos*) was the principal city anterior to the Trojan war.

Among the *Sporades* we may also observe *Lemnos*, (now *Stalimene*), which lies about midway between Asia and Europe; in ancient times it was sacred to *Vulcan*. *Samo*thrace was remarkable as the seat of the ancient *Pelasgian* mysteries.

The so-called *Ionian* islands consist of seven larger and several lesser islands. The former are: *Cythere*, (now *Cerigo*), formerly sacred to *Venus*. It yields excellent wine, raisins, and olives. *Zacynthus* (now *Zante*) is the most charming. *Cephalenia* (now *Cefalonia*) is the largest of the groupe. *Ithaca* (now *Teaki*) is very rocky, and famed as the centre of *Ulyssus*' little kingdom. *Leucadia* (*St. Maura*) was formerly a peninsula, and part of *Acarnania*; but during the *Peloponnesian* war, the

Corinthians cut through the narrow isthmus that connected it with the main land. Here is to be found the rock of Leucate, from which it is said the celebrated Sappho, in amorous despair, threw herself headlong into the sea. Alas! that heart, the breath of which were flames of love, could not bear the agony of hopeless love! Corcyra (now Corfu) was only separated from the promontory of Buthrotum by a narrow strait, and was distant about thirty miles from that of Acrocerania. In the Persian war, the fleet furnished by this island, on the Grecian side, was next in power to that of Athens. The city of Corfu is now the capital of all the Ionian islands.

LETTER IX.

CONCLUSION OF THIS PART OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

FROM the theatre of that brilliant drama which the Greeks presented to admiring nations, we now turn our eyes to that of the majestic spectacle which the Romans displayed before a fear-stricken world.

The first objects which meet our view are the silvery summits of those stupendous mountains known as the Alps, which the Creator himself has posted as sentinels to guard favored Italy from the frosty blasts of the north. They extend, in a curved line—the length of which is about seven hundred and fifty miles—from the Adriatic Gulf to the Ligurian Bay, elevating their highest peaks far above the clouds, and above all the other European mountains. They may be said to continue still farther, on the one side by Mount Hæmus and the Carpathian chain, and on the other side by the Cevennes and Pyrenees. In addition to the general name of Alps, they receive, at different points, additional names; for instance, the Julian Alps, (*Alpes Juliæ*;) above the Istrian peninsula; the Cærnthian Alps, (*Alpes Carnicæ*;) running through Tyrol nearly to the sources of the river Adige; further westward, to St. Gothard, they are called the Rhætian Alps, (*Alpes Rheticæ*;) and thence to Mount Blanc they receive the name of Peninian, (*Peninæ*;) the eastern part of which, between Mount Rosa and St. Gothard, is, however, sometimes called the Lepontian Alps.

From Mount Blanc the Alps branch off southward to the Mediterranean Sea, by degrees decreasing in height. At the first they are called the Grajish, (*Grajæ*;) then the Cothish (*Cothicæ*) Alps; and after running to the vicinity of the sources of the Po, they take an easterly course and receive the name of the Maritime Alps (*Alpes Maritimæ*.) These again

change their names, between Nizza and Genoa, to that of the Apennines, (Montes Apenneni,) which they retain through the Italian peninsula, and which may well be said to have been formed on this mountain chain. The Apennines at first run eastward—enclosing between themselves and the Rhetian, Cærnbian and Julian Alps, one of the largest, most fertile, and most beautiful valleys in Europe—and then, before they arrive at the Adriatic Sea, they take a southerly course, and divide Italy into two parts, until, at last, they branch off into two arms, which extend on both sides of the Tarentian Bay.

Bounded on the north by this natural wall, Italy is, on all other parts surrounded by water. On the east by the Adriatic Sea, (called *Mare Superum*, by the Romans;) on the south by the Ionian Sea, and the Straits of Sicily, (*Mare Seculum* or *Ausonium*;) on the west by the Sea of Tuscany, (*Mare Tyrrhenum*, or *Tuscum*, or *Inferum*,) of which the part north of Corsica is called the Bay of Liguria, (*Sinus Ligusticus*.)

Italy at one time bore different names, as *Ausonia*, *Saturnia*, etc.; but it is very probable, that it then had no general appellation, and that the names given to different parts were afterwards looked upon as extending over the whole country, which is now known under the name of Italy.

We have no certainty touching the point from whence its inhabitants first came; but there is much reason to believe that it was inhabited at least as early as about 1200 years B. C. But considering the position of Greece, and the short distance to Asia, I have no doubt that man found his way into this country at a much earlier period. Indeed the Roman mythology seems to confirm this opinion, as it evidently alludes to persons and things of great antiquity.

Before the Romans made themselves masters of Italy, that country was divided into many small states, and such again became the case after they lost possession of it. Its southern section was often called *Græcia Magna*, (Great Greece) in consequence of the many Grecian colonies that had been planted there. This part of Italy now belongs to the kingdom of Naples and in the time of the Romans was divided into the following sections:

West of the Apennines lies *Bruttium*, (now Calabria,) which is the most southern part of Italy. It is a mountainous country. *Consentia*, (now *Consenza*,) situated on the banks of the river *Crathis*, (now *Crati*,) was the principal city of the Bruttians, and once taken by Hannibal. *Rhegium* (now *Reggio*) lies near the straits of Sicily, and was founded by the citizens of *Calchis* in *Eubœa*, 742 years B. C. Here also were some other Grecian colonies, among which was *Crotona*, an Achæan colony, founded 710 years B. C. It was here that the famous *Pythagoras* lived, who brought about a beneficial change in the manners and principles of the inhabitants. After the destruction of *Sybaris*, it was for a long time

the largest and richest city in Great Greece; but it also experienced the instability of fortune, being humbled by the little town of Locri, and by the renowned Pyrrhus.

Lucania (now the middle part of the kingdom of Naples) extended its northern frontier, previous to the time of Augustus, to the promontory of Surrentum; but after that time it went no farther than to the rivulet Silarus, (now Sele,) and southward to the rivulet Laus. Its pasture was excellent, and the cattle remarkable for their size. The town of Salernum belonged to Lucania before the time of Augustus, but afterwards to Campania. During the middle ages there was a very celebrated college here, devoted more particularly to the education of physicians. It is now called Salerno. Elea (Latin Velia) was founded by the Phœnicians, when they were driven out of Asia by Cyrus. This was the birth-place of the philosophers Zeno and Parmenides, who lived about 500 years B. C., and were the founders of the Eleatic school of philosophers. Sybaris lay near the Taurentian bay; it was founded by the Achæans 720 years B. C., and destroyed by the Crotonians in the year 510 B. C. It was here that the Athenians founded another city called Thurium, where the venerable Herodotus spent the latter part of his life.

Campania (very nearly corresponding to the country now called Terra di Lavarò) is situated between the rivulet Liris (now Garigliano) in the north, and the Silarus (now Sele) in the south. It is one of the most fertile regions on the face of the earth.

Here we may feast our eyes upon the enchanting view that voluptuous *Naples* presents to us. Situated upon the declivity of a verdant hill, surrounded by gardens of fragrant flowers, fronting the sea with its island gems and, but six miles distant from it filling the back ground, the burning mountain of Vesuvius,—what can be more picturesque and beautiful than the situation of this capital? Add to this an almost incredibly transparent sky, and mild, soft climate, and no one will deny that this place is the favored spot of nature. But it received not the power to wield a sceptre over the world; for its breath was too effeminate to support a warlike nation. Nor have the milder virtues here always flourished. Alas! this scene of so much beauty has often left no impression upon the heart of ferocious man.

Naples, (Napoli,) formerly Neapolis, which poets have lauded to the sky under the name of Parthenope, is a colony of Cumæ, with about 350,000 inhabitants. It has a very lively trade, but principally carried on by foreigners.

Two small towns, called Herculaneum and Pompeii, once lay at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, both of which were destroyed and burned under the burning lava, emitted by an eruption of Vesuvius, in the year 79 A. C. On this occasion the celebrated naturalist, Plinius the elder, lost his life; owing, it is said, to an inordinate curiosity and desire to have a closer view

of that majestic but terrible phenomenon. When the ruins were discovered in the year 1713 A. C., they were covered with strata of lava and earth, to the depth of thirty feet. Somewhat above the place where *Herculaneum* stood, there are now two small towns:—*Resina*—where the famous wine of *Lacrimæ Christi* is made—and *Portici*, which has a royally magnificent castle and museum, in which are preserved most of the antiquities discovered among the ruins of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii*.

The little town of *Sorrento* is situated on a peninsula which bounds the southern side of the bay of Naples. This was the birth-place of *Tasso*. The Romans had many villas or country seats, in the vicinity of the famous baths of *Baïæ*, situated on the promontory *Misene*. *Cuma* was situated near *Lake Avernus*, which is now a marsh, emitting a pestiferous odor. This was the oldest Grecian colony in Italy, and contained an oracle of *Apollo*. It was the birth-place of *Sibylla*.

Capua was the ancient capital of *Campania*, an Etruscan colony, where we are told the army of *Hannibal* partly lost its martial spirit. Modern *Capua* is situated in the same neighborhood, on the banks of the river *Vulturno*. *Nola* was situated at the eastern foot of *Mount Vesuvius*, and was founded by the *Ausonians*. It was here that the first bells are said to have been made. Modern *Nola* stands forty feet above the position formerly occupied by ancient *Nola*. We cannot pass over in silence the mountain island of *Capri*, (formerly *Capræ*,) which *Augustus* and *Tiberius* changed to an earthly *Elysium*, and where the latter passed the last seven years of his life in suspicious fear and sordid pleasures.

East of that part of the *Apennine* mountains, lying in Great Greece, were the following provinces:—*Picenum*, from the river *Æsis*—which flows north of the town *Ancona*—to the rivulet *Aternus*, (now *Pescara*.) The northern part is now under the authority of the Papal chair, while its southern now constitutes a part of the present *Abruzzo*, belonging to the kingdom of Naples. *Samnium* extends from *Aternus* to *Frento*, (now *Fortore*.) Its inhabitants, the *Samnites*, were among the most terrible enemies of *Rome*. This province is now called *Abruzzo*, and is the most northern part of the kingdom of Naples. It is separated from the possessions of the Papal chair by the river *Tronto*, (formerly *Treventus*.) Here is the highest peak of the *Apennine* mountains, called *Gran Sasso*, and also the largest lake in the kingdom, that of *Celano*, (formerly *Lacus Turinus*.) The town of *Sulmo*, (now *Sulmona*,) is here situated; it was the birth-place of *Ovidius*.

Apulia runs from the river *Frento* to the point of *Japygium*, (now *Cape Luca*;) which is the most south-easterly part of Italy. This land assumes the shape of a boot, the heel of which is *Terra d'Otranto*, (formerly *Calabria*,) though this name is now given to the south-western part, or toe of the boot; *Apulia* is now called *Puglia*. *Cannæ* lies on a plain near the river *Aufidas*, (now *Ofanto*,) where *Hannibal* won his most memorable

victory over the Romans. Venusia was the birth-place of Horace. Brundisium, or Brundisium, was an ancient city, the founders of which are unknown. It was from this place that the Romans, when going to Greece, took passage for Dyrrachium in Epyrus. 'Tarentum, situated at the bay bearing the same name, carried on a very extensive commerce; but after awakening the jealousies of the Carthaginians, and the hatred of the Romans, it was compelled to defend itself against both, until at last, it fell under the dominion of the latter. This part of Italy, in some seasons of the year, is very hot, and is frequently visited by the Sirocco.

The western coast of *Middle Italy*, was inhabited in most ancient times by the Umbrians, but who were afterwards driven by the Etruscans to the other side of the Apennines; subsequent to which all the western coast, down to the river Tiber, received the name of Etruria. The Etruscans were also called Thusci and Tyrrheni, (by the Greeks.) It is very probable that they were descendants from the Pelasgi. It was from them that the Romans borrowed their religion and received the first germs of civilization—previous to their knowledge of the Greeks. The Etruscans were a commercial people, and seem to have had considerable taste for erecting stupendous specimens of architecture—as many remains of the walls still testify. The Etruscan vases found in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, prove that their manufacturers were not deficient in a sense of the beautiful. The coast south of the Tyber bore the name of Latium; the country under that name was but insignificant in point of size until after the Romans conquered the Volsci, the Hernicians, and the Aquei—who lived south of Rome—when the southern boundary of Latium was extended to the river Liris, (now Garigliano.) Latium was originally bounded on the north-east by the Anio, (now Tevesone,) as the Sabians occupied the other side of that river; but the name of Latium soon afterwards extended over a portion of that territory. The country north-east of the Sabine, was inhabited by the above-mentioned Umbrians; their northern boundary being, at first, the mouth of the river Po, but after they had been driven back by the Gauls, they extended no further than the little rivulet called Rubicon; Æsis, (now Gesane,) being the utmost limit of their southern possessions.

The present states of Middle Italy are now the Papal States that comprise ancient Latium, Sabinum, Umbria, and the southern part of Etruria; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; the smaller Duchies of Lucca, Carrara, and Mazza, comprising the greater part of ancient Etruria.

Even in this part of Italy the heat of summer is very great. The orange, the olive, and many other fruits of southern climates grow here in abundance. The Apennine mountains which range through this part of Italy, are, however, generally covered with snow upon their highest peaks, from October to April; but their valleys and declivities ever breathe most delicious air.

Having arrived in the vicinity of the famous city of *Romulus*, let us pause, and reflect upon its wondrous destiny.

There, on the western sides of the Apennines, upon the banks of the Yellow Tyber, proudly lies the ancient mistress of conquered kings and fettered nations; still venerable in her antiquity. Even at the present day the eyes of all the civilized world look upon her with astonishment; for, seated upon the Papal chair is a glorious champion of the rights of man. Is she again to stand forth and display that admirable energy by which she formerly founded the majestic structure that none but herself could destroy? After having so long been the terrible instrument of despotism and deception, will she again carry the banner of freedom aloft? Noble old man! True disciple of Christ, who wieldest the sceptre of Rome in thy trembling hand; prosecute and persevere in thy glorious career; myriads of the human family will bless thy name, and the justice of God will reward thy efforts in the cause of wronged humanity!

The splendor of Rome is among the things that were; but those relics which the corroding tooth of time, and the hands of barbarians have left, fail not to impress us with a deep sense of its former grandeur. The ancient monuments—together with those of more modern times—and the inestimable collections of literary productions, compel us to acknowledge that there is no other city in the world—not even Paris itself—so worthy of being visited as Rome.

In tracing the origin and growth of Rome, we find the remarkable coincidence, that violence and wrong were the principal agents that alike brought it into existence, and raised it to the summit of earthly greatness. There can be very little doubt but that its founders were nothing less than robbers; and if the tradition be true, the infant city was baptized in the blood which a brother's murdering hand had caused to flow. Inauspicious omen! By violence, outrage, and the effusion of streams of blood, Rome accomplished its destiny. Its triumphant chariot rolled over the slaughtered bodies of millions of human beings. It was for centuries the scourge by which Providence chastised the corrupt nations of the earth, and civilized those that were barbarous; but when it too was given up to corruption, it became scourged and smitten in its turn. Still its victorious career was not at an end. Humbled as it was, its tenacity of power was not to be overcome. For, making the cause of the triumphant cross its own, the conquering nations were soon laid again at its feet. The gold which barbarians had scattered, was returned by repentant converts. The Bishops of Rome instilled more awe and fear into the minds of men, than ever the Cæsars had done. Despicable as these Roman prelates sometimes were, who can deny that they were used by Providence as instruments to advance the divine religion of Christ among idolatrous nations; of humbling the pride of arrogant princes; and of protecting the weak against the power of the strong? Rome again

gloried in her triumphs. But becoming insolent, and imposing upon mankind undue burthens, solely for its own sordid purposes, it received a severe rebuke. The chain by which it had for a thousand years held the greater part of the Christian world in subjection, without any power save that within itself, was now riven asunder. Reformation inflicted upon it the deepest wound; yet it was too wise not to prevent the recurrence of the blow. Yet a barrier was set upon its farther advance, and for three hundred years it remained in a lingering state. But however much depressed, it has never ceased to be the home of science, littérature, and the arts. The morning of a new day has dawned upon it; let us hope, therefore, that much good may be accomplished before the evening shall have set in:

The first buildings which constituted the city of Rome, were, in all probability, those of the humblest; but soon after the Gauls had burnt the greater part of it, those of nobler structure were erected, and the city gradually assumed a grander appearance. The houses were, however, generally of brick and wood, up to the reign of Augustus Cæsar, who boasted that he had found Rome of brick, and left it of marble. It was built upon seven, or, more correctly speaking, upon twelve hills. Its extent must have been immense in the height of its greatness; still, when Lucan informs us that it was capable of containing the whole human race, we must look upon it as the exaggeration of a poet, and as the vain boast of a Roman. Its circumference is now only about eighteen or twenty miles, and containing but 140,000 inhabitants; but there can be no doubt that it once had a population of a million, and perhaps more. Yet we are informed—with, however, but little probability of truth—that at one time it numbered four millions of persons. The streets were irregular and narrow, and the buildings very high. Hence Augustus introduced a law that none of the buildings in the principal streets should exceed seventy feet in height.

The most ancient specimens of architecture that are yet extant from the time of the kings, are the very remarkable Cloacæ, which were erected for purposes of cleanliness. Among those which remain from the time of the consuls, are the no less astonishing aqueducts. The only fountain within the walls of Rome, was that called Juturna. The celebrated Pantheon, (a temple consecrated to all the gods,) reared by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, was consecrated to the Virgin Mary, and all the Martyrs, by Pope Bonifacius IV., 607 years A. C., under the name of St. Maria ad Martyres; being, however, more generally known by the name of Rotunda, from its form. There are other relics of past days yet extant, which we may not pass over in silence: such as the ruins of the gigantic Coliseum, erected by the command of Titus—an amphitheatre capable of containing 80,000 spectators. In connection with these, and many other monuments of Rome's ancient splendor,

there are numerous works of modern art; such as the immense and majestic church of St. Peter, being five hundred and seventy-five feet in length; the church of St. John-di-Lateran, in which the Pope himself officiates as minister; and the grand residence of the Pope, called the Vatican, which contains nearly 11,000 apartments, saloons, &c. The Roman churches, and the palaces of the Roman grandees, are decorated with master-pieces of the arts. The numerous museums contain an immense number of statues, paintings, and manifold productions of value, and of unrivalled variety. It is here that men gather, who are emulous of distinction in the arts, in order to inform themselves of the true principles of taste and beauty—to fill their imaginations with the grandest and noblest works that man has produced, and to exercise their own talents and capacities.

According to the elder Cato and Varro, who differ but a trifle in their computation, Rome was founded about seven hundred and fifty years before the commencement of the Christian era. Modern historians have generally assumed it to be three years younger, or the year 753 B. C. as that of the foundation of Rome. It was built upon salubrious hills, near the river Tiber, which forms a communication with the sea, distant about eighteen miles, or in Roman measurement, one hundred and fifty stadia. It is said that Romulus erected his wall from the Colline hill, over the Viminal to the Esquiline, and constructed it of the earth thrown out of a ditch, by which he surrounded the little city, securing it with bulwarks of stone. The seven hills were soon afterwards included, and by degrees Rome attained its wonderful magnitude.

The first inhabitants of Rome were more numerous than might be imagined, having come from various nations. Indeed, at its very foundation they numbered three thousand freemen capable of carrying arms, three hundred of whom were horsemen. These were divided into three bodies or tribes, called legions, each of which was commanded by a Tribune. But Romulus lived to see this number increased to forty-six thousand foot soldiers, and one thousand horsemen. It is very evident that all the citizens capable of bearing arms were enlisted as soldiers; but only a small proportion—except under extraordinary circumstances—were sent out upon the war-like expeditions which Rome, from its foundation, frequently undertook.

Rome was the refuge for every outcast from the other Italian nations, and of strangers in general, who were either able-bodied men, or who had signalized themselves by skill or pre-eminence of any nature soever. Rome received them with open arms, and made them the instruments with which to carry out its ambitious views. We also find the same remarkable coincidence in the character of the Roman Catholic church, which has, in general, however, much nobler motives.

We will at present content ourselves with these reflections upon Rome,

but in its proper place we will enter in detail upon the manners of the Romans, of their religion, institutions, laws, and tactics.

Alba Longa was the largest of the thirteen villages which were scattered around the Latium mountain, and from whence Rome is said to have received a part of its primitive inhabitants; it was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, but afterwards rebuilt, and now known as Albano. Velitræ, one of the towns belonging to the Volsci, was situated upon the declivity of the Albanian mountain. It was the birth-place of Augustus, and now bears the name of Veletri. Veii lay to the north of Rome, in Etruria. It was at one time a terrible enemy to Rome, but was at last overcome by the renowned Camillus. Civita Vecchia is the only Mediterranean harbor belonging to the Papal states. Loreto is considered a holy place by the Roman Catholics; many persons making pilgrimages thither. It is situated east of the Apennine mountains. Here is to be seen the house of the holy virgins, (Casa Santa.) It is said that it was brought there by angels from Nazareth. Ancona is a free harbor upon the Adriatic Sea.

Ravenna lies in the valley of the Po; and after the time of Augustus was the usual station of the Roman fleet. In the fourth century it became the residence of the Emperors, who had erected splendid palaces within its precincts. It was here that Theodoric, the king of the Eastern Goths and the Exarchs resided, as delegates from the Emperor of Constantinople.

Bologna, (now Bonoreia,) was the principal Etruscan town, and celebrated for its splendor during the middle ages. It contained the oldest and most famous college in Europe, it having formerly been visited by as many as six thousand students annually.

Ferrara is situated upon one arm of the Po, and flourished under the house of Este, at whose court Ariosto and Tasso resided—and, alas, where the latter lost his reason.

All these cities now belong to the Papal See, within which territory the little republic of Marino also lies, having about 7000 inhabitants, and whose only wealth is their independence.

The present Grand Duchy of Tuscany—situated between the Apennines, the Papal states, and the sea—comprises the greater part of ancient Etruria. It lies on both sides of Arno, (formerly Arnus,) and Ambrone, (formerly Umbro.) The valley of Arno is one of the most fascinating in all Italy. Numerous herds of cattle are pastured upon the fertile hills of Tuscany; but the vicinity of the upper Ambrone, called Maremma, consists of sulphurous clay, and numerous salt springs, from which offensive flames arise. In the summer season it is deserted, but during the winter it is covered with herds of cattle. The coast is remarkably unhealthy.

Florence, the capital of Tuscany, was, during the middle age, the seat of learning and the fine arts. It is adorned with a great many fine statues

and fountains, with beautiful churches and palaces, in which are preserved precious libraries and collections of the arts, and among them the famous statue of Venus de Medici. Florence was a new proof of the eminent fitness of republican soil for the expansion and growth of genius and talents. It was the birth-place of Dante, Michael Angelo, Machiavelli, and Americus Vespucci. Petrarch and Mæcena were also born in Tuscany, in the little town of Arezzo, (formerly Arretium.) At the latter end of the middle age the fame of Florence eclipsed that of all other cities. To it are we indebted for the revival of literature; and in its proper place we shall not fail to pay it that tribute of attention and admiration which it so richly deserves.

There are other places in Tuscany, well deserving our notice; as Pisa, situated at the mouth of the Arno; which was formerly one of the most powerful cities of Etruria. It was for many years Genoa's most terrible rival; but was at last completely defeated by the latter, in the year 1284.

Leghorn, (formerly Portus Herculis,) is situated upon the sea-coast, and is one of the most important commercial cities in Italy.

The little island of Elba also belongs to Tuscany, and is famed as the recompense by which men—who ought to have known human nature better—thought to soothe the pangs of defeated ambition and betrayed genius.

Gallia Cisalpina was the name given by the Romans to the valley of the Po, in northern Italy, as it was inhabited by Gauls or Celts, who had emigrated there from Gaul. It was not looked upon as belonging to Italy until the reign of Augustus. The river Po divided it into two parts; that north of the river being called Gallia Transpadana, and that south of it, Gallia Cispadana. The Ligurii resided upon the western coast. The north-eastern part is an elevated table-land, but eastward of the place where the rivers Ticino and Trebbias form a junction with the river Po, the plains of Lombardy commence. The soil itself is not naturally very fertile, but it is watered by a great many rivers, which are artificially branched off into a thousand canals and ditches. The greatest of these rivers are Dora Baltea, (Duriæ,) Ticino, (Ticinæ,) Adda, (Adduæ,) Oglio, (Ollio,) and Mincio, (Minciæ); all of which originate in the Alps. Tarraro runs from the Apennines. We must also observe the river Adige, (formerly Athesis,) Brenta and Piave, (formerly Plavis.) At the foot of the Alps there are also many lakes, as Lake Maggiore—much extolled for the beauty of its shores,—the Lake of Como, and the Lake of Garda.

This part of Italy comprises the following states: Savoy, Piedmont, (Monferrat and part of the former Duchy of Milano, forming part of the latter,) Nizza and Genoa; all of which, together with the island of Sardinia, are comprised under the general name of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Lombardy and the Venetian territory now belong to Austria. The duchies of Modena and Parma, Ravenna, Bologna and Ferrara, the latter three of which belong to the Papal states, are also in this region.

Savoy is situated between the river Rhone, the sea of Geneva, and the Grajish Alps; the latter separating it from Piedmont, and ending in the north at Mount Blanc, and in the south at Mount Cenis. It is a romantic, mountainous country, bearing more resemblance to Switzerland than to the other parts of Italy. The almond and fig trees flourish here, but not the olive.

Piedmont, including Montferat and part of the Milanese territory, is divided into two almost equal parts by the river Po, which here has its source. The northern part of Piedmont is covered by the Penninian Alps, which runs towards Wallis. In this country the olive grows, and the apricots, peaches and plums are delicious. In no other European country is the cultivation of silk so much attended to.

Nizza is a mountainous country, east of the river Var, which is the boundary between it and France; and being sheltered on the north by the Maritime Alps, it possesses a very mild climate.

Genoa, the city of marble palaces, lies east of Nizza, and south of the Apennines. During many centuries it was looked upon as a very remarkable city, to which we shall not forget to pay due attention.

Turin (Turino, and formerly Augusta Taurinorum) lies upon the banks of the river Po. It is a very ancient city, and now the capital of the kingdom of Sardinia.

The city of Alexandria is situated in the Milan territory, at the river Tarraro. It has a strong fortress, and is in the vicinity of Marengo, where Napoleon gained a famous victory, June 14th, 1800.

Milan, the capital of Lombardy, is a very large city, situated on the banks of the river Olona, which is connected with the rivers Ticino and Adda, by means of canals. The Romans called it Mediolanum; and was, during the time of the emperors, a city of importance, and sometimes their residence. During the middle ages it was one of the most powerful cities of Italy. Twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants were engaged exclusively in the manufacture of woollen goods. The Milanese fought many glorious battles against the Germans, for the independence of Italy. It contains about 135,000 inhabitants, and has one of the largest cathedrals in the world.

Lombardy, during the middle ages, was the best cultivated country in Europe. The following are some of its remarkable places:

Pavia, (formerly Ticinum,) situated at the river Ticino, has a college, which was once much praised. Here Francis I., of France, was signally defeated by the Spaniards, in the year 1525, and was himself taken prisoner.

Lodi, situated on the banks of the river Adda, is a name which will never be forgotten, on account of the memorable bravery there displayed by the republican army of France, under Napoleon.

Mantua, upon the banks of the Mincio, is a strong fortress, in the

taking and defence of which streams of blood have flowed. It was one of Napoleon's memorable trophies, and the birth-place of Virgil.

The Venetian territory formerly extended from Hungary (formerly Pannonia) to the river Adda. It belonged to the celebrated city of Venice, which was built upon the Lagune islands, and once ruled over a part of Greece, and some of the most important islands of the Ægean Sea, and dared to wage war against half of Europe. In its most flourishing days, Venice was possessed of three thousand vessels, and carried on an immense trade.

The general aspect of Venice is not only singular, but very enchanting; as it is formed by seventy small islands, all intersected by canals, over which four hundred and fifty bridges are thrown. Its canals are its streets, over which the Venetians pass in gondolas. The greater number of the houses are built of marble, being full of richness and splendor. Its churches are very imposing in appearance, and decorated with precious paintings; that of St. Mark is considered one of the master-pieces of modern art. The market-place of St. Mark is adorned with the famous colossal horses of Byzantium.

Padua (formerly Patavium) was, previous to the existence of Rome, the principal city of the Venedi; who, it is said, carried on a very lucrative trade in yellow amber. It was the birth-place of the famous Roman historian, Livy. It lies on the banks of the river Bachiglione, which is connected with those of Brenta and Adige, by means of canals.

Verona is situated near the last-mentioned river, having the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre, which is one of the best preserved monuments extant, of ancient architecture. It was the birth-place of Cornelius Nepos, the excellent biographer, the elder Pliny, and Paulo Veronese, the painter. It was here that some of the European princes and statesmen met, in our own day, in order to consult upon the best mode of keeping the people of Europe in bondage, and to guard against revolutionary movements.

The duchy of Parma also comprises the duchies of Piacenza and Guastalla, and lies between the Apennine mountains and the river Po. It yields excellent wine, and a large amount of silk. The city of Parma is the capital, and lies upon a river bearing the same name, and has the largest opera-house in the world.

Modena is situated east of Parma. Its capital is also called Modena, the structure of which is very grand; the ducal palace is built of marble, and finished in much splendor. The small village of Correggio is situated in the territory of Modena, and must not be overlooked, as it was the birth-place of the great painter, Antonio Allegri—better known by the name of Correggio.

We will now devote our attention, for a few moments, to the most remarkable of those islands which belong to Italy; and among which the first to attract our notice is that of Sicily.

Sicily (Sicilia) is not only the largest Italian island, but also the largest island in the Mediterranean Sea. It is separated from Calabria by a strait, about three miles wide, which, in ancient times, was considered very dangerous, on account of the rock Scylla, and the current Charybdis, which, poets have told us, were not easily avoided. The sea north of Sicily was called by the ancients Tyrrhenian; that on the east the Ionian, and that on the south the Sicilian. The most ancient name of Sicily was Trinacria, on account of its form, which is triangular. Its soil is incredibly fertile, but now very badly tilled.

Here Mount Ætna rears its solitary head more than 10,000 feet above the Mediterranean Sea. It is one of the most terrible volcanoes in the world.

The first inhabitants of Sicily are considered to have been the Sicani; but about 1000 years B. C., the Siculi came from Latium, and settled around the base of Mount Ætna. It was not until about three hundred years later that the Greeks began to colonize the eastern coast, and drive away the Phenicians, who there had several mercantile establishments. It afterwards became the theatre of many memorable wars—particularly the first Punic war—between the Carthagenians and Romans; in which, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Hasdrubal, the former were worsted.

The following places here deserve mention at our hands:—

Syracuse was originally founded upon an island, where the famous fountain Arethusa was situated, which was looked upon as being connected, beneath the sea, with the river Alpheus, in Elis. It was a Dorian colony, settled, probably, 709 years B. C.; grew by degrees into a powerful city; and numbered, during its highest prosperity, about half a million inhabitants; and extended over a circumference of twenty-seven miles. When Xerxes menaced Greece with destruction, King Gelo, of Syracuse, sent two hundred triremes, (galleys with three tiers of oars on each side,) containing twenty-eight thousand men, to the assistance of the Greeks. Athens excepted, there was no Grecian city that had so powerful a fleet as Syracuse. It victoriously defended itself against Carthage, and in the year 415 B. C., it annihilated the army sent by the Athenians to conquer it. It was taken, however, 212 years B. C., by the celebrated Roman, Marcellus, after an heroic and skilful defence, in which the famous Archimedes displayed his inventive and mechanical genius. All the productions of art there found were carried to Rome. Thus ended the splendor of Syracuse, which now bears the name of Siragossa, and contains but about 14,000 inhabitants.

Zankle was founded by the Siculi; but afterwards received the name of Messene, from the Misenians who immigrated there. It is now called Messina.

Catania, situated at the south-east base of Mount Ætna, is a Chalcidean colony, founded 704 years B. C. In the year 1669 A. C. its ruins were

buried beneath the lava emitted from Mount *Ætna*. New Catania, next to Palermo, is the largest city in Sicily.

The city of Gela was founded by Rhodians, from the town of Lindus, in the year 664 B. C. For a long time it ruled almost the whole island, and carried on victorious wars against both Carthage and Syracuse. But fortune smiled not long upon it.

Agrigentum was founded by citizens of Gela, when that city was in its most flourishing state, in the year 556 B. C. It soon rose into importance and eclipsed its mother city; numbering at one time about 200,000 inhabitants, who carried on a very lucrative trade. The largest temple of ancient times was here erected, being three hundred and sixty feet high, and consecrated to Jupiter; but owing to a war with Carthage, it never received a roof. Agrigentum was taken by the Carthagenians, in the year 406 B. C. Its independence was regained by Dionysius the elder, who, however, not only made himself its ruler, but, according to the Greeks, was a tyrant. The Carthagenians again made themselves masters of it, and yielded it to the Romans, who took and plundered it in the year 261 B. C. It afterwards continued to be a city of some importance, and is now called Girgenti.

Enna was situated in the middle of the island, not far from Himera, (now Salso,) and was considered sacred to Ceres—who was said to bless the neighboring country with extraordinary rich harvests of wheat—and here to have her dwelling; and in the flowery meadows which surrounded it, Proserpine was sporting when Pluto seized and carried her away.

Panermus was a very ancient city, founded by the Phenicians, and afterwards held by the Carthagenians, until the capture of it by the Romans. It is now the capital of Sicily, and called Palermo. It is a very fine city, having a cathedral of remarkable architecture.

Sicily belongs to the kingdom of Naples.

One of the Liparian islands, called Stromboli, contains a volcano which always emits smoke.

The island of Sardinia is a part of the kingdom of Sardinia. Its climate is very unhealthy. The inhabitants of the interior country—leading to which there are no roads—are half savages. The Phenicians, in ancient times, occupied the coastland. But not even the Carthagenians nor Romans—who, each in their turn, held possession of it—ever penetrated the interior part of it. The whole island is badly cultivated, but yields good pasture.

Carulis is situated on the southern side of the island, upon the shores of a beautiful bay. It was a Carthagenian colony, and, during the possession of Sardinia by the Romans, was the principal city. It is now called Cagliari.

The island of Corsica is separated from that of Sardinia by the Strait of St. Boniface, which is about six miles wide. A mountain chain

runs through the whole island, which varies from eight to nine thousand feet in height. The natives are of Ligurian and Iberian origin. The Romans took this island from the Carthagenians during the second Punic war.

Ajaccio is the present capital of this island, and the birth-place of Napoleon. It is situated near a small bay upon the western coast.

Alalia, the oldest settlement in Corsica, was founded by the Phœcians, who fled there from fear of Cyrus; but who, after a residence of five years, were driven away from it by the combined armies of Tyrrhenia and Carthage. The Romans gave it the name of Aleria.

Corsica now belongs to France, who took it from the Genoese in the year 1768.

The Baliarian islands (formerly Baleares) now belong to Spain. The inhabitants were renowned for their use of the sling.

The following islands—of which we purpose saying a few words—are to be found in the Mediterranean Sea, near the Asiatic coast:

Cyprus (in Turkish Kibris) was once famous for the variety and excellence of its products. The vines here grew so large, that the steps of the chief stair-case in the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, are said to have been made of them. A high mountain chain runs through the middle of this island, the most elevated peak of which is called Olympus. The heat is very great here in the summer time, but during the winter it rains almost continually, and is under the influence of a cold north wind. This island yielded abundance of cedar and oak, which facilitated the construction of ships; the consequence of which was, that Cyprus was numbered, at an early day, among the maritime powers of the world. Many precious stones were here found. The natural beauty of this island was so remarkable, as to have given rise to the belief that it was the residence of Venus herself.

The Phenicians founded colonies here, and, after the siege of Troy, the Greeks also. The Egyptians afterwards took possession of it; while, still later, it fell into the hands of the Persians. The Cyprian Greeks, who had assumed the manners of Asia, defended it against Pausanias and Cimon; it fell, however, into the hands of Alexander, without any violence whatever; Ptolomeus took it only after a very severe struggle against Antonius; while Cato took possession of it through treachery. During the weakness of the Eastern empire, Richard, Cœur de Lion, of England, subjected all the native princes who had made themselves independent, and gave the island to Luzignan, who, having lost his kingdom of Jerusalem, thus received a recompense. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Venetians, in the year 1480; and in 1570 it was taken by the Turks, whose withering breath has changed the aspect of this once beautiful island into almost a wilderness. In ancient times it contained a million of inhabitants, who enjoyed a contented and

happy life, while but eighty thousand persons now drag out a wretched and miserable existence upon its soil.

Paphos (now Baffo) is an insignificant island, and was formerly sacred to Venus.

The island of Rhodes was once extolled for its excellent wine, its grapes, figs, and game cocks; which latter were pitted against each other, as have since been fashionable in England. The first inhabitants of this island were called Telchines—sons of the sea—who were expert workmen in brass, and are said to have been the first to cast images of the gods in metal—and who afterwards became famous exorcists. One of their daughters, fleeing from the Deluge, became the mistress of the Sun—to which divinity this island was sacred—and the mother of the Heliades, whose descendants instructed the Egyptians themselves in the science of astronomy and the building of vessels. The eldest of the Heliades had three sons, Lindus, Jalyssus, and Kamino, who founded three cities, which were named after them, and which flourished before the time of Homer, and belonged to the Dorian confederacy of Asia Minor. The Phenician Cadmus erected a temple in Jalyssus, in honor of Neptune; and a prince from Creta built another upon Mount Atabyrius, dedicated to Jupiter.

The traditions of these three brothers naturally lead our thoughts to the three sons of Noah, and also to the remarkable coincidence of three sons being mentioned in the traditions of several ancient nations, as having been the descendants of him from whom these respective nations derived their origin. Are we to believe that this occurred solely by chance, or that all these traditions allude to the very same persons, but under different names?

The Rhodians were excellent sailors, and invented the fast sailing vessels, called Celoces; they were the first to introduce a *maritime law*, which was adopted by the Romans during the reign of the Emperor Claudius. They founded colonies in Iberia and in Sicily. Their constitution was no mean production of wisdom; while, by policy and fortitude, they were enabled to retain their independence after the time of Alexander, until they were subdued by the irresistible arms of Rome. Rhodes still produces the best ships that are built in the Turkish Empire.

The present city of Rhodes is of more recent origin. At the entrance to the harbor stood the colossal statue of the sun—between the legs of which every vessel passed. This was looked upon as one of the greatest wonders of human skill. It was destroyed by an earthquake. This city was the seat of the knights of St. John, from 1309 to 1522, when it fell into the hands of the conquering Turks.

Samus, in the time of Herodotus, was one of the most important of the Grecian cities; being situated upon an island bearing the same name. It was the birth-place of the philosopher Pythagoras, and is now called Kora.

Lesbos (new Greek, Metileno) was the native land of Sappho and Alcæus. In ancient times there were six cities belonging to the Ætolian confederacy.

Cos, (now Istarkoi,) with a capital of the same name, belonged to the Dorian confederacy; and was the birth-place of Hippocrates and Apelles.

Patmos is a rocky island, upon which John the Evangelist, during his banishment, is said to have written the Apocalypse: the stumbling-block even to men of genius who have attempted to interpret the inspired poem of that wounded heart, which longed for repose on the bosom of divine love.

Thus far we have taken a cursory survey of the countries and places which principally occur in ancient history; but there are, nevertheless, many other countries which were then the theatre of active life, and also known to history; but as they did not become of any remarkable note until after that period where we have assumed ancient history to end, we will defer a more minute description of them until we have brought this portion of our work to a close—merely pointing out their positions, and making you acquainted with their names, and for the rest add but a short notice of them.

India, situated east of Persia, and south of the mountain chain of Himalaya—some of whose summits are the highest in the world—was known to Herodotus, and considered by him—and consequently by the Persians also, from whom he received his information—as the most easterly inhabited country. It became, however, better known after the expedition of Alexander, who extended his conquests through the greater part of it. The productions of India were conveyed through Bactria (Bactriana) to Colchis, and thence disseminated through Asia Minor and Europe. They were also brought over the Indian Sea to the Arabian and Ethiopian cities situated near the Gulf of Arabia, and sent from thence to other distant countries. There can be no doubt that Arabia and Ethiopia were in communication with India from the most ancient times.

The countries lying north of the Danube and west of the Don (Tanais) are said, by Herodotus—who had collected on their borders all the information he could obtain from merchants and travellers—to have been inhabited, in his day, by different tribes of Scythians; while the country east of the Don was peopled by the Sarmatians. Herodotus also had some faint information even of the people who lived within the northern polar circle; for when he relates the fact that he had heard of a race of men who slept continually for six months,* there is very evident allusion made to the most northern inhabitants of the globe, and who are deprived of the light of the sun for several months at a time. After the

* See Book xii., Chapter 25.

time of Mithridates, the Sarmatians extended themselves further north and east, so that all the land between the Vistula and Lower Danube, to the Caucassian mountains and the river Volga (formerly Rha) received the name of Sarmatia; and, as the Don was then considered the frontier between Asia and Europe, the country east of that river was called by the Romans, Sarmatia Asiatica, and that west of the same river, Sarmatia Europa.

The Tauric peninsula (formerly Chersonesus Tauricus) was connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus only. It was once the granary of Athens, and, at a later period, that of Genoa. This peninsula, and the opposite coast to the east, forms the shores of the Bosphorus Cimmericus, the entrance to the Asof Sea (Palus Maeotis.) The Tauric peninsula, or Crim, was inhabited in ancient times by the Cimmerians, and were driven away by the Scythians, who followed them into the very interior of Asia. After this, the southern part of the Tauric peninsula appears to have been inhabited by the Taurians, whom some have thought to be descendants of the Cimmerians. Be this as it may, the peninsula from them received its Latin name. They were a very savage people, but were at last so hard pressed by the Scythians, that they sought the aid of Mithridates the Great, whose descendants long reigned here under the supremacy of Rome. This peninsula afterwards came into the hands of the heroic Goths. It was overrun by the Mongols in the thirteenth century—came into the possession of the Turks in 1475; and, at last, in the year 1703, became a Russian province, under the reign of the renowned Catharine II. Its present inhabitants are chiefly Tartars; hence it is now called Crim Tartary. Its coasts were covered with Greek colonies, of which we will here mention Theodosia and Panticapæum, or Bosphorus, both of which were founded by the Milesians, at the entrance of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and opposite to Phanagonia; Panticapæum once being the largest city on this peninsula, and the residence of the Bosphorian princes. It was here that the great Mithridates was killed by his own command, owing to the frustration of all his attempts to resist the power of the Romans. The most suitable vessels for voyages upon the Black Sea were constructed in the dock-yards of Panticapæum, the timber for which was floated down the Don and the Dnieper (formerly Borysthenes.)

The Tauric peninsula yields many excellent fruits, such as the plum, cherry, pear, apple, peach, apricot, and fig. The grape also grows here in abundance, but the inhabitants do not understand how to cultivate it properly.

Illyricum, or Illyria proper, was formerly bounded on the south by Epirus, but was afterwards extended to Macedonia; on the west by the Adriatic Sea, on the north by Istria, (this latter country was sometimes considered as belonging to Italy,) and on the east by Pannonia, or that part of Hungary which is now called Slavonia, and by Mæsia. Illyria was divided into

three provinces: Japydia in the north, Liburnia in the middle, and Dalmatia in the south. The Romans subsequently extended the name of Illyria over a much larger territory.

The western part of Hungary was called by the Romans Pannonia, which was bounded on the north and east by the Danube, to the mouth of the river Sau; on the south by the last mentioned river, including also its southern bank; and on the west by the Cetius mountains (now Cahlenberg;) so that a part of the present country of Austria, including Vienna itself—then called Vindobona—and Styria to the west, with the whole of Slavonia, and parts of Bosnia and Croatia, were all comprised under the name of Pannonia.

The Jazyges, a Sarmatian tribe, resided upon a part of Hungary, between the Danube and Theiss, (formerly Tysia.)

Dacia was a Roman province, (as we before stated in our description of Thracia,) which, after the time of Trajanus, extended eastward and westward from Theiss to Pruth, and northward and southward from the Carpathian mountains to the river Danube.

The countries of the Jazyges and Dacia, together with Pannonia, were overrun by the terrible Huns, under Attila; and after the death of this savage conqueror, in the year 453 A. C., they fell into the hands of the eastern Goths; and when these emigrated to Italy, into those of the Lombards. When the latter also went in quest of fairer homes, beneath the mild heaven of fragrant Italy, they resigned their possessions to the Avars, and their allies—a Slavonian tribe. The descendants of the Slavonians are still the most numerous of the inhabitants of Hungary; and were subjected to slavery, when, in the year 888 A. C., the Ugres, Ungers or Hungarians—which names signify foreigners, or, as they called themselves, the Madjares—made themselves masters of Hungary.

That part of Switzerland situated between the mountains of Jura and the rivers Rhone, (Rhodanus,) and Rhine, (Rhenus,) was inhabited by Gauls, and the land itself was considered as belonging to Gaul. They were called Helveti, and their country, Helvetia. The eastern part of Switzerland, and the neighboring countries, from the Upper Rhine to the Lower Inn (*Ænus*) and Upper Adige, together with the mountainous land from the Danube to the southern declivity of the Alps, bore the name of Rætia, in its most extensive signification, and including Vindelicia, or the northern part of Rætia, south of the Upper Danube. The Rætians were of Etruscan origin, whose ancestors had been compelled to fly to this mountainous region when the Gauls entered Italy, and drove them from their ancient homes.

The principal Rætian tribe was called Lepontii, and lived between Lake Maggiore and the sources of the Rhine.

Gaul was called by the Romans Gallia, and its inhabitants Galli—the

Grecian name of whom is Celtae. After the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Romans began to colonize this country, and afterwards took possession of almost all of it under the leadership of Cæsar—who, in all probability, was the only general, among all the great ones that Rome could boast of, that possessed the extraordinary qualities which this arduous undertaking required. A great part of the Low Countries was also included under the name of Gallia, the inhabitants of which made against Cæsar the most formidable resistance that this gifted man met with in his brilliant career.

Gallia was inhabited by the following different people, during the time of Cæsar:—the *Aquitaniæ*, who were probably of Iberian origin, and inhabited the country between the Pyrenees and the river Garonne (Garunna); the *Ligurians*, residing on both sides of the Maritime Alps, and the *Belgians*—comprising both Celts and Germans—who were among the bravest people of Gaul. They inhabited the north-western part of Gallia, between the Lower Rhine and the Seine, (Sequana,) extending eastward to the river Rhine. The Celtic tribe called the Gauls lived in the midst of the country named after them.

When Gallia had become a Roman province, it was divided into four principal parts, the limits of which were, however, afterwards changed:—*Aquitania* extending northward to the river Loire (Leger); *Gallia Narbonensis* its most south-eastern part, and the most ancient possession of the Romans; *Gallia Belgica*, extending southward to the rivers Seine, Saone and Rhone, and *Gallia Lugdunensis*, or Middle Gaul; which latter thus became smaller in dimensions, and excluding some of the tribes who spoke the Gallic language.

The Phenicians seem to have been the first people to introduce civilization into Gallia. They sailed through every known sea in quest of wealth, and probably through some which had never before been visited, and the existence of which they kept a secret. They often entered the rivers, and penetrated far into unknown regions. It was in one of these expeditions that they sailed up the Rhone and the Saone, and founded Alesia, in the territory of the Gallic tribe, known to us by the name of *Ædui*.

The Greeks soon after followed the Phenicians; and as we have elsewhere mentioned, the Ionians of Phocæa founded Marseilles, (formerly *Massilia*,) in Provence, and called by the Romans, *Gallia Braccata*, or more generally, *Provincia*, from which it now derives its name. The *Massilians*, although surrounded by the numerous Gallic and Ligurian tribes upon the land, and in fear of the Etruscans and Carthaginians by sea, had, however, the good fortune to pass safely through all these dangers, and to rise by degrees into a flourishing State. They extended themselves along the Mediterranean Sea, from the Maritime Alps to Cape St. Martin, or as far as the early Carthaginian colonies.

Germany was also a part of the country belonging to the Celtic people,

who extended their dominion over the whole of western Europe, as far as the pillars of Hercules, (the Straits of Gibraltar,) and passing over the channel between Gallia and Britain, also took possession of the country now called the United Kingdom of Great Britain. But as the different tribes became more distinct from each other in manners and languages, the country of the Celts was understood to comprehend only Gaul; or rather, only that part of Gallia situated between the Garonne and the Marne; or, as we have termed it, the middle part of Gallia.

Germany extended from the sources of the Danube to the Baltic Sea; or, as some historians say—with whom, however, I do not agree—included the Scandinavian kingdoms, and from the Rhine to Sarmatia, and the Carpathian mountains.

The first German tribes which appear in history, are the Teutoni and Cimbri, who overran the southern part of Gallia, defeated many Roman armies, and even menaced Italy itself; but were at last almost extirpated by that cruel Roman Dictator and talented general, Marius.

When the great Cæsar invaded Gallia, the Suevi (considered to be the bravest of the Germans,) who, with their king or chieftain, Ariovistus, had taken possession of a part of Gallia, encountered him in battle. But they were defeated; and Cæsar, passing the Rhine, made two incursions into the forests of Germany.

The districts near the Rhine were the best cultivated parts of Germany; and on the left bank of that river, which the Germans had settled before the time of Cæsar, some traces of growing refinement were displayed. In the interior country, on the right side of the Rhine, the Hyrcanian forest commenced at the glaciers of Adula, near the sources of the Rhine, and terminated at Rugen. The Hyrcanian forest was estimated to be sixty days' journey in extent, and of which the forest of the Rhine, the Black Forest, and those of Odenwald, Westerwald, Bohemia, Thuringia, and Hartz, are but the remains.

It was in Gallia that Cæsar first heard the appellation of Germania given to that country, which we now know under the name of Germany. It is not generally believed, however, that the people before that time were called Germans, but rather Teutoni. According to German traditions, Tuist, or God, was the father of Mannus, or mankind; and that the Teutonic people had, from the time of man's first existence, always been a pure and unmixed race.

Cæsar also heard in Gallia, that Germany was bounded on the south by the Danube; but he did not then know that this was the same river, which, more eastward, had long been known to the Greeks under the name of Ister. The Ubii, Sicambri, Usipetes, and Teuchteri tribes, dwelt on the eastern side of the Rhine; and a little farther removed, also the Cheruscan tribes. The other parts of Germany belonged to the Suevi, which name was then given, in a more extensive sense, to a military

federation of many different tribes, among whom that of Suevi was the most powerful.

Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, subdued the Sicambri, who inhabited the country around the river Lippe, and also undertook a maritime expedition—which, at that time, seemed very remarkable, from Batavia, in the low countries, around the coasts of the Frisi, to the mouth of the river Ems, (Amisia)—against the Chauci, (twelve years B. C.,) who occupied the country between the rivers Ems and that called Elbe (Albis,) and who afterwards aided the Romans against the Cherusci. In a later expedition, Drusus penetrated to the Elbe. Farther east of the north part of Germany, no Roman army had ever penetrated. Drusus met, in his expeditions, with some hitherto unknown German tribes, as follows:—The Marsi, resident at the lower Rhine, and whom he drove into the interior, where the Bructeri received them in the neighborhood of Lippe (Luppia;) the Angrivairi, in the vicinity of Aller; to the south of them, the Bructri, who were then one of the chief tribes, and inhabiting the country now known as Westphalia; the Chatti dwelt at the upper Weser (Wisengis,) the ancestors of the Hessians, and a warlike people, who were, from the time of Drusus, the constant enemies of Rome, and the Longabardi, who, in the time of Tacitus, lived east of the lower Elbe; but afterwards crossing the river, they took possession of the lands of the Cherusci, who lived a little south of, and between the rivers Ems and Elbe, and on both sides of the Hartz (Melibœus) mountains.

The attempt to subjugate Germany by the Romans, received a severe check in the defeat which the Roman general Varro suffered from the Cherusci, under the command of the celebrated Arminius (Herman,) in the year ten A. C. Germanicus, the son of Drusus, afterwards revenged this defeat, but the jealousy of Tiberius did not permit him here to push forward in his victorious career.

Shortly afterwards, the Cherusci were at war with the Marcomanni—another German tribe—the former being commanded by Arminius, and the latter by Maroboduus, who was excited to instigate the war by Tiberius. The Marcomanni first dwelt on the south, and afterwards on the north of the Danube, residing chiefly in Boiohemum (Bohemia)—having driven the Boii from thence as early as the time of Augustus. In their war against the Cherusci, they were aided by several other German tribes: as the Hermanduri, one of the most powerful tribes of the ancient Suevian confederacy, who were the eastern neighbors to, and enemies of the Chatti; the Quadi, who were the most south-eastern of the German tribes, dwelling north of the Danube, in Moravia and Austria; and the Simnones, who inhabited the country now known as Brandenburg. It seems that the vile policy of Tiberius had excited the jealousy of the other German tribes against the heroic Cherusci, who, notwithstanding the number of their enemies, came forth victors in the ensuing contest,

in the year seventeen A. C. But after the death of Herminius, the fame of the Etrusci became forgotten by degrees, and the Chatti are hereafter mentioned as the most powerful people in the north-western part of Germany. About one hundred and fifty years after the defeat of the Marcomanni, we find them forming a confederation for the purpose of waging war upon the Romans; in which they were also defeated, and their name lost. Some, however, suppose that these were the same people who were afterwards called the Boioarii; among the allies in the said war of the Marcomanni, against the Romans, 166 years A. C., we find the Vandals mentioned, who then lived in the vicinity of the Riesengebirge (Asciburgius,) at the Upper Elbe.

According to the Romans, Germany did not extend farther north than the Danube; and very justly so, as the tribes residing south of that river differed from those north of it, both in language and manners, which are the only true distinctions between different nations.

The western part of the country south of the Danube, extending to Inn, (*Æneus*), was called Vindelicia, and belonged, as we have before mentioned, to the Rætians (*Schweis*). The eastern part, as far as the sources of the Drau (*Dravi*) and Sau, (*Savi*), to Mons Cetius (*Cahlenberg*)—where Pan-*nonia* begins—was called Noricum. The Vindelicians and Rætians were of Etruscan, and the Noricans, of Celtic origin. As these regions were Roman provinces, they were well known to them; but otherwise the Romans knew but little of Germany, save the country in the vicinity of the Rhine, Ems and Weser; while that part of Germany extending eastward, they had only heard spoken of by merchants and travellers. Hence they had heard of the Angli, who lived east of the Longabardi; of the Rugii, who lived on the Baltic coast, east of the Oder (*Wiadrus*); of the Burgundians, south of the Ruggi, between the rivers Oder and Vistula; of the Gothones, east of the Vistula, in Sarmatia; still further, of the Venedi (*Wends*) and some other Sarmatian or Scythian tribes.

A few centuries after the time of Augustus, the aspect of Germany was much changed, as some of the most powerful tribes were either exterminated, or incorporated with others. We will, therefore, here confine ourselves to those nations who signalised themselves the most.

The first mention made of the Saxons, was in the year 170 A. C., when they inhabited the country near the river Eider; but they afterwards extended themselves, by degrees, over the whole of northern Germany. After that time neither the name of Chaucians or Chatti were more mentioned. The Saxons, together with the Angli, took possession of England about the year 450 A. C. The Franks placed a barrier upon their further advance in Germany. These terrible warriors are first mentioned in the year 240 A. C., where they appear at the Lower Rhine. The Bructians and Chatti formed part of the Frank confederacy—and which historians believe was a continuation of the Cheruscan confederacy.

The Franks took possession of Batavia about the year 280, but afterwards removed to the north of Gallia,—which received from them the name of Francia (France)—conquered the Thuringians and Alemanni, at the famous battle of Zulpich, in the year 496, and the Burgundians in the year 524.

The Alemanni are first mentioned during the reign of the emperor Caracalla, in the year 211 A. C., and who then inhabited the country between the Neckar (Nicer) and Mayn (Mœnus.) They afterwards extended themselves into Gallia and Helvetia, until they were defeated by the Franks.

Some of the various nations we have before mentioned, afterwards changed their abodes, and removed to remote regions: as the Burgundians, whose ancient home was on the banks of the Oder, after being defeated by the Gepidæ, began to emigrate in the year 242, and in the year 387 took possession of the country left by the Alemanni, who then removed to Helvetia; while, in the year 435, they received from the Romans that part of Gallia now known as Burgundy. Their former neighbors, the Rugii, at the end of the fifth century, appear at the Danube, where they were defeated by Odoacer. The Goths—perhaps of the same race as the Gothones, who resided near the Vistula—we find, in the third century of the Christian era, upon the banks of the Danube, and in Pannonia and Dacia, where they had formed a large state, which extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They afterwards divided themselves into two distinct tribes, under the names of the western Goths (Visi-Gothi,) and the eastern Goths (Austro-Gothi.) The former removed into Italy in the year 410, and in the year 415, founded a powerful kingdom in Spain. The latter resided for a time at the Danube and Save, but afterwards, under Theodosius, took possession of Italy, 493—553. The Longabardi—who, as we have before mentioned, resided at the river Elbe—appear, in the fifth century, at the Danube, assisting the emperors of Constantinople to destroy the kingdom of the Eastern Goths, in Italy. And the Vandals, who, during the war of the Marcomanni resided near the upper Elbe, appear in the third century in Bohemia; in the fourth century in Dacia, and then in Pannonia, and, continuing their restless life, enter Spain in the year 411; and, at last, in the year 429, cross the Mediterranean Sea, and settle in Africa.

We will in its proper place trace the causes which led to the migration of so many nations; and you will find that this investigation is very interesting.

The Pyrenean peninsula is separated from Gallia by the Pyrenean mountains; and was by the Romans called Hispania, and sometimes Iberia—the latter name being, however, chiefly applied to the country bordering on the river Ebro (Iberus.) Its first inhabitants, as before alluded to, were Celts, but the first tribe who emigrated thither bore the

name of Iberians ; but who were, in character, the very reverse of the Celtic Gauls. The Iberians were divided into several petty tribes, which, as Strabo informs us, seldom made any alliances, on account of too great confidence in their own strength. Their dress was not comely, and their appearance savage. The Gauls, on the other hand, were fond of dresses of bright and varied colors, and sometimes left some of their limbs uncovered, which being white, gigantic, and adorned with massive chains of gold, they gloried in displaying. The Gauls were also very sociable, and willingly assembled together at large meetings. These joyous people had, however, driven the Iberians from the fertile plains of Gaul into the Pyrenees, and then themselves crossing these high mountains, a part of them settled in Hispania ; and, as it is probable marriages between them and the Iberians were contracted, we have the origin of the name of Celtriberians, which was given to the people residing in the interior of the peninsula. Some historians inform us, that the name of Lusitanians was also given to a part of this mixed race, while others say that it belonged alone to one of the Iberian tribes. The Cantabrians, Asturians, and Basqueans, were all Iberian tribes.

The Phenicians in most ancient times visited this peninsula, and also colonized it. Many curious fables were related in the then most civilized parts of the globe, touching this remote land, from which large quantities of silver, iron and lead, were brought to Phenicia. The southern coast of the Pyrenean peninsula was then called Tarschish (Tartessus). The Carthagenians soon followed in the footsteps of the Phenicians, and appeared as conquerors on this peninsula before the outbreak of the second Punic war ; but when they were at last completely destroyed, the Romans reaped all the benefits of their conquests. The inhabitants, however, made many heroic attempts to drive away these invaders ; but, after an almost continuous struggle for two hundred years, they also submitted to the sway of that people.

The Romans divided Hispania into two parts : the one being called Hispania Citerior, which comprised that part situated next to the river Ebro, (Iberus,) which was afterwards the principal part of Taracona (Taraconensis), the seat of the Roman prætors ; and the other being called Hispania Ulterior, which, in the time of Augustus, was divided into Bætica—the country in the vicinity of the Bætis (now Guadalquivir,)—and Lusitania, of which, the country now known as Portugal, formed the greater part.

The Phenicians, and after them the Carthagenians, carried on a trade—kept a secret from all foreigners—with the islands called the Casiterian, from which they brought home immense amounts of tin. Many antiquarians believe these islands to have been the Shetland Islands, and that the tin originally came from the mines of England. Be this as it may, a citizen of Marseilles, named Pytheas, visited the coasts of Great Britain,

340 years B. C., while the Romans knew nothing of this country—save that they were two large islands, Albion and Irene—until the time of Cæsar, when they received the common name of Britannia. Cæsar made two incursions from Gallia, into the southern part of Britannia, in the years 54 and 55 B. C. He found the land fertile and populous, while the inhabitants were of the same race as the Gauls. It was not, however, before the 44th year of the Christian era, that the Romans, under the reign of the emperor Claudius, took possession of the southern part of Britannia. About thirty-four years afterwards, the Roman general, Agricola, extended the Roman conquest to the rivers Clyde and Frith, where he erected forts of defence against the encroach of the Caledonians—another Celtic tribe—whom some believe to be Iberians. The Caledonians, however, were such troublesome neighbors that the Romans gave up some portion of their conquests to them; while the emperor Hadrian erected a wall nearly one hundred miles long, from the Bay of Solway to the North Sea; which, however, did not impede the incursions of the Caledonians. In the year 208 A. C., the emperor Severus penetrated to the most northern part of this island, and extended the Roman province to the ancient forts erected by Agricola. After the beginning of the fourth century, the Caledonians were called Scots and Picts—which names, some believe, were derived from their painting or tatooing themselves. The dominion of the Romans over Britain continued to the year 427 A. C.

We have now ended our survey of all the countries, principal islands, and cities, which were the theatre of events to be related in our course through ancient history. To some of my readers this survey may have been superfluous, while others may deem it too long and too minute. To such, I would say, that it has been undertaken for the benefit of those who were in want of this preparatory information, and who might desire it, before entering upon the study of history. Besides, I can assure all my younger readers, from my own experience, that nothing more facilitates the learning of history than a previous acquaintance with geography, and that the events become more interesting the more familiar we are with the countries in which they occurred. With this apology, for the meagre entertainment hitherto afforded, I trust that the necessary harmony may be restored between us.

LETTER X.

SOME PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS BEFORE ENTERING UPON THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

LET us take a map of the globe and compare all the countries, of which we have given a summary description, with the surface of the whole earth, and you will instantly perceive how small a portion of it was known to ancient history. The question which naturally arises from this reflection, is, were no other countries of the earth then peopled? To which we would answer, yes; for we know that in Eastern Asia, flourishing States then existed—that China was pursuing its peculiar course of civilization; and that, at least in the latter part of that period, all the European countries,—and probably that part of Asia and Africa where man now dwells—were the scenes of active life.

We also find that the people of which ancient history treats—with but few exceptions—lived within the temperate zone of the northern half of the globe. Spread over but a small extent of country, comparatively speaking, the inventions and thoughts of creative man were the more easily communicated from one to the other. Having neither to struggle with the rigors of excessive cold, nor to support the burning rays of a tropical sun, man had a fit field in which to develop all the energies of his nature. And surely we have sufficient evidence that he was not deficient in displaying them to the utmost of his capacity.

We know that from ignorance he had risen to an astonishing degree of knowledge; that from being in utmost want, he had surrounded himself with luxuries; that from being a houseless wanderer, he had raised stately palaces for himself, and stupendous temples to his gods; that from having no language to convey his meaning, he had framed one of the most beautiful and harmonious that man ever spoke.

We cannot deny that Nineveh once existed, nor gainsay the magnificence of Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana; we have visited the astonishing ruins of Persepolis; we are aware that the warehouses of Colchis were once filled with the sumptuous stuffs of India—with shawls of Cashmere, and silks of Serica;* we have wandered upon the shores of Asia Minor, and traced out the places where hundreds of cities once stood, in which opulence and luxuries were accumulated by industry, and enjoyed by the nicest taste; we have climbed the mountains of Lebanon, and, surveying the Phenician coast, have recalled to our memories the manu-

* The mountainous country where the walls of China end, was known to the Romans under the name of *Regio Serarum*—Serica.

factories of Sidon, the fleets of Tyre, and the dock-yards of Adra ; we have stood upon the remnants of Palmyra, struck with the countless multitude of superb columns, with the fragments of cornices, capitals, entablatures, and pilastres, that met our view, all of most exquisite workmanship, in white marble ; we have entered Jerusalem, and thought on the splendor of Jehovah's temple ; we have viewed Balbeck, where a no less famous temple once stood, but dedicated to idolatrous worship ; we have wandered through the deserts of Arabia, and visited the cities from which the Phenicians and Jews procured the diamonds of Golconda, the gold of Ophir,* the incense of Hadramant, the ivory of Africa, the frankincense and the myrrh ; we have crossed the Suez, and been struck with astonishment at the stupendous works of the ancient Egyptians ; we have ascended the land above the cataracts, and found traces of former civilization ; we have stood upon the African shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and pondered on the greatness of Carthage ; we have crossed over to Europe, and paid a tribute of admiration to the superlative productions of Greece, and have gazed upon the majestic monuments of ancient Rome.

We have thus convinced ourselves of the wonderful activity, industry, and progress in civilization, of the ancient nations ; and, at the same time, observed the deplorable change that has taken place, and how mournful is the present general aspect of these countries, which were formerly interwoven with so many magnificent and flourishing cities, and which had once displayed so much public and private opulence and prosperity. This naturally leads us to inquire into the causes which have wrought destruction upon so vast a number of grand structures of architecture, upon so many emporiums of wealth, upon so many princely palaces, and upon so many sanctuaries of the gods, and brought desolation upon so many beautiful countries. We cannot but ask : how has it happened that so many splendid cities have sunk to dust, or crumbled in pieces ? Why have the temples of the gods become the resort of the owl, and the habitations of princes the dens of animals of prey ? Why should flocks and herds now have their folds in the market-places, where a tumultuous throng of buyers and sellers were wont to gather at the rising of the sun ? Why does the silence of the grave now reign, where the bustle of commercial cities was once heard ? Why do barbarian tribes now roam where civilized nations were once accustomed to discharge their social and religious duties ? And why do those regions, which the illustrious nations of antiquity inhabited, and who changed them into enchanting gardens, and adorned them with admirable works, now bear a similitude to the trunk that but barely testifies of the majestic oak, which the lightning's stroke has scattered into a thousand pieces ?

* A place of which nothing is known with certainty.

These are questions which it becomes my duty to answer, and I will not flinch from discharging it to the utmost of my abilities. The illustrious Scottish critic* justly says: "That in history the facts are given to find the principles, and the writer who does not explain the phenomena, as well as state them, performs but one half his office. Facts are but the mere dross of history; as it is from the abstract truth which interpenetrates them, and lies latent among them, like gold in the ore, that the mass derives its whole value."

We have alluded to the historian's duty, and indeed it is grave and responsible. Even the most profound and varied learning, the keenest judgment, the most abundant fertility of thought, and the greatest facility of expressing them with ease, clearness, taste and elegance, would constitute but an indifferent historian, if he is wanting in knowledge of human nature, and if he does not possess impartiality, an unprejudiced mind, love of truth, and fearlessness of man. If in want of these qualifications, then, whatever his acquirements may be, he is unfit to discharge the important duties of an historian.

"God is in history," and historians ought to be the interpreters of this truth; but few have been so. Indeed, many seem to have had too much fear for man to think of God, and to have been the servants of a lying spirit, rather than of eternal truth. Many have sacrificed the best interests of men, in order to gain their favor by flattering their prejudices and vanity. They have been the chief instruments of retaining mankind in darkness, and hindering the light of truth from spreading over the earth. They have been the servile handmaids of tyranny and deception, and are the most culpable for the prejudices and superstitions which still keep mankind in bondage.

Of repeated assurances, made with apparent sincerity, will make the ugliest lady at last believe that she has some traces of beauty. Human vanity cannot long resist the flatteries of designing men. So, for instance, have English historians so often repeated the praise of the high civilization of the English, that this nation think themselves more civilized than all others, while they submit to laws which, originating in barbarous manners and inhuman customs, and having no foundation in moral principles, are an affront upon humanity, a blasphemy upon the Christian religion, and a terrible irony on the high pretensions of a deluded nation. So the greater part of German historians, for fifteen years so lauded the Holy Alliance to the skies, that millions believed it deserving the gratitude of mankind, while its infernal policy brought the noblest men of Europe to the scaffold, or kept them in abominable dungeons, or doomed them to the rivers of Ural.

How many writers of universal history have dared to speak the truth?

* Mr. Macauley.

We do not here allude to those who have knowingly uttered scandalous falsehoods, nor to those who have propagated fables, from ignorance—but rather to the most learned historians. Johannes Von Müller, for instance, was too noble and too conscientious to sanction established prejudices by his authority; hence he passes over a great deal in silence rather than by opposing them, to raise the ire of the friends of darkness. Germany had, however, the honor of giving birth to the celebrated Mr. Rotteck, a less learned historian, it is true, but, nevertheless, more worthy of our admiration, as, disregarding all personal considerations, he stood forth, with manly frankness, as an able and enlightened champion of truth and human rights. It is in his footsteps, and in those of but few other historians, that I have resolved to tread; and whatever rank I may attain as a historian, I trust, with the aid of the Father of Truth, that nothing shall hinder me from discharging my duty to Him and my fellow-men, to the best of my ability. That errors and mistakes will occur will be but the natural consequence of our fallible nature, yet as far as human foresight, and a determined search after truth, may obviate them, such will be the character of our work.

I will here observe, that we must not forget that religion is chiefly founded upon faith, while history is founded upon facts. There have been, however, many men who have committed the grievous error of attempting to support the eternal truths of the Christian religion on doubtful facts—the reality of which have long been doubted, and which, by all enlightened and learned men, are now set aside as contrary to unquestionable evidence; and again, there are others who have failed in like manner upon the other side, by endeavoring to found history on faith. The Christian religion is not in want of such support, and some of its pretended or mistaken friends have themselves furnished its enemies with the only weapons by which it could be advantageously assailed. We are fully convinced that the Christian religion is founded on something more lasting and tenable. Those again, who have attempted to found history upon faith, have completely misconceived the nature of it. It is no history unless founded upon facts, supported by more or less probable evidence. Therefore, when we are told of facts contrary to those which we have satisfactory evidence of, we may believe in their existence, but we cannot accept of them as historical truths. The divinity of Christ is denied by many, who must acknowledge that he once existed. The first is an article of faith, the other is a matter of history. The Roman Catholics believe in transubstantiation, while the Protestants reject it; but both must concede that the sacrament of communion was instituted by Christ; the former is an article of faith, and the latter a matter of history.

The Christian world was at first unwilling to accept, as truth, the demonstrated fact, that the sun did not move around the earth; and the

resistance to this truth,—as we have before stated,—originated in its being diametrically opposed to that which the Bible taught us. Upon the authority of the same book, it has been generally believed that the deluge extended over the whole earth; but this has now been demonstrated as a false supposition, and supported by all the necessary evidence for having changed the opinion of many of the most enlightened men of our age, and among them the lamented Mr. Rotteck. We here have two examples why we cannot build science or history upon faith. But how wrong would it be in us, for this reason, to deny the eternal truths of the Bible? Many enlightened Christian theologians, of almost all denominations, have, therefore, very properly made a distinction between the divine truths and the historical narrations, which the Bible contains; it being very possible that the latter were subjected to errors and mistakes. Both Jews and Christians, generally speaking, believed, for many ages, that the Pentateuch was the oldest book ever written; still there were those that gave the precedence to the book of Job; while it is now conceded that the latter is much older than the Pentateuch, or, at least, much older than a part of it. But it is also certain that books existed long before that of Job, which, upon another occasion, we will not fail to prove.

What I have here said of the Bible, has been done with a view to guard against the supposition that I would infringe upon the divine truths which it contains, when, through the course of this history, I shall feel myself obliged, by overwhelming evidences, to deviate from its historical narrations. I will not make the enemies of the Christian religion my friends, by imposing upon them the belief that I intend to say anything against the divine truths of this religion; nor will I gain the favor of any Christian sect, by advancing principles, or supporting facts, which I think are contrary to truth. I feel myself, in the capacity of an historian, as the servant of God, and pray for his aid, worthily and conscientiously to discharge my duty—glad to gain the confidence of my fellow-men, yet unwilling to purchase it by neglecting any of the important duties which surround the historian.

Let us now appeal to the illustrious dead, who have handed down to us the narrations of antiquity, and inquire for the activity and industry, for the good and evil doings, for the virtues and vices, for the wisdom and follies of those generations, whose works have struck us with astonishment, and who have bequeathed to us so much learning and so many arts. Let us also inquire for knowledge of those instructive monuments, the mysterious signs of which ingenuous men—to whom we cannot but feel deeply indebted—have taught us to read.

But, alas! the destroying hand of fanaticism and ignorance has annihilated thousands of the valuable productions of ancient writers,

broken into pieces, or changed into ashes, countless monuments of antiquity; and those it has been too feeble to break asunder, or upon which fire had no effect, it has not failed to mutilate and disfigure.

But had those records of history which are left to us been read aright, and had mankind impressed upon their minds the memorable lessons they teach, we should not have seen the same follies, and the same natural consequences, so often repeated. It seems as if the warnings which appear upon every page of history, were written in vain, and that each generation had closed its ears against the oft-repeated cries of its progenitors: Beware! beware of princes, priests, aristocrats and demagogues, and listen to the voice of God and reason! Beware of tyrants and deceptive men, for they have beaten us with rods of iron, prostrated us before false deities, eaten the fruit of our labor, and deluded us with a counterfeit image of the heaven-born maid of liberty! Beware, too, of those regulators of social life, the pretended advocates of order, and the avengers of crime, for they have been chiefly those who have forged the chains by which we have been kept in bondage. But before, and above all, beware of the frailty which is innate in man, otherwise it will be to you, as it has been to us, the chief source of woe and suffering!

What memorable lessons history teaches us! Let us listen to the voices, which, through her, strike upon our ears! It was not the brilliant exploits of the conqueror which made him a despot; but rather the maddening shouts of those with whose blood he bought his triumphs! It was not the deception of priests that erected altars to numberless deities, and sunk the nations in dust, at the pretended wrath of impotent gods; but rather the simplicity and folly of the people themselves! Not noble actions, nor accumulated riches, have created the myriads of drones that have fed on the sweat of the industrious classes, in almost every country; but rather, the exaggerated rewards which the people themselves have heaped upon the one, and the contemptible reverence which they have paid to the other! It was not the talents of demagogues, nor their hypocritical adulations of liberty, which brought anarchy or tyranny over so many free nations; but rather the vanity of the people themselves, who lost sight of their true interests in the sweetness of flattery! It was not the disturbers and transgressors of social regulations which caused the greatest evils to human societies, and made men repent the loss of their natural freedom; but rather, those very regulations, their framers, and those who were the instruments of subjecting their fellow-man to them!

Philanthropists—you who wish to promote the lasting well being of your fellow-men—read history aright, and you will learn the surest means of accomplishing your noble aim. No Utopian ideas, but the perfect knowledge of human nature, which you will acquire by an attentive study of history, will teach you how to attempt to promote the general happiness of mankind, with the most probable hope of success! *Statesmen*—do

you wish to be revered by future generations for the wisdom you display?—read history aright, and you will learn how it was that those few of your predecessors, whose names we mention with reverence, made themselves worthy of this tribute! *Legislators*—have you the desire to avoid the grievous errors of those who framed the laws which now dishonor almost all nations?—read history aright, and it will teach you how to make yourselves more worthy of the high and responsible office with which you are invested! *Practitioners of Law*—would you all become as you ought to be, and as *some* of you are, the ornaments of the social fabric?—read history aright, and it will teach you how to discharge your duties; and neglecting them, how much worse you are than robbers and thieves! *Priests*—do you wish to be considered interpreters between God and man?—read history aright, and it will teach you how you may really become so, by worthily discharging your duties; and, at the same time, it will inform you how direful it is to promulgate the laws of man as the laws of Heaven. If you regard not the will of that great Being in whose service you have enlisted, disrobe yourselves of the sacerdotal garments, and listen humbly to those who know how to acquit themselves as the accepted interpreters between our Heavenly Father and his children! *Rulers of nations*—are you anxious to avoid the infamy with which so many of your predecessors are branded?—read history aright, and it will teach you that you are the servants of the people, and not the delegates of God—as your flatterers tell you—and that you can only gain true glory, by worthily discharging your duties to those who committed the power to your hands! *Nations*—would you avoid the follies and wrongs of your ancestors?—read history aright, and it will teach you how to distinguish the voices of your friends from those of your flatterers; how to be free without becoming violent and disorderly; how to obey without descending to slavery; how to prevent crimes, rather than to punish the perpetrators of them; how to prefer laws founded upon Christian principles and human feelings, to those which had their origin in ignorant ages and barbarous customs; how to induce general contentment by promoting individual happiness; how to prefer mental enjoyments to sensual pleasures; how to exert constancy in misfortune, and moderation in prosperity; how to defend your own firesides without keeping up a martial spirit by unjust wars; how to live virtuous without becoming foolish haters of convivial joys; how to appreciate the arts without neglecting your own serious affairs; how to enjoy social amusements without rioting in enervating debaucheries, and how to sincerely worship God, without becoming the tools of an aspiring priesthood.

But if history is to be read aright, it must be written aright; and speaking with all the reverence due to those historians, who have joined love and truth with learning, genius and talents, I still think that, to write history as it ought to be written, is a problem yet to be solved. I fear, too,

that it will always remain so, as it is almost impossible for it to be otherwise ; for to write history aright, requires almost superhuman efforts on the part of an historian. The most necessary requisite for accomplishing this duty is a freedom from every prejudice, that may induce him to conceal or to falsify the truth, in order to exaggerate the praise due to one individual, or to enhance the blame belonging to another. However sincerely we may love truth and justice, it is, nevertheless, very natural, in many instances, to be led astray in our judgment. What repugnance do we feel in conceding the eminent talents of that gloomy despot, Tiberius ; and with what feelings of pain do we speak of the crimes committed by the generous David ! How natural it is that we should wish to conceal the frailties, and even the crimes of those persons who have, in general, signalized themselves by noble deeds, and how unwillingly we praise the rare qualities, or momentary virtues, of men who are generally vicious. How easily do we become partial to certain things and certain persons, and how reluctantly do we concede their inferiority to those things and persons to which we feel an aversion. One historian has exalted Cæsar to the skies, while another has heaped upon him every epithet of abuse ; and still, it will be found, that both have in general written with truth and justice. But as everything human has some imperfection in it, we cannot expect that the historian should attempt more than, as far as possible, to prove himself an incorruptible judge, and that he should not sully his office by becoming a zealous advocate of either side.

Next to conquering his own natural tendency to be partial, the historian should endeavor to overcome the prejudices and prepossessed opinions of the reader, and prepare his mind for the truths which he wishes to convey to him. This, also, is a very difficult task, as there exists but few persons who have not, from their infancy, received certain ideas of persons and things, which, however they may differ from truth, the innate vanity of man, generally speaking, prevents them from yielding, even to the most evident proofs, without a long resistance.

The more care the historian uses to conquer his own feelings of partiality, and his own prejudices, the more ability he has to effect the same upon his readers, the more worthy he is of being read, and the more useful he will be to mankind.

Had we fewer brilliant historians, and more trustworthy writers of that kind, we would not be so often puzzled with palpable contradictions, nor misled by so many untruths. In its due time we will notice some celebrated writers of modern times, who have laid themselves open to the charge of false statements. With regard to ancient historians, they are in a measure excusable for some errors, as their works were mostly composed from oral traditions, and they were besides subject to many prejudices which have now been dissipated but a few years. Though committing some grievous errors, they are not therefore subject to the charge of having in all

cases told wilful falsehoods, or having been negligent in arriving at the truth. Still, there are many instances in which they had opportunities of obtaining more correct information than their works exhibit. National vanity, even then, as now, prevented them from handing down the truth.

The sources of ancient history may be classed under two heads: ancient writers, and the monuments of antiquity which are still extant. By ancient writers we mean not only historians, but also all other writers of antiquity, such as the philosophers, poets, &c.,—as they all contribute to enrich us with a knowledge of ancient times.

The history of nations usually begins with oral traditions; as, before the invention of emblems and the art of writing was known, they had no other means of communicating information, or preserving knowledge. We know how little dependence is to be placed in information which has passed through a hundred mouths, from one place to another; how much less confidence, then, must we have in traditions thus handed down from generation to generation. Yet, by comparing the oral traditions of many different nations, and finding that they agree in some certain points, we may thus proximate the truth. There are also many other ways that can be used by a reasoning mind, to find out the truth contained in oral traditions; but, accepting them as implicit truths, without such investigations, becomes but egregious folly.

Oral traditions form what is called *traditional history* or *mythology*, which is to be found among almost every people in the first stage of their existence as a community, and is composed of very heterogeneous materials; it not only states the various kinds of historical facts, but also the ideas, which, in course of time, the ancestors of each people have entertained of the nature of their deities, and of the methods of worshipping them; it likewise conveys the notions which have been formed, from observation and experience, respecting the celestial bodies, the duties and obligations between man and man, and between the ruler and his subjects.

Oral traditions have generally been clothed in poetry, which has, in a great measure, supplied the want of writing, among untaught and uncultivated people. Poetry, in its origin, being but a figurative language, expressing the forms which the fancy had given, either to real or fictitious persons and things, mythology was the fittest subject for it. Hence, heroes, tyrants, and the benefactors of mankind, have become gods; hence, we find that the traditions of many nations speak of the reign of the deities; hence, men had familiar intercourse with celestial beings; hence, the laws which man had made became those of the gods; hence, those nations which had the most fertile imaginations, created the greatest number of deities.

Written monuments of various kinds form the second source of ancient history, and are of far greater importance than the oral traditions, which must be used with great caution, or they will continue to propagate the erroneous ideas and prejudices to which they gave birth.

Written monuments are of various kinds:—as inscriptions on public-monuments, chronological records of events, under the form of annals and chronicles, biographies, memoirs, and real philosophical works on history.

Public monuments were erected in ancient times, as Johannes Von Müller says, “from the noble desire to hand down to future generations, some lasting memorials of certain great truths, or remarkable events;” and let us add also, to satisfy the vanity of princes. These monuments suggested the practice of inscribing upon them some information concerning the facts they were intended to perpetuate. The monuments of Persepolis, India and Egypt, were of this character, many of which still remain, as well as those of many other ancient countries. These monuments in most remote times, were probably very rude, and became, by degrees, fashioned into columns, obelisks, pyramids, and mausoleums, according to the taste of different nations.

The characters on such monuments were either symbolical, or alphabetical, or both together.

Chronicles, annals, biographies and memoirs, presuppose the invention of letters and writing materials, and are consequently of more recent times than mere symbolical inscriptions.

Historical works, composed on philosophical principles, and developing the causes and effects of the events related, are of the most modern date, and not to be found among ancient productions;—though it must be acknowledged that the Greeks and Romans had some faint idea of this kind of history. These works are of the most importance, but meet with the most difficulties, not only in despotic countries, but also in the free; because they generally bear hard upon the prevailing prejudices held by the mass of mankind. Their utility has often been blasted by bigotry, fanaticism and hypocrisy, and it must be conceded, even sometimes by the levity with which their authors have spoken of eternal truths.

As it is necessary as far as practicable, to denote the time when, and the place where, events occurred, it is very evident that geography and chronology are indispensable as auxiliary sciences in the study of history. A geographical description of the countries where the events occurred is therefore necessary, as also a fixed mode of computing time.

But in ancient times, no general method of computing time was adopted; and indeed it remains in almost the same state now with regard to events that happened before the Christian era. Therefore I have already stated that I will compute the years from the birth of Christ, before, as well as after, this remarkable event took place, considering it to be more certain and convenient than any other mode which could be adopted.

Various methods of computing time were used by the ancients, but the best known are those of the Greeks and Romans. The computation of the

former, or the Olympiads, commences in the year 776 B. C.; while that of the latter dates from the foundation of Rome—according to Varro, in the year 753 B. C., and according to Cato, in the year 752 B. C.

How small a portion of the time which elapsed between the creation of the first man and the birth of Christ, is comprised in either of these eras! while the Nabonnassar era comprises even less than these, as it did not commence until the year 747 B. C.

The difficulty of computing time from the creation of the first man is very palpable, as there is no certainty concerning the time when that event took place. Many have attempted to ascertain it from the Bible, but to see how utterly these attempts have failed, we have only to mention that hundreds of learned men, and among them many eminent divines, have made the attempt, and almost all have arrived at different conclusions. I have already elucidated this assertion by examples, and will now confirm it by a few more made by Christian divines.

Clemens Alexandrinus (who lived in the second century) computes the age of the world to be, at the birth of Christ,	5627 years.
Dr. Hales' computation,	5411 "
Origen's " (who lived in the third century,)	4830 "
Kennedy's "	4007 "
Bishop Usher's "	4004 "
Melanchthon's "	3964 "
Luther's "	3961 "

These different computations are surely sufficient to prove how impossible it is to arrive at the correct age of mankind at the time when Christ was born. The above table exhibits a difference of 1666 years between the longest and shortest time computed to have elapsed between these two remarkable epochs. The Rabbi Lipman makes this period even shorter than Luther has, for he computes it at 3616 years.

The Bible being the only source from which it was likely to obtain any certainty touching the period in question, it is not to be wondered at, that repeated attempts have been made, through it, to solve the question; but since so many have failed in it, there can no longer be any hope of arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problem. The diligent and almost unceasing investigations, which have been made for sixty years past, of the ancient Hindoo and Chinese works, as well as the lately-discovered method of deciphering the Egyptian hieroglyphics, cannot, in all probability, afford us any certain elucidation of this subject; yet, the information we have thus attained, and which will probably be yet more enlarged, conclusively proves to our mind that the computations giving to mankind the greatest age, are the most to be relied on.

We must observe that the sacred truths of the Bible—on which, the Christian, Jewish, and, in part, the Mohammedan religions, are founded—

do not in the least depend upon the longer or shorter age given to mankind. Neither are they affected by the want of information regarding the time when the first man was created.

We also find very great differences in the computations made of the time in which the deluge of Moses occurs. According to Josephus, this remarkable event took place in the year 3146 B. C.

According to Dr. Hales, in the year 3155 B. C.

And according to Bishop Usher, in the year 2348 B. C.

Which exhibits a difference between the two latter computations of 807 years. But there can now be no doubt but that Bishop Usher's computation is incorrect; as it is in opposition to all the evidences of history.

Without mentioning any other strong and conclusive testimonies,—which will be shown in their proper places—I ask if it is not contrary to common sense, and every probability, that, in the course of only about three centuries and a half, which, according to Usher, is the time between the deluge and Abraham, so many countries could have been populated, so many cities raised, and so many social communities been formed, as we are taught by the Bible, to have existed in the time of Abraham? Yet all these things could have taken place very naturally during the longer periods which, according to the computations of Josephus and Dr. Hales, elapsed between the deluge and Abraham. The act of a British parliament, confirming the computation of Bishop Usher, cannot be taken as evidence of its correctness, because that body cannot, certainly, make any pretensions to infallibility.

The truth is, we cannot give the precise time of any historical event which occurred previous to the eighth century before the Christian era. It is, therefore, a very unnecessary labor to burthen the memory with vast numbers of incorrect chronological statements. They are only so far necessary as to present the order, as far as possible, in which events succeeded each other.

The methods of narrating ancient history are either ethnographical, or synchronistical; the former being to relate everything concerning each people and state in a continued series; and the latter, to range the history of all the nations and states treated on, under certain general epochs. The latter method will, in general, be used through this course of letters; but when it is found convenient, they will be used conjointly.

I will not forget to pay due acknowledgments to those writers whom I have consulted, nor yet forget to quote the language which I may use from others. Should this, however, be found neglected, in some instances, I trust no one will imagine that I am anxious to plume myself with the feathers of other writers.

I have now, by meandering courses, led you to the banks of the Styx;*

* The river which, in accordance with Roman mythology, surrounds the regions of the dead.

and with one step more, you will be before the past generations of antiquity; but their voices will be silent, and no answers will be vouchsafed to our inquiries, unless we are aided by those illustrious necromancers, who, wielding the wand of history, can cause the shadows of the dead to speak.

LETTER XI.

ANTEDILUVIAN HISTORY.

IN the foregoing letter, you will have seen that learned men materially differ in their computations of the time at which this remarkable event happened. I will here add a few more, who signally differ upon the subject.

Petavius computes that the deluge took place in the year 2327 B. C.

Dr. Russell " " " " 3185 B. C.

Johannes Von Müller " " " 3547 B. C.

Presuming that the last computation is most to be relied on,—and undoubtedly it is,—many difficulties will be obviated, which we should otherwise have to contend with in history. In that case, the Chaldean traditions, as related by Ctesias, seems more probable, and our chronology will not conflict with the inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments which refer to events that happened after that time. But were we to assume the computation of Petavius, as correct, then we should be driven to adopt the same course which other historians have done—that of declaring the history of many of the Assyrian kings—as well as all those of whose existence the Egyptian monuments bear overwhelming evidences of—as mere fables.

Almost all that we know of mankind previous to the deluge, is contained in the seven first chapters of Genesis, and in the mythology of several nations. Little as this is, it conveys enough for a sound reasoning mind to arrive at the truth, as far as it is necessary to be known.

Genesis, as the first book of the Pentateuch, is generally held to be the first book of Moses; but some learned men, chiefly Germans, have proved, however, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Genesis was compiled from several original records of much older date than Moses, who probably united them together. This assertion of the learned Orientalist's is confirmed indirectly by these words:—"This is the *book* of the generations of Adam"—with which the fifth chapter of Genesis begins. The antiquity of those records renders Genesis of so much more authority, as it is the

production of those who lived nearer the time where these events, thus spoken of, occurred : Who created the heavens and the earth ? God. From whom did the human race originate ? From Adam, the man of earth, and from Eve, the mother of all living. Where was the cradle of mankind ? In an enchanting garden, placed in some delicious region. These are the rational and philosophical answers given to inquiring man, by the author of Genesis, whoever he may have been. He further informs us that the tempting spirit of envy blasted the virtue of man,—that brother slew brother, and that the merciful Father of men asked *not* for the blood of the culprit.

The syren voice of sensual pleasures, and the promptings of unbridled passions, soon brought terrible evils upon the human family. Violence became law, and the weak man became the slave of the strong. The giant race of unchecked robbers ruled over their brethren, and enjoyed the charms of the fairest daughters of Eve. The prowess and overbearing temper of the few, awed the many ; while bloody deeds and the tongue of flattery made the wicked renowned. But the masters of to-day oftentimes met with stronger men than themselves, and became the slaves of to-morrow. Brute strength and disorderly violence reigned supreme.

The reign of passion succeeded the golden age of the poets ; and a part of Asia—the cradle of the human family—even at that period, probably groaned under the strifes of rivaling tyrants. Men of peaceful minds, therefore, very naturally sought for security against violence, by removing into distant countries, which may thus have received its first inhabitants. The Chinese and Hindoo records prove, satisfactorily to every unprejudiced mind, that the antiquity of these nations is very great ; and, consequently, these countries must have been peopled when the world was but in its infancy.

Unquestionably mankind had arrived at no inconsiderable degree of civilization, even before the deluge. Man's restless activity had made not only inventions to promote his comfort, but also those which were serviceable in his amusements.

It is very natural that the commencement of many arts should be traced to that region which was the birthplace of the human race ; but, to presume—as Boussuet, and many other eminent men have done—that some of these arts were immediately communicated to man by the Creator himself, is only a proof that judicious men will commit egregious errors, when biassed by some prepossessing idea. To become herdsmen and agriculturists, man was not in want of any immediate revelation from his Creator. That wise Being had endowed men with qualities by which they have made incomparably greater inventions—why then suppose that it was necessary for Him especially to inform them of the simple means by which they were to sustain life ?

The knowledge we have of human nature, ought to teach us that no

individual is so governed by evil propensities, as that every virtue is dead within him. The seeds of virtue may lie dormant, but with the use of proper means they will spring up and bear fruit. No human heart exists that is a barren rock. We cannot therefore presume that there ever was an age when all mankind had become so corrupt that every virtue was annihilated—the voice of nature was not silent in every mother's heart; nor did every husband hate his wife, nor every father dislike his offspring. It is impossible that the natural virtues could be extirpated without destroying the human race. Genesis does not refute this truth.

How far the human family had spread over the earth at the time of the deluge, we have no certain knowledge of; but there is no room to doubt that all the countries of Asia, south of the high mountains, and some parts of Europe and Africa, were inhabited.

I repeat, the deluge did not extend over the whole earth: and in doing so, must add, that I can prove the assertion to be true only by presuming that the deluge did take place anterior to the year 3547 B. C. But should it be conceded that this event may have happened earlier and thus before the time of the unquestionable records of the Hindoos and Chinese, then am I willing to admit the universal extension of the deluge, even while many physical objections may be brought against this assertion which it would be almost impossible to answer in a satisfactory manner.

It must not be overlooked that the traditions of the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Chaldeans, the Greeks, and some other people, allude to a deluge in which almost all mankind were destroyed,—and which agrees with that taught us in the Book of Genesis. Presuming, therefore, that a longer time elapsed between the deluge and the birth of Christ, the historical objections are overruled. But Boussuet, without presuming a longer time than 2348 years to have elapsed between these two epochs, says, that “a tradition of the universal deluge is found all over the earth. The ark which contained the rescued remnant of the human family, has been spoken of in all ages in the East, and particularly in the region of its resting place, after the waters had subsided. Many other circumstances connected with this famous event, are to be found noticed in the annals and traditions of ancient nations: *the dates agree, and everything corresponds*, as near as can be expected in so remote a period of antiquity.” But, in extenuation of this assertion, made by Boussuet, we must add, that he had no knowledge of the contradictory evidences which we are now in possession of.

The famous historian Gatterer—who has thoroughly investigated the question of a general deluge—as also Professor Cramer and several other learned men—have advanced many strong arguments against the position that such an event did take place, after the earth became the habitation of man. They, however, do not deny that some parts of the earth have been subjected to such a catastrophe, which even agrees with results of the investigations of many eminent naturalists and geologists.

Those, therefore, who deny the deluge spoken of in Genesis—at least when considered to have been confined to certain districts of country—refuse to credit that which is confirmed, not only by history, but by scientific demonstration.

Well might the deluge have swept millions of men from the earth; but did it therefore change the nature of man?

LETTER XII.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ASIA.

ASIA is the largest and most favored of the great divisions of the earth. Its surface contains about 11,000,000 square geographical miles, while that of Africa has about 5,700,000, and of Europe, only about 2,500,000. The greater portion of Asia is situated within the northern temperate zone. Two great mountain-chains run from east to west; in the south the Taurus, and in the north, the Altai—the latter being almost unknown and nameless to antiquity. We must also observe that this name, in a more limited signification, is only applied to that part of the mountain-chain which lies between the lakes Baical and Saisan. Branches of both these mountain-chains are: that of Imaus (now Himalaya) which extends along the desert of Cobi, that of Paropamissus on the north of India, the Caucasus and the Ural—the latter being nameless to antiquity. The most remarkable rivers known to ancient times, were the Euphrates and Tigris, which empty themselves into the Persian Gulf, together with the Indus and Ganges, which flow into the Indian sea. These four rivers flow from north to south, while the Jaxartes and Oxus flow from east to west, and once discharged their waters into the Caspian Sea, but now into the Sea of Aral.

The mountain-chains of Altai and Himalaya—which some geographers say are joined together by the mountain ridge of Mustag—divide the eastern region of Asia, into three parts:—*Northern Asia*. (Siberia,) which lies north of Altai, *High Asia*, or as some call it the *elevated table land of Asia*, lying between Altai and Himalaya, comprising great Tartary and Mongol (Sarmatia Asiatica,) and *Southern Asia*, which comprises China and the Indies. While that part of Asia which lies west of the Indies, to the *Ægean sea*, is called Western Asia.

But the learned Heeren takes it for granted that the Altai and Taurus mountains divide the whole of Asia into only three parts, *Northern Asia*, lying north of Altai, and between the 76th and 50th parallels of north latitude, being almost unknown to antiquity.

Central Asia, situated between the mountains of Altai and Taurus, or between the 50th and the 40th degree of north latitude.

Southern Asia, comprising all the country from the 40th degree of north latitude to near the equator.

When we compare these two different methods of distinguishing the several parts of Asia, we find that High Asia of the one, and Central Asia of the other, nearly correspond, and that Mr. Heeren comprises under the name of Southern Asia, even the Western part of Asia.

Almost the whole of Northern Asia is a wilderness. High, or Central Asia, is a vast barren table land, almost devoid of cultivated fields, but yielding abundance of pasture. The inhabitants are now, and always have been, nomads (herdsmen and shepherds,) living under a kind of patriarchal government, without any cities or fixed abodes. The Southern and Western regions of Asia, generally speaking, possess a soil and climate highly favorable for agriculture, yielding abundance and variety of costly productions. The inhabitants, from the earliest ages, have had fixed homes, and, in ancient times, were of very industrious habits.

Asia contained, in former times, as it does also now, empires of very great extent; still, such may not have been the case in the remote ages of antiquity. The communities must then naturally have been very small, and the kings, for instance, those spoken of in the bible, but chiefs of small tribes or communities. We know that there were five kings in the valley of Sodom, while Joshua defeated thirty-one kings during his wars.

The first system of government was the patriarchal, but in Asia, it soon assumed the character of despotism; still we find that the great king—as the Greeks called the King of Persia—was circumscribed in his power by the influence of old customs and religious precepts, which operated as laws. We must also observe, that it seems evident that the political bonds which held men together in the earliest times, were strengthened, and indeed mostly composed, of a religious character. In almost every ancient community we find a priesthood, which was formed at an early age, and which often soon became the ruling caste. The promptings—which are innate with man—to worship superior beings, were soon converted, by designing men, to their own individual interests—and, it cannot be denied, oftentimes for the public benefit.

The first conquerors were probably the nomads, who, from necessity, often changed their abodes; and seeking better pasture for their herds, would make inroads upon those who, cultivating the earth, had appropriated land to themselves. "The great revolutions of Asia," says Mr. Heeren, "with the exception of that wrought by Alexander, were effected by the numerous and mighty nomad races, which inhabited a large portion of that continent. Compelled by necessity, or circumstances, they left their former seats, and carried war and conquest into the cultivated parts of Southern Asia, and founded new kingdoms; but enervated by luxury—the conse-

quence of the change in their mode of life—they, in their turn, were subjugated in a similar manner." This is a true statement of the cause which wrought the most signal political changes in Asia, yet there are many other causes, which will appear hereafter

The law of nations was equally unknown in Asia, in practice and theory. The sword of the strongest generally decided all disputes; and war, in ancient times, was seldom ended without the subjugation of one nation to the sway of the other; the victors becoming masters, and the defeated slaves.

Polygamy has existed in all ages among the Asiatics, and has been accounted by many, as one of the causes of despotism, by converting fathers into domestic despots, who thus became ready to pay the same implicit obedience to their sovereigns, which they compelled the members of their households to yield to themselves. It is true that petty tyrants generally become the most abject slaves when in the presence of a superior; yet I cannot agree with Mr. Heeren, Count Volney, and many other eminent men, who consider polygamy as one of the causes which has inoculated upon Asia the blasting curse of despotism. The Asiatic people were certainly not worse despots in their family circles, than the Romans and even the ancient Germans were, where polygamy was not allowed, or rather was not the custom.

The patriarchal form of government carried in itself the germ of despotism. Besides, a conquering people were soon induced to consider their leader as their master by the very examples of the defeated, who were compelled to do so. The king or chief of the victorious party, being enriched by the spoils of the conquered one, had need of no great knowledge of human nature to see how easy it was for wealth to buy ready instruments to impose the yoke of thralldom upon the necks of the very people whose blood had purchased his victory. Customs became laws, not written upon parchment, but upon the minds of the masses, who assumed it as a principle, that whoever wielded the sceptre was their unlimited master. We must also observe that the Asiatic people were never very strong reasoners; they have generally been swayed by impressions of the senses. The founders of the Oriental monarchies were clever enough to take advantage of this; and surrounded themselves with a majestic pomp which awed the vulgar, and imposed upon them a reverence for their rulers. The latter, therefore, have seldom been the victims of revolts of the people, though they frequently fell under the machinations of courtiers and the priesthood.

The power of the Asiatic kings, however despotic, has generally met with a salutary check in religion and its ministers. But, as the ancient historians oftentimes were dependant upon priests for their information, we find many able monarchs,—who were averse to the sacerdotal influence,—painted in the darkest colors; and again, those who patiently submitted

to their influence, have received unmerited praise. What a different view would history present to us of many noted persons, and the events which occurred, could we possibly separate the truth from the falsehood and fables which surround it! Vain wish! Wisdom cannot be so easily purchased. It is only by passing through the land of darkness that we can arrive at the region of light.

Despots as the Asiatic monarchs were, we shall, however, find that many of them, from wisdom or humanity, or from both, greatly promoted the well-being of their people, and that few modern rulers can be compared with some of them, as benefactors of mankind and able administrators of the public weal.

The Asiatic conquerors generally permitted the subjected people to keep possession of at least a part of the soil, for which they had to pay tribute, and frequently permitted the internal arrangements to remain unaltered. Sometimes, however, they drove them away from their homes, and compelled them either to settle in distant regions, or become household slaves to their victors. When the conquerors were uncivilized, they generally adopted some of the manners and customs of the vanquished people; but more often the vices that were found among the more polished nations. The vast empires founded by conquests were divided generally into provinces, and governed by Satraps, appointed by the monarchs; who oftentimes had to carry on bloody contests with their too powerful servants, that sometimes overthrew their thrones and took their lives. But the greatest evil which the Asiatic monarchs have always been subjected to, is the effeminacy and indolence which the seraglio engenders, and which, more than anything else, has brought ruin upon themselves and their countries.

The prominent political and social features of Asia, were formerly and still are:—numerous powerful nomadic tribes, sudden conquests and formations of extensive empires, despotic and patriarchal governments, tiresome ceremonies, cruel punishments, and polygamy.

The characteristics of the ancient Asiatic people were:—ridiculous reverence for old customs, abhorrence of all innovations, mixture of arrogant pride and submissive humility, gravity of manners, fertility of imagination, figurative language, love of truth, impetuous bravery, hasty temper, strong propensity for sensual pleasures, and carelessness of human blood.

Asia has produced many eminent men who are known to us, and doubtless many more of whom we are ignorant. We imagine ourselves to be vastly superior to the present Asiatic people; but, depraved as some of the nations of Asia now are, there are still some among them, whose virtues we would do well to copy. We call them barbarians—and a great part of the present generation, doubtless, deserve this epithet—but we may rest assured that future ages will be slow to extol our much boasted civiliza-

tion; and during the course of these letters I hope to make this assertion good, to at least a great number of my readers.

Mr. Heeren has indirectly thrown forth the following question, which I cannot pass over in silence: "Whether we are justified in expecting that the civilization of mankind will forever continue to advance, when we consider that nearly one half of it has from time immemorial remained—and from its physical position, must forever remain—in a nomadic state?"

I cannot think that the nomadic life presents an insurmountable barrier against man's attaining as high a degree of mental civilization as possible, when he shall once have been made acquainted with, and imbibed a relish for intellectual pleasures. On the contrary, it seems to me, that the nomadic people ought to have more time for the cultivation of the mind, than nations who till the earth, and dwell amid the busy hum of crowded cities. We cannot surely expect that shepherds can acquire the refined and polished manners of Parisian society; but why should they not be as well able to appreciate the glorious literary productions of ancient and modern times—and why should they not rise to the most enlightened views of their duty as men?

Were there no other obstacles to be met with in the advancement of the human race towards civilization—and, consequently, perfection—than a pastoral life, then I think we should have but little reason to doubt the unbounded perfectability of human nature.

LETTER XIII.

REMARKS BEFORE ENTERING UPON THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE ANCIENT ASIATIC KINGDOMS PREVIOUS TO CYRUS.

ALL the learned men whose works I have had an opportunity of consulting, who take it for granted that all mankind descended from the same first parents, also presume that Asia was the cradle of the human family, which from thence spread over the whole earth. But touching the particular part of Asia, which was the first dwelling-place of man, the opinions, as I have before said, are numerous and divided; nor can it be otherwise, as it is a question upon which no conclusive decision can be arrived at. The description given of it in the book of Genesis, seems to point out some mountainous country, in which were the sources of the principal of the four rivers there mentioned; but every endeavor to arrive at correct conclusions on that subject, from this description, has proved

futile, as might easily have been predicted from the darkness in which it is involved.

There are but few persons, I think, who have taken the pains to investigate this question, who are not willing to admit that the first man of earth and the mother of all living, took their first view of the earth and the heavens somewhere between the rivers Euphrates and the Ganges. But it is of little consequence whether it happened there or elsewhere. No one, however, will attempt to deny, at least, with any hope of success, that Asia was the cradle of the arts, and brought forth the first germs of science.

It may be, in accordance with Mr. Bailly's hypothesis, that the Indians, Chaldeans, Chinese, Egyptians, and Persians, received the knowledge common to them all, from some original source, or in other words, from a still more ancient and highly cultivated people of Asia, of whose memory there is now no trace, but who, nevertheless, emitted the first rays of mental light to all around them. "If we find," says he, "in the scattered huts of peasants, fragments of sculptured columns, we take it for granted that they were not the works of the rude peasants, who reared those unsightly huts, but rather, that they are the remains of a magnificent building, and the work of able architects, even though we discover no other traces of the existence of that building, nor can ascertain precisely where it once stood."

This opinion seems the more probable when we admit that the age of mankind is much greater than we are led to believe from the—no doubt erroneous—computations of Petavius and Usher. This assumption would account for many things upon which history throws no light. Still, as we have no historical evidence in support of such an assertion, we must consider it a mere hypothesis.

Above all the historical records of other nations, the Hindoos have brought forth the best evidence of the highest antiquity, and of the earliest civilization. Therefore the supposition of those may be correct, who presume that man's first abode was somewhere in the neighborhood of the Himalaya mountains—which are the most stupendous on the globe, their highest peak being twenty-eight thousand feet above the level of the ocean—almost twice as high as the highest peak of the Alps, and seven thousand feet higher than those of Chimborazo, in South America.

The Chinese rank next to the Hindoos in regard to the evidences of antiquity, but I will at present pass over their claims in silence.

Of all the nations known to history, and situated west of the Indus, those in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris, together with the Egyptians, were undoubtedly the first who rose to a civilized state, and founded mighty empires.

The Egyptians, according to the best testimonies, were of Asiatic origin, and even Mr. Volney has conceded the same in one of his later works, though he had once come, as I have somewhere else said, to the conclusion

that they were negroes.* The Egyptians cannot, therefore, claim greater antiquity than the Asiatics. Still it may have been possible that the Egyptians became civilized before those who lived in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris. Indeed, Egypt may, as many have supposed, have received its first impressions of civilization from India, and then communicated it to the Assyrians; but as this yet remains to be proved, we have still a right to presume that its first gems of civilization were received from the people in the neighborhood of these rivers, or that all these nations made equally rapid strides in civilization, after having had the same common instructor.

The history of these different nations will give you the best means of forming your individual opinions upon this subject. Therefore, without giving any previous preference in point of antiquity, either to the Asiatic nations or to the Egyptians, I have undertaken first to treat upon the affairs of the former.

The most ancient of the powerful kingdoms of Western Asia with which we are acquainted, were those of Assyria, and there can be no doubt that they were founded upon the ruins of many smaller ones; but these events are obscured by almost impenetrable darkness. It is impossible to ascertain the truth, yet it can so far be made to appear, that no doubt may rest upon the antiquity, and comparatively speaking, of the great advance in civilization of the ancient people who inhabited these regions. The most ancient traditions of which we have any record touching these countries, can only serve as a guide, by which a sound reasoning mind can alone penetrate the darkness, which as a pall covers everything previous to the dawn of day.

The confusion which appears in the history of these countries, doubtless, principally originated from the fact that Nineveh and Babylon were two rival cities, alternately holding sway over each other; and that both sometimes fell into the hands of different powerful nomad tribes, who, either from cupidity or desire to enjoy the pleasures offered by these rich cities, undertook their conquest. The high wall which surrounded Babylon and which we will soon describe, cannot reasonably be supposed to have been built for any other purpose than to defend it from the predatory incursions of neighboring nations, over whom it from that time may have begun to extend its sway. It could not have been an infant city which raised this astonishing wall,—but rather one that by a long course of trade, had become rich. The rude huts of poor peasants are not in want of such protection; they promise no booty that can recompense the robbers for the dangers they would incur. The rise too of Babylon and Nineveh—though

* Presuming as we do, that all mankind originated from the same first parents, and that they lived in Asia, the negroes, too, must be of Asiatic origin. It is, therefore, ridiculous in those who concede the one, and yet speak of the negroes as a distinct and inferior race of men. This assertion can only appear probable by presuming that they had a different origin.

the latter city probably never attained that opulence and civilization which the former possessed in its most flourishing days—was not the work of a few years ; many ages must have elapsed after their first foundation, before they could stand forth as capitals of vast empires. For instance, see the length of time that occurred after the foundation of Rome, before it extended its sway over even Italy !

We have abundant evidence that Babylon must have been in existence for ages, in the time of Herodotus, who visited it about one hundred years after it had been taken by Cyrus, and whose statements are sufficiently confirmed to merit confidence at our hands.

The modern writers who have treated on this subject are very numerous ; indeed so much so, that it would be more laborious than instructive to attempt to make ourselves familiar with them all. However I will give the names of those I have consulted, and satisfy myself with here alluding to the ancient sources from which information may be obtained concerning those interesting people who were known to us under the general name of Assyrians, as well as under the special names of Babylonians, Chaldeans and Assyrians.

The ancient sources are :—The Jewish writings, particularly the Pentateuch, the books of Kings, Chronicles, the Prophets, and Josephus ; of Greek writers, Herodotus, Ctesias, and Diodorus ; more recently, Syncellus, Eusebius, and Ptolemy ; and lastly, the native writer, Berosus, the fragments of whose work were translated into the Latin language, and in the year 1498 published in Rome, under the title of *Berosi Chaldeorum Historiæ quæ supersunt*.

But these authors differ so much, even upon main points, that the laborious attempts which have been made to reconcile them, by some learned men—among whom we will mention three Frenchmen, Messieurs Sevin, Debrosse and Ferret—have proved utterly futile.

It is of but little consequence, however, whether it was Asshur, Nimrod or Ninus, that founded Nineveh ; nor is it of any consequence how many kings, reigned in Babylon or Nineveh, or how long they reigned, or what their real names may have been.

The main question to which we require satisfactory answers are : What is the probable antiquity of these nations ? By what means did they rise to power and grandeur ? How was it that such powerful nations could obtain the superfluities of life in those countries where the Bedouin Arabs can now scarcely gather their scanty provisions ? What were the social and religious institutions of these ancient people ? And, what degree of civilization had they attained ?

These questions I will endeavor to answer, and leave my readers to decide how far I have succeeded. Adding, however, that if I fail in the attempt, I cannot alone be blamed for the issue, as it must also be attributed to the lack of information on these subjects, handed down to us by ancient writers.

LETTER XIV.

RELATIVE TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ASSYRIAN KINGDOMS.

What is the probable antiquity of these nations? This is the first question I will attempt to answer.

ACCORDING to the tenth chapter of Genesis, Nimrod, the great-grandson of Noah founded the kingdom of Babel, in the land Shinar, and "out of that land went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh;"—or, as many learned Orientalists interpret this citation from the eleventh verse of the same chapter: "Nimrod went forth as a conqueror into the land of Asshur and built Nineveh, and the other towns," mentioned in that and the subsequent verse. Thus Asshur was probably either a contemporary of Nimrod, or prior to him, as the country which the mighty hunter before the Lord, is said—in accordance to the latter mode of interpreting the original—to have conquered—bore the name of Asshur, who in the same chapter is mentioned as a descendant of Shem; Nimrod, on the contrary, being a descendant of Ham.

We have therefore an acknowledged authority for presuming that the Assyrian and Babylonian states—which we here designate under the general appellation of the Assyrian Kingdoms—were founded about one and the same time. But no kingdoms can appropriately be called founded without people in them to be ruled over, and no cities can be built without hands wherewith to erect buildings. These regions must therefore be conceded to have had a population before the time of Nimrod, if we are to regard this personage, not as the first settler, but as the founder of the kingdom in which the cities above mentioned were afterwards built. Be this as it may, it is however acknowledged, that Mizraim, the uncle of Nimrod, was the founder of the Egyptian state, and consequently it cannot be denied that the Assyrian kingdoms can claim an origin less ancient than that of the kingdom of Egypt. The evidence we therefore have of the antiquity of the Egyptian state, proves also, at the same time, an origin equally remote for the ancient Assyrian kingdoms.

We will take notice of what the Assyrians themselves say of their antiquity.

The Chaldeans—who seem to have been the priesthood, and the principal class at least for a long period among the Babylonians, (as Berosus relates,) assert that there were kings who ruled at Babylon before the deluge, and for a period of time amounting to 120 sari, or 432,000 years. The last of these kings was Xisulthrus, at the end of whose reign, of eighteen (?) sari, or 64,800 years, the Deluge happened.

I must observe that, it being very evident the years spoken of here do not correspond with our years, the learned have come to no certain conclusion as to what time these years signify. Were we to assume that they mean days, then the reign of the antediluvian kings would be reduced to a probable period of time, though the reign of Xisulthrus would still comprise the the improbable number of about 174 years. Yet we have the authority of the Bible for the very great age man attained in those times. Perhaps it ought to be read eight sari, instead of eighteen, which would give a very different appearance to this assertion of the Chaldeans.

To Xisulthrus the god Cronus appeared in a vision and informed him that a flood would take place at a particular time, and that he should write a history of all things down to the very time and bury it in the City of the Sun. He was also commanded to build a ship, and taking with him a pilot, to embark in it with his family and friends, together with animals of all kinds. Having prepared all things as he was instructed, Xisuthrus sailed about the world on the face of the waters until the flood abated, when the vessel rested, as was supposed, somewhere on the Gordyæan mountains.* Here, after sending forth birds, and thus finding that the earth was dry, he, with his wife and daughter and the pilot, left the vessel for the dry land. Having then erected an altar and sacrificed to the gods, he and his companions disappeared

Those whom he had left in the vessel now disembarked, and began to deplore the loss of their companions, repeating aloud the name of Xisulthrus. Though they saw him no more, yet they heard his voice in the air, admonishing them to pay due regard to religion, and telling them that for the sake of his piety he had been called to live with the gods, and that his wife, daughter and the pilot, had been allowed to partake of the same honors. He further told them, to endeavor to find the way to Babylon, and search at Perisabora, (Sippara,) for the records he had concealed there, and which were to be made known to all mankind. This is probably an imperfect account of the great event recorded in the history of the deluge in Genesis, and it seems to corroborate the claims of the antiquity of the Assyrians; for if we must acknowledge one fact related by them to be true, in its outlines, why should we reasonably doubt that there may not be a great deal of truth in their other statements? It cannot be denied that the Assyrian people, at least within a short period after the deluge, began to form themselves into social bodies, and that they thus have just pretensions to an antiquity which extends back to a time not far from that event. The time when the deluge happened may be regarded as more or less remote from the birth of Christ, in accordance with whichever of the many different computations of the learned we think proper to put the most confidence in.

* Now the mountains of Zagrosch.

By what means did the Assyrian kingdoms rise to power and grandeur?

The situation of these states on and between the banks of the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, formed a powerful inducement with the Assyrian people to engage in mercantile intercourse with more distant nations. The trade with Armenia was principally carried on, by way of the river Euphrates, on rafts of timber, bound upon inflated hides, or in rude boats, in the manner related by Herodotus. These rafts were laden with wine and other productions, and when they reached Babylon were sold, together with the products they conveyed, as the force of the current rendered it impossible to navigate them back again up the river. The owners, however, are said carefully to have preserved the skins, which were folded and placed on the backs of asses or mules, and carried back by land. There cannot, I think, be much doubt that the great Assyrian cities on the banks of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on an extensive trade with India, as it is made very evident by the language of Isaiah,* and also by many incidental allusions of Greek writers, from whom we learn that the Assyrian people were at a very early period in possession of a mercantile navy. Mr. Heeren,† however, observes, that there is reason for believing that much of the trade between Assyria and India, was transacted by the Phœnicians, who, as we know, had settlements on the eastern coast of Arabia, and who carried on a lively commercial intercourse with Babylon. The land trade of this city extended to a great distance. It was by trade that Babylon acquired a great part of its wealth, and trade was undoubtedly also, one of the means to enrich Nineveh. Still, trade was not the only means by which these capitals became so opulent. The manner in which they became so was also by means of flourishing manufactories, and by the excellent workmanship of their mechanics.

The Assyrians, in general, were celebrated for the purple dye with which they tinged their fine stuffs of wool and cotton, that also were much famed. The cloaks called *sindones*, generally made of cotton, were highly esteemed for fineness of texture and brilliancy of color, and were mostly used by royal persons. Their draperies and embroideries are spoken of in the highest terms of praise; and their carpets, said to have been very fine, and of splendid dyes, were in great quantities exported to foreign countries, and particularly to Persia, where, as is the oriental custom, they were seen on every bed and couch of the wealthier classes. The palaces and temples of Babylon bore manifest proofs of the skill of its mechanics in the working of metal, and in the cutting of stones and gems. It is not only historians that tell us this, but travelers who, in later times have visited these regions,

* Chapter xxiii.

† See Heeren's *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse and Trade of the Carthaginians, &c.*

inform us, that there are occasionally found, fragments, among the ruins of the ancient cities of these countries, which bear marks of the most excellent workmanship.

As an evidence of the perfection and ingenuity of some of the Babylonian manufactures, it is well worthy of mention that Pliny relates, that the sum of about 31,257 dollars was paid for Babylonian hangings to a single dining-room.

But the ingenuity and industry of the mechanics, and the enterprising spirit of the merchants, laudable as they were, seem to deserve, however, no more praise, than the diligence and skill with which the rural population cultivated the fields; and let us not forget to add, as it is so very rare, the wisdom and paternal care some of the Assyrian monarchs displayed in the stupendous works by which they facilitated the arduous labor of the cultivators of the soil, which, without being fertile in itself, by art and prudent management, brought forth, in ancient times, the most luxuriant harvests. It was by supplying the means of irrigation from the periodical floods of the Euphrates and Tigris, that some of the kings of the Assyrian states, made themselves worthy rulers of an intelligent peasantry, and deserving the approbation of posterity. Herodotus, and Diodorus, inform us, that several of the Babylonian monarchs commanded the undertaking of great hydraulic works, and the building of several extensive canals. These were by degrees joined together, by which the land was divided into sections, all within the reach of water. Travelers tell us, that all these canals, instead of having been sunk in the earth, like those of the present day, were constructed entirely on the surface, and thus so difficult to build that the engineers of our day would have a hard task, were they required to construct such canals. They bore signal evidence of the attention then paid to agriculture.

The land in the immediate vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris—particularly of the former—was defended from the periodical rise of these streams, by embankments which, by confining the water, raised it so as to fill the canals. These thus served as means not only of receiving the superfluous waters of the rivers, which else would have caused dangerous inundations, but also of distributing it for the purposes of irrigation.

Though it was by the force of arms that the Assyrian people extended their power, yet it was apparently by more praiseworthy means that they became mighty, rich, and prosperous. It was by the industrious habits of the people in general, by the intelligence of the peasantry, by the skill of the mechanics, by the activity and extensive commerce of the merchants, and by the prudent administration of affairs by many of their rulers, that the nations of Assyria rose to greatness, and for a long period were renowned for their wealth and luxuries, and magnificence of display.

The fertility and immense riches of the Assyrian kingdoms are best attested by the fact, that when the Persian empire—to which they were

then subjected, and which, at that time, extended from India to the Ægean Sea, and from the Caspian Sea to Ethiopia,—was, by Darius Hystaspes, divided into satrapies, Assyria, which constituted the ninth satrapy, contributed alone—as Herodotus tells us—a full third part of the revenues of the whole empire.

The soil, cultivated with diligence, and made fertile by ingenious methods, brought forth abundant harvests. An extensive trade carried to Babylon, and probably to Nineveh, and to many other Assyrian cities, the wool of Carmania, the lapis-lazuli, the onyxes, the emeralds, the rubies, and other precious stones, and the turquois from Bactria, and from other distant countries. Though not particularly mentioned by any author, there can be little doubt that the Assyrians also got various drugs, gums and dyes, indigo and saffron, from Upper India, and probably silk from Serica. The looms, and the work-shops of the Assyrian cities, formed the rude materials into sumptuous stuffs and ingenious works of art, and thus prepared the means, not only by which to pay for the imported articles, but also left a surplus for still further operation, after having supplied the luxurious wants at home.

Fertile fields, numerous flocks, luxuriant harvests, and productive manufactories and commerce, gave an abundance of food and comfortable homes to a numerous population, and rendered them contented, happy, and powerful.

But when wealth begat pride, and luxurious and effeminate habits begat enervation; when the children began to forget the wisdom and virtues of their parents, and rioted in scandalous debaucheries; and when treasured riches awakened the cupidity of the barbarians, and cowardice had succeeded heroism; then the Assyrian kingdoms became the prey of conquerors, and their sun of glory hastened to its setting. Their splendid cities sunk into dust, or crumbled in ruins, and mournful silence and ragged poverty succeeded the noise of the work-shops and the shouts of joyous crowds. The admirable works of irrigation became decayed, and the boasted fertility of these countries seemed as a mere fable. The golden ears of but few rich corn-fields now delight the traveler's eyes. The soil is the same, but the industrious generations who clothed it by their labor with the blessings of nature, have been followed by a lazy and rapacious race, who must now reap the thorns they have sown.

Thus I have answered not only the question—*By what means did the Assyrian people rise to power and grandeur?* but also—*How it was that such powerful nations could obtain sumptuous luxuries in those countries where the Bedouins now scarcely get their scanty provisions?*

I will now attempt to answer, as satisfactorily as possible, the question:

What were the social and religious institutions of these ancient people?

The government, like that of almost all other states of Asia, was despotic, originating from the patriarchal form, which, I have elsewhere

said, carried in itself the germs of almost every kind of government. The Assyrian kings seem to have been hereditary from the very foundation of these states, without any previous consent of the people. The custom of the son's succession to the power of the father is the most natural, and thus readily came into use among the majority of ancient, as well as of modern nations, without having been sanctioned by law. The Assyrian rulers wielded not only the executive power, but were also the principal, if not the sole legislators. At first, they were probably but chiefs of smaller communities, and perhaps alone administered all public affairs; but when those small states began to grow into powerful empires, then there originated a great number of royal functionaries and servants, who, by appointment of the king—whose person they were really representing—administered justice, collected revenues, and commanded the troops. Thus Daniel relates how Nebuchadnezzar deputed his authority to princes, governors, judges, treasurers, captains, and sheriffs, whose duty it was to maintain good order in all departments of the royal dominions.

The king generally selected, from among his own relatives and the principal citizens, his chief officers. Still, under particular circumstances and by royal favor, persons of the very lowest class were sometimes elevated to the highest offices. We know the duties of some of these royal functionaries; as, for instance, there seems to have been three classes of judges. The first class had to regulate marriages, and to punish all crimes which were in violation of the obligations of the married state; the second had to try all cases of murders, robberies and thefts; and the third had to examine and pass judgment on civil questions. The prince of the eunuchs, and the captain of the guard, as well as the supreme judge and the chief of the magicians, were always in attendance on the king, and belonged to the royal household, at least, in later times. The first of these high functionaries had charge of the interior of the royal palace, and of the education of the youth who were brought up at the king's expense; the second was the executioner of the royal will; the third sat in a room at the gate of the royal palace, to hear complaints, and pass judgment; and the last, who had to attend near the person of the king, had, indeed, no very easy task to perform, as his duty was to interpret omens and dreams, to foretell future events from present signs, and to determine the seasons which promised fortune and success to the undertakings of the king.

In later times, the monarchs surrounded themselves with a display of majestic pomp, and kept aloof from the view of the vulgar, who considered them as almost supernatural beings. Many of the more ancient kings, having been worshipped as divinities, it seems as though they had made themselves—as we know that many of the later princes did—deserving of the gratitude of the people; because, low as human nature can be debased, it is, however, scarcely probable that numerous nations could

have been induced to pay divine honors to their tyrants, unless, after their death, they were regarded as infernal spirits, whose wrath it was hoped thus to appease.

The king was generally saluted with the oriental form of, "O king, live for ever!" and sometimes called King of kings, which appellation might justly be applied to some of the Assyrian monarchs, who had many conquered chiefs among their vassals.

We know very little of the laws that existed among the Assyrian people, and there is no reason to suppose that they formed any regular and connected system. Punishments depended chiefly upon the caprice of the king, and his disposition in regard to the crimes which were brought to his cognizance. In regard to persons upon whom the king's displeasure might fall, the punishments were sometimes cruel, as we can see from what happened to Daniel and his fellow-prisoners. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the judges were, in general, bound to keep themselves within the limits of ancient customs, which, by degrees, assumed the power of laws.

Although we cannot say whether they might have been sanguinary or not among the Assyrians, yet it seems, from what we know of other ancient people, that the ancient laws were often far more humane than those of the moderns. Indeed, it is not to be wondered at, when, even in our day, disciples of that Master, whose breath was reconciliation, are so forgetful of the chief principles of his doctrine, which they blasphemously pretend to preach, as to recommend the most cruel and irrational punishments.

There was one law among the Assyrians, which is handed down to us by Herodotus, and which, strange and contrary as it was to human feelings, still carries in itself self-evidence of the encouragement given to marriage. This law was probably beneficial in those more remote ages, when the ties of marriage might have been considered as a check on the irregular manner in which the natural appetites of man were then generally satisfied. The law alluded to, provided, that instead of parents disposing of their own daughters in marriage, or of leaving this affair to the young maidens themselves, the latter should be brought to a public place, appointed for that purpose, and put up for sale, one by one, to the man who offered the highest sum of money. The sums which were thus obtained for the beautiful women who were first sold, were employed in procuring husbands for those whose deficiency of beauty had prevented them from getting a bidder. A premium, proportioned to the want of personal charms, was added to each of these young women, who then were disposed of in the same manner. It is to be supposed that the cupidity so general in men, left none without a husband. We are also informed that this sale was conducted with the strictest attention to decency, being always performed under the superintendence of the magistrates appointed for this very purpose, who were respectable both in their rank and age, and

who, before the bargain was considered binding, had to receive security from each purchaser, that he would contract marriage with the maiden he had bought.

There was another law—which, however, many have considered more as belonging to the religion—prevalent in Babylon at least, which commanded the public prostitution of every woman once in her lifetime, who for this purpose was obliged to present herself at the temple of the goddess Mylitta, (the Assyrian Venus,) and there remain until any man, who might choose, had become the instrument of accomplishing the prescript of the law. Infamous as this law was, the origin of it is undoubtedly to be sought for in the promiscuous state in which men and women in the most remote and barbarous ages probably lived. The wise legislator who attempted to introduce marriages among these nations in their barbarous state, may, therefore, have had to concede this exception from the general rule he prescribed, in order to overcome the obstacles, old customs, and the unbridled appetites men had put in the way of his beneficent endeavors.

Justly as we may condemn this law as offensive to good morals and every feeling of decorum, we must, nevertheless, not forget, that the legislators of those times had to contend with the prejudices and passions of men, who would not admit anything to be right which would conflict with their accustomed habits. We have no right to censure too severely infamous and indecorous laws among ancient nations, as long as we permit laws to remain among ourselves, violating the principles of the Christian religion, and outraging every feeling of humanity.

This scandalous law of the Babylonians might well have been imposed upon the women by priests, from some unworthy purposes of their own; but we are not justified in accusing any one, without having just reasons for our charge. Therefore, being in want of proofs to sustain this accusation, I think that we would pursue a more generous and defensible course, in attributing the origin of this law to some other source. I do not envy those moralists who condemn the errors of mankind, without attempting to investigate whether there may not have been some reasons which might in some degree excuse them.

As we know nothing more worthy of notice of the Assyrian laws, we will now turn our attention to the investigation of their religion.

“Logicians,” says Mr. Macaulay, “may reason about abstractions, but the great mass of mankind never feel an interest in them. They must have images. The strong tendency of the multitude in all ages and nations to idolatry, can be explained by no other principle. The first inhabitants of Greece, there is every reason to believe, worshipped one invisible Deity. But the necessity of having something more definite to adore, produced, in a few centuries, the innumerable crowds of gods and goddesses. In like manner, the ancient Persians thought it impious to exhibit the Creator under a human form. Yet even these transferred to

the sun, the worship which speculatively they considered due, only to the Supreme mind."

These words convey truths that cannot be denied. The first impression on the mind of reflecting man, undoubtedly was, that the majestic structure of the visible world was created by an All-powerful Being. But man finding this Being nowhere visible, soon began to worship Him through the medium of His works, and especially through the heavenly bodies, which however, in the course of time, became by the vulgar, considered divinities themselves.

Thus probably originated the worship of the sun, the moon and the stars, which is called Sabianism. The idea of this idolatry might well have sprung up very early among the Chaldean herdsmen, on whose minds these bright orbs seem to have made a deep impression.

The inhabitants of Western Asia were divided into two principal religious sects; that of the *Sabians*, who adored images; and that of the *Magi* who worshipped fire. The *former* of these sects is considered to have had its origin among the Chaldeans who, as above alluded to from the contemplation and study of the heavenly bodies, were induced to consider some, if not all of them, as inhabited each by an individual intelligence, who was to its own orb, what the soul of man is to his body. When, therefore, the art of sculpture had been invented, they had images made, representing the persons whose souls they believed were embodied in the celestial spheres, and pretended that the intelligences, or divinities, were present in the images as well as in the stars or planets themselves. The *Magi*, of whom I will further speak, when treating on the history of Persia, held, on the contrary, images in utter abhorrence, and worshipped the Supreme Being, only under the form of fire, which they thought, on account of its purity, brilliancy, power, subtility and incorruptibility, the most perfect and most worthy symbol of the Deity.

There can be very little doubt, I think, that the Chaldeans, too, at first, conceived the heavenly bodies as symbols of the Supreme Being, and thus as I have said before, worshipped Him through the medium of those glorious orbs; but this pure worship might have become corrupt from the following cause:

The souls of the kings who had distinguished themselves, when living, by their heroic deeds, or paternal care of the people, might at first have been regarded as guardian spirits, and as continuing to protect the nations, from whom they had departed; but, in the course of time, the belief crept in that they were embodied in the sun, the moon, and the stars, to which, in forgetfulness of what had formerly been told them by their priests, the people were induced to pay divine honors, and regard as deities. Whether the Chaldean priest hooel believed this doctrine themselves is impossible to decide; but though the inventors, probably, did not harbor this belief, their successors might well have done it; because nothing is more contagious

than superstition. Besides, believing, as the Chaldeans must have done, in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, they may have arrived at the belief, that the souls of departed kings really inhabited the celestial bodies, as they did not know where else they should place, after their death, the spiritual part of their rulers.

But I cannot think that the Chaldeans themselves believed that the souls of these divinities were present in the images representing them, though they imposed this belief upon the people, who perhaps even in general only considered the images as symbols. This opinion is, at least, more worthy of human nature. There have been too many among the learned who have imputed to the ancient people thoughts, and deeds, of which those nations themselves, perhaps, had not the remotest idea. It is wrong to pass judgment only in accordance with appearances, because these frequently mislead us.

But whatever divinities the people, and even the Assyrian priests themselves, might have worshipped, the latter, nevertheless, acknowledged a Supreme Being, who, they said, directed the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the course of Nature, but effected it through the instrumentality of inferior agents, or deities. They taught also that the world was eternal, without beginning, and without end. There is every reason to suppose, as I have alluded to above, that the Chaldeans considered the soul immortal, as is indirectly proved by the worship which was paid to the souls of departed kings.

The cruelty of sometimes sacrificing human victims in order to appease their divinities, rests as a stain upon the memory of the Assyrian people, and particularly upon their priests, who persuaded them to practice such enormities. Still, it is supposed that this violation of all the feelings of humanity was attended with too much horror to have been long continued, and that this diabolical custom was afterwards practised only by the inhabitants of the district of Sepharvaim, who went so far in suppressing every natural feeling, as to offer even their own children in sacrifice.

Among the Assyrians, or at least among those of them, who inhabited Babylon, Belus or Baal was the principal god. It is presumed that one of the ancient kings was worshipped under that name. Some antiquarians have thought that the king in question, was Pul or Belus, who reigned in Assyria proper in the eighth century, before the Christian era; but I think that this opinion is erroneous, as the worship of Belus was undoubtedly far more ancient. It seems, therefore, to me, by far more probable that the king worshipped under that name was Nimrod.

There was in Babylon a famous temple dedicated to Belus; but it seems that two separate divinities were worshipped under that name; the one represented by a colossal statue of gold, and the other worshipped under the form of no image whatever. There were also in this temple, two altars,

on the largest of which, none but full grown victims could be offered, and on the lesser altar, young victims only. This seems also, to confirm the opinion that divine honors were paid to two gods under that name.

The next in rank to these divinities was the goddess that, according to Herodotus, the Babylonians called Mylitta, which signifies mother, and who, some think, was represented by the idol mentioned in the second book of Kings under the name of Succoth-benoth, and which is said to mean *the Tabernacle of the Daughters*: to me, however, this name seems more properly to have been applied to the temple in which the idol was set up, than to the idol itself, which may afterwards have received the name from the place where it stood.

Besides these chief divinities there were a considerable number of others; and there can be no doubt that this religion was, at least in appearance, an idolatrous polytheism. One of the chief causes of the worship of images was, I think, the art of sculpture, which was much practiced, at least in the city of Babylon, where it attained a high degree of excellence, if we are allowed to judge from the works which are said to have been there executed. The admiration which these statues excited among the populace in those times, when the art of sculpture was so new, rose to a kind of enchantment, or rather delirium, which designing men soon turned to their own account, by representing them as images of gods. That this illusion strongly affected the minds of the people is very evident, as Jeremiah exhorted the Israelites, during their captivity, to beware, when they should see, in the city of Babylon, the gold and silver statues carried about in pomp on days of public solemnity. It is also to be observed that with almost all the ancient nations among whom the art of sculpture was cultivated, we find a polytheistic idolatry. On the other hand it is very natural that, among those people who had no knowledge of cutting images in stone, or wood, or metal, no worship of idols could exist. It is, however, wrong to think that all who kneeled before the images, considered them as gods; certainly not. Many viewed them only as representing the deities. But, on the other hand, it can not be denied that the primitive idea of one Creator remained more pure among many of the barbarous, than the more cultivated people.

The administrations of the rites of religion in Babylon, was in the hands of the Chaldeans, at least during the later period. It is supposed that the Magi had been the priesthood in more remote ages, and that the religion then was more free from superstition. Those who harbor this supposition entertain also the opinion that the religion of the Magi existed before the time of Zoroaster. But as I intend to speak of this question when we arrive at the history of the Persians, we will now for the present leave it. I have, however, no objection to make against the religion of the Magi being considered as having existed among the Babylonians, before another religious worship was introduced by the

Chaldeans, who, in later times, composed the hierarchy, and were at the same time, if not the sole, at least the chief possessors of the learning of Babylon. Before we speak further of them, it may not be out of place here to mention, that it has been a matter of much dispute among the learned, who those Chaldeans primitively were; but this question is involved in so much darkness, that it has not been conclusively answered, and I think that it scarcely will be.

The most probable opinion seems to me to be that which Mr. Heeren entertains on this subject. He thinks the Chaldeans to have been first a nomadic race, who, descending from the Taurian mountains, made themselves masters of Babylon. As the Chaldeans, of whom Job* speaks, appear to have been a predatory race, and probably also lived a nomadic life, they might well be the very tribe that took possession of Babylon; at least, this is a circumstance that corroborates the opinion of Mr. Heeren.†

I think it may be probable that the Chaldeans were a class distinct from the sorcerers, astrologers, and wise men, as they are always mentioned separately in the book of Daniel. Their answer to Nebuchadnezzar‡ seems to confirm this, as they say—"There is no king, lord, or ruler, that asked such things of any magician, or astrologer, or Chaldean." Why mention the Chaldean separately, unless he belonged to a distinct class? The continuation of their answer seems to prove clearly that, at least, the Chaldeans themselves did not believe the idols were real divinities, because, when saying that no one could interpret the king's dream "except the gods," they add, "whose dwelling is not with flesh:" that is, the gods dwell not among men. Though the Chaldeans were too enlightened to entertain the opinion that idols were anything but mere human works; yet they might have felt no conscientious scruples against instilling a different belief into the minds of the vulgar. They pretended to be in possession of the gift of prophecy, the knowledge of divination, and the power of deciding the destinies of their fellow-men. And, indeed, by their artifices, by their superior learning, and by virtue of their sacerdotal office, they acquired a prodigious influence over an ignorant people. But when they were unable to interpret the dreams of their kings, or answer, in a satisfactory manner, the inquiries, that lay beyond the power of human ken, then they became subject to punishments, which were a retribution for the flagrant impositions they were wont to practice.

I will here relate a tradition of the Chaldeans, handed down to us by Berosus, and which seems to express the opinion of the Chaldeans in regard to the formation of the earth, for the habitation of man.

* Chap. i. 17.

† Those who are curious to know more of this subject, I refer to Mr. Heeren's *Historical Researches*, and to the *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, by Mr. G. S. Faber; and also to the works of Josephus.

‡ Daniel, Chap. ii. 10. 11.

In the time of the third of the antediluvian kings appeared Oannes Annedotus—an amphibious monster, half man and half fish—who arose one day from the Erythrean Sea, and began to instruct the crowd that had assembled from motives of curiosity.

We must here remark, that this person being described as half man and half fish, evidently signifies that he was either shipwrecked—which seems most probable from the description itself—or that he arrived in the first vessel seen in these regions. Coming, as is said, from the Erythrean Sea, that is, from the Indian Sea and the Gulf of Persia, it seems to me that he was rather an Hindoo than an Egyptian, as many learned men have considered him to have been; if it be true that such a person ever arrived in Babylonia in this manner, satisfied as I am that the Hindoos have proved themselves to have been the most anciently civilized of all people known to us, I am the more ready from what is further told of this Oannes, to conclude that he was a Hindoo.

In accordance with the farther information we have of the Chaldeans, as related by Berosus, this Oannes taught that there was a time when everything was immersed in water, and enveloped in darkness, and when monsters of various kinds, together with snakes, reptiles, and fishes, dwelt in the depths of the water, and were subjected to the sway of Omoroca, a female, who, in the course of unnumbered ages, reigned over them in gloomy solitude, until Belus at length came and cut her asunder, forming out of one half of her body, the earth, and of the other half, the heavens, and annihilating thereafter all the monsters. But Oannes regarded this as an allegory, the meaning of which was, to teach the aqueous origin of the earth; for Omoroca was the same as *Thalath*, or the ocean, although that word also might signify the moon.

This allegory, thus explained by Oannes, gives the very opinions of many celebrated geologists and naturalists of our days in regard to the earth, as I have elsewhere alluded to, and is the same as that expressed by the author of Genesis, in these words: "And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep."

Oannes told also, that Belus—which name was probably substituted by the Chaldeans in place of another—separated the darkness from the light; the earth from the heavens; called forth the heavenly bodies, and prescribed the laws of nature.

From this description of the creation—which is so similar to that given in Genesis—it is evident that the name of Belus is here applied to the Supreme Being, and to no king of the Babylonians. It were contrary to every probability, to presume that the Chaldeans could ever have thought a human person—though he might be worshipped as a god—capable of creating the world. They were indeed not so stupid as some prejudiced persons, who ought to have known better, pretended that they were. The

answer given to Nebuchadnezzar, above alluded to, proves that the Chaldeans were too enlightened to entertain the same absurd ideas as the ignorant populace might probably have cherished. We must not suppose that priests have always believed in the doctrines they have taught. How, for instance, could the priestess of Delphi believe that Apollo communicated to her the answers she returned to the interrogators? Mankind have always been divided into two classes—the deceivers and the deceived. Curious enough, the former have been no more anxious to deceive, than the latter to be deceived.

Having said enough in answer to the previous question, I will now reply to the following :

What degree of civilization had the people of the ancient kingdoms of Assyria attained?

We have seen the progress they had made in the mechanical arts; but remarkable as they were, and proving, as they do, a long series of years spent in the arts of industry and inventions, they, however, are no evidence of a high mental culture. The superstition of their religion, and their idolatry, on the other hand, cannot be taken as proof of barbarism, for the highly civilized Greeks and Romans are obnoxious to the same reproach. Neither are cruel punishments an evidence of an uncultivated state, as there has scarcely ever existed, nor does there now exist, any nation—even those who claim the highest degree of civilization—that are not liable to the charge of cruelty and inhumanity in their criminal legislation. Besides, we are not sure that the laws were, in general, extremely inhuman or sanguinary, though we have good reason for such a supposition.

We know very little of the manners of these people, as the historians from whom we have got our knowledge, give us, in this respect, very scanty information. Thus we are, in general, ignorant of their domestic habits, though we are taught that they were luxurious; that their households were expensive; their apparel sumptuous; that they were very fond of jewelry, and many varied colors; that each man had on his finger a seal-ring,* and in his hand a stock, or staff, which, in accordance with a particular law, was adorned, on the head, with the figure of some flower or animal; that they used slippers on their feet; and that the under-garments of the Babylonians were of linen, reaching to their heels; and that they wore over this a woollen vestment, and above all, a white cloak, or mantle, often decorated with costly embroideries. Their hair they let grow long, and their heads they covered with a tiara, or turban. This description is to be applied only to the higher and wealthier classes as also what we read about the dainties, delicacies, and many dishes at

* Many such rings are yet picked up among the ruins of Babylon.

their entertainments. Such luxuries, a consequence of wealth, were not seen among these people in earlier times; neither is it reasonable to suppose that they were then effeminate. But since industry had created riches and pride, the latter induced them to display the former. It was also very natural that they would enjoy the fruits of their labor; but, giving loose reins to their sensual appetites, they became, at last, gluttons and debauchees.

Literature and learning seemed exclusively to belong to the Chaldeans, under which name is also generally included the magicians and the wise men; though, at least, the former were not, in my opinion, properly Chaldeans. Many may think that the fact of the Chaldeans being the learned class appears at variance with the opinion I expressed in regard to their early conquest of Babylon, when a nomadic tribe. When we, however, take into consideration that, being conquerors, they probably did not condescend to manual labor, and that their nomadic life might have led them to the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, and that they then might have acquired the first knowledge in that science, which they always cultivated, and by which they made themselves renowned, I think that we will find the opinion I entertain, together with many learned men, to be confirmed by the Chaldeans' love of astronomy and sciences, which required a reflecting mind.

I will here observe, that Diodorus asserts that the science of astronomy had been introduced into Babylon by the Egyptians; and, also, that this city was an Egyptian colony. These assertions of Diodorus, I think, originate from the fact of Babylon being probably, in the time of Sesostris, held in possession by the Egyptians, who then, very likely, were taught, by the Babylonians, things of which they might before have been ignorant; and the latter also have learnt from their conquerors, things of which they before had no knowledge.

The Chaldeans do not assert, that either the science of astronomy, or the art of writing, was invented by them; they refer their first information on these subjects, as well as their first knowledge in geometry, architecture, jurisprudence, and even astrology, to Oannes. The concession of the Chaldeans, that they have no claims to the invention of these sciences, as well as of the art of writing, is indeed a strong argument in favor of the opinion, that they had got the first germs of knowledge, in these instances, from abroad. But as they neither say that they had obtained them from Egypt, nor that Oannes was an Egyptian, it seems to me to confirm the opinion, that this person was an Hindoo. This, I think, will appear more conclusively, when we come to treat on the history of the Hindoos. But as the Chaldeans also told that Oannes had appeared four times, and once under the name of Odacon, this indicates, what is the most reasonable to suppose, that there were several foreigners who instructed the Babylonians

in the different branches of their knowledge. It is most probable, that they themselves brought forth the germs of some of the departments of learning and received the germs of others from foreign countries.

That the Chaldeans had a considerable acquaintance with mathematics and geometry, is confirmed by the stupendous buildings, canals, and other works which are attributed to them, and of whose existence, not only the historians and other writers speak, but their very ruins, by their vast piles of brick and decayed remnants, assure us.

Many antiquarians have asserted that the Babylonians had first made use of hieroglyphics, before the art of writing was invented. This assertion is again vehemently opposed by others. Among the latter, I will mention the celebrated Herder, who says that he cannot be convinced that they ever used hieroglyphics, as their soothsayers and wise men could interpret everything else except hieroglyphics; and as all the nomadic tribes of Asia have, from time immemorial, accounted the art of writing as one of their prerogatives. Besides, all the Aramaic tribes contemned the hieroglyphics almost with religious hatred, and boasted of their knowledge of the art of writing. He adduces, also, the inscription which Semiramis cut in the rock, together with the image of herself, which was made in Syrian letters, and not in hieroglyphics.

That the art of writing was early known, if not invented, by the Babylonians, there can be no question. It were else almost impossible, that the Chaldeans could have preserved their annotations of the astronomical observations, which are said to have been sent to Aristotle, and that they could have been in early possession of written contracts, and of the very ancient historical records, which Nabonassar is said to have destroyed; none of which, for that reason, have come down to us.

In whatever way, or from whomsoever the Chaldeans had attained the first seeds of knowledge, it is impossible to deny the evidence we have of the considerable advance they had made in learning and science. It is indeed curious to observe how some learned men have looked down upon these acquirements with contempt, without well considering all the obstacles those people must have had to contend with. To learn the alphabet, and to spell, is indeed a harder labor than to read a thousand pages, and to discover the first principles of a science is more difficult than to advance it onward to perfection.

The Chaldeans surely are not to be compared with the learned men of Greece and Rome, yet they nevertheless deserve credit for what they did, to promote the sciences, and have in this respect claims upon our gratitude. The bad use they made of their knowledge of astronomy, was done chiefly in their capacity of priests, and they are not the only ones blameable in this respect. No community, no sect is free from the reproach of having sometimes used blameable means for attaining their ends, and from having

numbered among themselves members who have resorted to objectionable measures.

In regard to the progress of the Assyrians generally, and particularly of the Babylonians, in the arts, there can be no doubt that in some branches they had attained a high degree of perfection. How far, however, they could appreciate the truly beautiful, we do not know, but they seem to have had more fondness for colossal structures, and for what was gaudy and showy, than for what was harmonious and elegant. Few nations can boast of refined taste, and there is no reason to suppose the Assyrians to have been among this small number.

Addicted as the Babylonians were to pleasures, and to voluptuous enjoyments; it is no wonder that they were fond of music, and exercised that charming talent. I count music among the voluptuous enjoyments, because it surely affects the senses, though, at the same time, it elevates the feelings of the soul. But the senses are the medium, by which the soul is thus affected. To determine to what degree of perfection music was carried among these people, is impossible; but I think, being in its infancy, it was very imperfect and rude. We learn from Genesis,* that in Laban's time, instrumental music was used in the country where he dwelt, and which is considered to have been Mesopotamia, since, among other reproaches against Jacob, he complains that, by his precipitate flight, he had made it impossible for him to conduct him *with mirth, with songs, with tabret, and with harp*. We read farther, in the book of Daniel, that in Babylon, was used, in his time, *flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries and dulcimers*. It is presumed by many persons who have investigated this subject, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is to say, with the harmony of voices, with that of instruments, and with that of voices and instruments in concert. But whether this was the case, in regard to the Assyrians, is very uncertain.

The Greeks called all nations barbarians, and the Babylonians might have been so in comparison, not with the Greeks generally, but with the Ionians, and particularly with the Athenians. Still, from what we know of the acquirements of the Babylonians, we cannot, with due regard to the early times in which they existed, refuse to consider them as a people who had made considerable strides towards civilization. If all their contemporaries had marched onward with the same rapidity, the human race would already, in the first period, have presented a different view from what actually appeared. Their licentious habits, their excesses of sensual pleasures, blameable as they were, ought not to make us blind to their real merits. The greatest stain on these people was their abject superstition, for which the priesthood, however, is most to blame. Their priests

* Chap xxxi. 27.

and wise men were perfect masters in the art of deception, and astronomy was degraded to astrology, and used as a means to lead the people in accordance with the wishes of their rulers. It was, however, meritorious in these wise men that they did not pretend to understand medicine, and that they did not practise such gross imposture as, in our days, do the innumerable quacks, who, without remorse, sacrifice millions of human lives to their ignorance, and to their eager desire of riches. We may pity their want of the knowledge of medicine, when we read that the sick were exposed in public places, where those who passed by them might see them, in the hope that somebody who had been afflicted with the same disease, and been cured, might tell them by what means they had been restored to health. But, we must acknowledge, that it was better than if these sufferers had had to pay heavy charges for being poisoned.

These people, who are justly blamed for inhumanity, in regard to the human victims, which, at least for a period, they used to sacrifice to their deities, were, however, in other respects, less careless of human lives than several of the nations of the present day. Indeed, it is pitiful to hear all the accusations which are brought against the ancient people, by persons who seem to be forgetful that nations who boast of being Christians are liable to reproaches of no less excusable nature.

Having said what I intended to do in answer to the proposed questions, I will now relate the accounts which ancient historians have handed down to us of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, and of some of the most celebrated works of the Assyrian nations.

Before I enter directly on this task, there are preliminary observations to be made.

There have been many learned disquisitions, as to whether the land of Shinar, spoken of in Genesis, is the same as that which, in more recent times, was called Babylonia, without having led to any decisive result. The majority, however, of antiquarians are inclined to answer this question in the affirmative, while some of the minority think that the land of Shinar was situated in the upper part of Mesopotamia. To me, the opinion of the former seems more probable, as I think that Babylonia received its name from the tower of Babel. We are told that bricks were used in the construction of that building,—this material being the only one to be had in Babylonia,—while stones are to be found in abundance in the upper part of Mesopotamia. But that the tower of Babel, and the Babel of Nimrod, stood upon the same place as the magnificent city of Babylon, may be less certain, though this might well have been the case. If it could be ascertained that Babylon was built in the vicinity of the Babel of Nimrod, then it could be claimed that the land of Shinar is identical with Babylonia, as we know, from Genesis, that the Babel of Nimrod was situated in the land of Shinar.

I will here observe that, from the fact of Amraphel, king of Shinar,

being—as it seems from Genesis*—the ally of the king of Elam, (in Susiana,) it appears to me the more probable that Babylonia is the same land which, in more ancient times, was called Shinar.

There has also been much doubt whether the ruins which now generally are admitted to be those of Babylon, really are so. Still, there is good reason to assume this as a fact, which more recent investigations have made almost certain. I cannot, however, forbear to mention that Ibn Haukut, a Persian geographer, who lived in the tenth century of our era, tells us that scarcely any remains of Babylon were then to be seen.

But whether the Babel of Nimrod stood on some part of the place now assigned to the metropolis of the Chaldæo-Babylonians, or not, I cannot but think that nothing remains of the former. There is no reason to suppose that Nimrod erected any stupendous structures; and besides, about four thousand years, at least, have elapsed from that time; and I do not think that structures of brick are well adapted to weather so many centuries, or to brave so long the destroying hand of man. True it is, that there are, in Egypt, one pyramid of bricks, that may have stood so many ages, but no one has purposely set to work to destroy it.

The huge mounds, and mouldering heaps, which are now generally assumed to be the ruins of Babylon, are, therefore, probably remnants of buildings erected in a later, though still very ancient period.

LETTER XV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITIES OF BABYLON AND NINEVEH, AND OF SOME OF THE MOST REMARKABLE WORKS FOUND IN THE FORMER.

ANCIENT historians† inform us, that Babylon stood on an extensive plain, in a very rich soil, and was surrounded by prodigious walls, which formed an exact square, and measured in circumference, in accordance with Herodotus, four hundred and eighty stadia; with Strabo, three hundred and eighty-five; and with Ctesias, three hundred and sixty: that is to say, in conformity with the first mentioned, about sixty miles, and with Ctesias about forty-five miles; in either case, thus by far more extensive than London—the circumference of which is about thirty miles. It is to be observed, that the great extent of Babylon, as well as of Nineveh,

* Chap. xii. 1.

† See Herodotus, B. I. Chap. clxxviii—clxxx. Diodorus, Book II

originated from the fact, that a great part of their surface was used as gardens and cultivated fields. Aristoteles says, therefore, of the former, that it was a Peloponnesus. The height of the walls of Babylon is very differently given. Herodotus says, two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet; Curtius, one hundred cubits, or one hundred and fifty feet; and Strabo, only fifty cubits, or seventy-five feet. All these statements, granted to be true, they might easily be reconciled, by the supposition, that the height of the walls had at first been what Herodotus and Ctesias assert, but that, from some reason or other, had thereafter been diminished. The breadth of the walls is, by Herodotus, stated to have been fifty cubits, or seventy-five feet; but by Curtius and Strabo, to have been no more than about thirty-two feet.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a large ditch full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it, was used to form the bricks wherewith the walls were built. These bricks being cemented together with bitumen—a glutinous slime arising out of the earth of that country—which soon becomes much harder than the bricks themselves, which it binds together.

On every side of these square walls were twenty-five portals, that is, one hundred in all, which were furnished with gates of brass. Between every two of these portals were three towers; there was also one at each corner, and three between each of the corners and the next gateway on either side, all of them rising ten feet above the parapet of the wall. In some parts, however, where the walls led through a morass, these towers were thought superfluous for defence, and thence omitted, so that there were but two hundred and fifty towers in all. Within the walls there was left a space of two hundred feet clear of buildings, forming a spacious pathway all around.

From every gate on each side of this immense square ran streets in straight lines to the gates, which were directly opposite each other; so that the whole number of streets were fifty, each about fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly crossing each other at right angles, and dividing the whole city into six hundred and seventy-six squares. Around these squares, on every side towards the street, stood the houses, not contiguous, but with spaces between them, and all three or four stories high, and embellished with different kinds of ornaments toward the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was laid out in fields and gardens, so that, as Curtius tells us, nearly one-half of the city was taken up in such use.

A branch of the river Euphrates intersected the city, running from north to south, and divided it into two parts; on each side of the river was a quay, and a high wall of burned bricks, connected with bitumen; each of these walls being equally thick as the walls that surrounded the city, and having small portals furnished with gates of brass, corresponded

to every street that led to the river—to which one descended by steps, and crossed it by means of boats.

The two parts into which Babylon was by the Euphrates thus divided were united in the middle of the city by a bridge thirty feet in breadth, and a furlong in length, in accordance with Strabo.* This bridge was built with much skill. The arches were made of enormous stones, fastened together with iron chains and melted lead.

Diodorus† tells us that at each end of this bridge was a palace, each of which had communication with the other by a tunnel built under the channel of the river, at the time when its course was turned, in order to construct the embankments we have elsewhere spoken of. The ancient palace which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (about three miles and three quarters) in circumference. The new palace, standing on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs in circumference, and was surrounded by three walls, one within another, but with considerable spaces between them, and each, as well as those of the ancient palace, adorned with a great variety of works of sculpture; among which was a woman, said to be Semiramis, on horseback, throwing a javelin at a leopard, and a man—said also to be her husband—piercing a lion.

To this last palace were attached what has been called the hanging gardens—which, in accordance with some, were built by Semiramis, but which Berosus‡ tells us were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify the wishes of his wife Amytis, who, born in Media, longed for the view of something bearing a resemblance to her native country. These gardens contained a square of four hundred feet on each side, and are described as rising in terraces one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was supported by a series of arches raised upon each other, and strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness. The floors were constructed by a pavement of stones, each sixteen feet long by four broad, over which was a layer of reeds, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaster. Over this were spread thick sheets of lead; and on the solid terrace was laid a mould, deep enough to nourish and support the largest trees; and with such as well as with other plants and flowers, suitable to adorn a pleasure garden, were the terraces decked. In the upper terrace there was a kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and by this means the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this enormous structure rested, were large and splendid apartments, enjoying a most charming prospect.

* See Book xvi.

† See Book ii.

‡ Berosus ap. Joseph. cont. App. Book i. chap. vi.

Near to the ancient palace above-mentioned, stood the famous temple of Belus, which magnificent building is generally ascribed to Semiramis; but by some to Nebuchadnezzar, who, more probably, in my opinion, only enlarged and adorned it; this queen, or some other of his predecessors, having erected this temple long before his time.

Herodotus tells us, that at the foundation it was a square of a furlong on each side; that is, about a half mile in circumference; and, according to Strabo, its height was also a furlong. It consisted of eight towers, the one built upon the other, decreasing in proportion as they approached the top; wherefore Strabo called the whole a pyramid. It must have in height exceeded the highest of the pyramids of Egypt. As it is asserted by some historians that it was constructed of bricks, and cemented by bitumen, as the tower of Babel was, as well as for its prodigious size, there have been many antiquarians who have presumed that the foundation of this temple was nothing but the Tower of Babel itself. As a matter of opinion, which never can be decided,—and of no consequence whether it be or not,—I have alluded to this subject without entering on any fruitless investigation of the same.

The ascent to the top of the temple of Belus was on the outside, winding round it in a spiral line from the ground. At the half-way of this long stair-case there was a convenient resting place. Besides which, there were in the different stories many large rooms, with roofs supported by pillars. In the last tower was a large chapel, in which there was a couch magnificently decorated, and near it a table of solid gold, but there was no statue. No man was allowed to sleep there, but this place was occupied by a female, whom the priests affirmed, was selected by Belus—but *probably through them*—from among all the women of the kingdom, as the object of his caresses. “They themselves,” says Herodotus, “have a tradition—but hard to believe—that the divinity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch?” On the top of the tower there was an observatory; and it would not have been more than natural, had the astronomer, when fatigued by watching the starry host, sought for rest on the couch of the absent god.

In this temple, there was, in accordance with the information Herodotus had received from the Chaldeans, before his time, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high. He adds that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had endeavored, by sinister means, to get it in his possession, not daring openly to take it; but that his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, killing the priest who attempted to prevent its removal. He also relates that at the annual festival, in honour of their god, the priests are said to have consumed incense to the amount of one thousand talents.

There were also several other inferior deities worshipped, for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in different parts of this temple or tower; the riches of which in statues, tables, cups, and other sacred

vessels, all of massive gold, amounted, according to Diodorus, to the sum of six thousand three hundred Babylonish talents, or about one hundred and one millions and sixty-four thousand dollars.

Superstition had been the principal agency in accumulating these riches—and though they may have amounted to less than what Diodorus tells us; no doubt, however, can be entertained that they were immense—and despotism took them away. Xerxes, when returning from Greece, found it easier to rob this temple of its wealth than to deprive the Greeks of their liberty. The Macedonian Alexander, a man of another mould, who found this temple demolished, intended, on his return from his Indian expedition, to have it rebuilt; and, for this purpose, set ten thousand men at work to rid the place of its rubbish; but after they had been occupied two months on this herculean work, the death of the hero put a stop to the undertaking.

There is great difficulty in reconciling the different accounts historians have given respecting the state of this celebrated temple at different periods. Herodotus, an eye witness, between 430—450 years B. C., describes it as being quite perfect then, though he mentions that it had been despoiled of its most valuable *clenod*—the golden image—by Xerxes. Still, about a hundred years afterwards, Alexander, in accordance with what Arian states, found it demolished, as above mentioned. Arian also says that the destruction had been caused by Xerxes; but as Herodotus visited it after that king's death, Arian must be mistaken in regard to the king who demolished this temple. Berosus, however, a priest of Belus, about sixty years later, wrote a history of the Chaldean cosmogony, derived principally from the allegorical representations which he saw on the walls of this very temple. Therefore, in all probability, only the upper part of it could have been destroyed before the time of Alexander, while the base, or main tower, must have stood erect even for a long time after his death. Had his life been prolonged, there is reason to believe that he would have restored not only the temple, but also the city itself, to its former grandeur.

I have before alluded to the numerous canals, which were the means of irrigation and of fertilizing the soil of Babylonia, as well as to the prodigious embankments which were erected on both sides of the Euphrates, as a defence against the dangerous overflow of its waters. I will, therefore, here speak only of another stupendous work, which was made in order to facilitate the building of the embankments. As these could not easily be made, before the bed of the river was drained, the water was turned from its usual channel, by means of a canal, into an enormous artificial excavation, that had been previously prepared, fifty-two miles square, or two hundred and eight miles in circumference, and thirty-five feet deep, in accordance with the statement of Herodotus; but forty miles square, or one hundred and sixty in compass, and seventy-five feet in depth, according to Megasthenes. When the embankments were ready, and so too the base of the bridge—

of which I have before related—the course of the Euphrates was made to pass again through its usual channel. But the canal, as well as the lake, was preserved, in order that when the waters of the river might rise, the overflow would be led off into the lake, which thus served as a reservoir, from which the water might be let out by sluices, at convenient times, for the watering of the lands below it.

The vast extent of this lake has been doubted by many learned men, who, however, have supposed that, if there was no mistake or exaggeration on the part of historians, it must have been natural, and not artificial. But the other prodigious works the Babylonians executed, and of which no doubt can exist, give, at least, much probability that even the lake in question may have been a work of art. It is also to be observed, that the ground, being in nowise stony or hard, was not difficult to excavate, and that probably the numerous captives who, at least during one period, were assembled in Babylon, might have been employed on this and some of the other remarkable works I have alluded to. These were, according to Berosus and some other writers, constructed in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; but Herodotus again ascribes the lake, the two quays, or banks of the river, and the bridge, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that king.

In regard, also, to the extent of the city of Babylon and its population, many different opinions have been entertained by modern writers. Taking the estimate of Herodotus, the area within the walls would amount to one hundred and twenty-six square miles, or about eight times that of London. M. D'Anville, however, has reduced, in accordance with a calculation which seemed to him most probable, this area to thirty-six square miles; others, again, who have investigated the subject, have, in their calculations, varied from sixty-four to eighty-one square miles. But as at this very day the locality of ancient Babylon is yet imperfectly known, and the statements of those who, in order to make themselves acquainted with this matter, have visited Babylonia—now Irak Arabi—agree not with each other, the computations of modern writers, in regard to the size of the Babylonian metropolis, seem to me deserving of very little credit. The cause of the enormous circumference, as given to this city by ancient writers, was, that much space was employed for gardens and cultivated land, as before observed. “The houses do not join,” says Curtius, “perhaps from motives of safety;” and the space occupied by them is limited to eighty stadia.* He continues: “The rest of the place is cultivated, so that, in the event of a siege, the inhabitants may not have to depend upon supplies from without.” Curtius could never have spoken thus, had not the space of land used for this

* What may have been meant by these eighty stadia, is not certain: but there can be no doubt that it was used to signify a limitation of the space occupied by buildings within the walls.

purpose been extensive, as the population which was to live on what it produced, was very great; though we do not know its number. It is, however, generally presumed that it amounted at least to one million; still there are those who have greatly augmented this number, and others again who have considerably diminished it.

Of "Nineveh, that great city," which is said to have been a city of three days' journey—from which expression we might reasonably conclude that it contained a vast extent of gardens and cultivated land—we know very little. Diodorus, it is true, tells us that it was still larger than Babylon, inasmuch, as he informs us, that it was an oblong square, of four hundred and eighty stadia in circumference; and adds, that it was surrounded by a wall a hundred feet in height, and so broad that three chariots might conveniently drive abreast upon its parapet; and that it was defended by one thousand five hundred towers, each rising to double the height of the wall. But the accuracy of this detail has been much doubted; and as we have no other description of this city—which, however, in the books of Jonah and Nahum is also alluded to as an immense city—we cannot arrive at any more correct information on this subject.

The waters of the Tigris were also made, by the ancient inhabitants, subservient, as well as those of the Euphrates, to irrigation, by means of various canals. One of these, called Nahrawan, is considered to have been the most superb of all similar works of the Assyrian kingdoms.

This gigantic aqueduct, which ran at the distance of from six to twelve miles from the banks of the Tigris for nearly four hundred miles, equalled that river in size; being from two hundred and fifty to four hundred feet broad; and fertilized, through numerous branches on both sides, a vast extent of land.

The description—imperfect as it is, and must be, in consequence of the want of correct and detailed statements—which I have now given of the two capitals of the Assyrian kingdoms, and of the magnificent works which art, and a praiseworthy ambition of the Babylonian kings had brought into being, cannot fail, I think, to convince you, that the ancient nations of these regions displayed great energy, vigor, and no little degree of enterprising spirit; and that many centuries must have passed away before they could have attained so much knowledge, power, and wealth, as these great cities, and these stupendous and ingenious works attest.

The different appearance these regions now bear is the best vindication of the merits of the people, whatever their failings were, and how blameable they might, in some respects, have been, who dwelt here in ancient times. I will hereafter relate the history of their rulers, and trace the political causes that led to the rise and fall of these mighty empires—which bore within themselves the seeds of their own greatness, as well as of their own destruction.

LETTER XVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE HISTORIANS WHO HAVE
WRITTEN OF THE ASSYRIAN KINGDOMS.

I HAVE before alluded to the principal historians whose writings are the sources of this part of ancient history, and I will here add something more of a portion of them.

Next to the Jewish writers—of whom I will speak in another place—Herodotus is the first that attracts our attention. This venerable historian was born, as it is said, in the fourth year of the 73d Olympiad, or 484 years B. C., in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria. He is generally called “The Father of History,” but this epithet applied to him, even when understood to be limited to Grecian historians, is wrong, as we know that even Greece had produced writers of this class before his time, and from whom he took a part of that information he has handed down to us. In regard, however, to the beauty of narrative style, to the display of genius and of extensive knowledge, he justly deserves the honorable epithet applied to him. Cicero says of him “*historiam ornavit*,”—he adorned history.

It is thought that Herodotus wrote a particular history of the Assyrians, but no part of this work has come down to us, and it is doubted whether he ever finished it; as it is never mentioned by any author. What we know from him of the Assyrians, and particularly of the Babylonians, we find in his history of the Greeks and Persians.

He has been accused by many of having related that which has no foundation in truth; but though this imputation, in some degree, be just in regard to some of his statements, we find, however, almost in all such instances, that he doubts what he himself states; but, nevertheless, gives it as information which he has received from others. It is also to be observed, that many of his statements, hitherto deemed incredible, have, by recent investigations, been discovered to be true. That his notions of the form of the earth, and of some phenomena of nature, as also his account of the sources of some rivers, are very incorrect, and, in some instances, even very absurd, must be admitted; but these errors are very excusable, as they are to be attributed to the age in which he lived.

There is, however, some reason to think that Herodotus did not investigate all the subjects of which he treated so thoroughly as he might have done, and that he was also somewhat fond of exaggeration. Yet I cannot admit that he is liable to the charge of having knowingly written down any falsehoods. When I come to speak of Thucydides, I

will give a comparison, such as has been made by able judges, between these two celebrated historians.

Ctesias, a physician of *Cnidos*, who was taken prisoner by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, at the battle of *Cunaxa*, about 400 years B. C., is said to have written, a history of the *Assyrians* and *Persians*; but this work is lost, with the exception of several fragments. In one of these fragments, preserved by *Photius*, we are informed that his first six books treated of the history of *Assyria*, from the very remotest times, down to its subjection by the *Persians*; and that, from the seventh to the thirteenth inclusively, he had related all that happened under the reigns of *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Magus*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*. From that period, he continued the history of the *Persians* down to the third year of the 59th Olympiad, or to about 395 B. C.

This historian gives very different statements, in most instances, from those of *Herodotus*, and seems particularly anxious to render him discreditable. But, unfortunately for his own reputation, he has, by many learned writers, particularly of more recent times, and even by some of the ancients, among whom is *Aristotle*, been considered as a historian, regardless of truth, and quite unworthy of belief. His accounts also differ essentially from those of *Xenophon*. But, nevertheless, *Diodorus Siculus*, and some other writers, have chosen to prefer the statements of *Ctesias* to those of *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*.

I will here observe, that *Ctesias*, after having been made a prisoner, cured the king of the wound he had received in the battle, and afterwards practised medicine at the Persian court, with great success—continuing, for seventeen years, to be near the person of *Artaxerxes*. Being thus a favorite, we can reasonably suppose that he was admitted, as he states, to the Persian archives, and that thus he had a better opportunity than either *Herodotus* or *Xenophon*, to make himself acquainted with the history, at least of the *Persians*, and probably also of the *Assyrians*; as it may be, that some of the ancient records of the latter may have fallen into the hands of the *Persians*, when they made themselves masters of *Babylon*. He may, therefore, justly be considered to have had a better opportunity to ascertain the truth; and it seems to me, that he would not have rendered himself ridiculous, by writing a history containing nothing but falsehood, and that, too, without any reasonable cause.

The long list of kings, with its mixture of Persian, Egyptian, Grecian, and Median names, as well as the incredible number of men he attributes to the contending armies in many battles, together with many other statements supposed to have been exaggerated, have been cited as proofs of his want of veracity. Many learned historians have, therefore, thought proper to consider the principal part of what he has related, as in no wise worthy of attention. On the other hand, there are some who have thought him, in a great degree, deserving of credit.

Assured, as I am, that the *Assyrian* kingdoms date their origin from a

very remote age; and seeing no good reason why there should not have existed a long series of kings, and finding, also, that there may be plausible explanations for many of his statements, which at first seem incredible, I cannot but agree with those who have thought Ctesias, at least in the main part of his history, as deserving of some credit. Yet I would not deny that he may, in many instances, have been guilty of exaggeration, and of having accepted for facts many things which it behoved him to have doubted. What he relates is at least amusing, and every one is at liberty to believe as much of it as he pleases. If he has related falsehoods, he has, however, the merit not to have been false in matters which are of great consequence to mankind. He is at least not among those who have had the hardihood to forge fables, injurious to the best interests of man, or to propagate tales, that enslave the mind with superstition.

Berosus, the Chaldean historian, of whom I have before spoken, is generally considered to have been more true in his statements, but we have also only fragments of his works. These fragments were translated, as I have said before, into Latin, and published first at Rome and afterwards in several other places. They were published at Leipsic, in 1825.

Diodorus was born in Agyrium, a city of Sicily, whence he is called Diodorus Siculus, in contradistinction from other authors of the same name. He lived in the century before Christ.

His work is a general history, and treats, as far as his knowledge extends, of all the most remarkable people of antiquity. It consisted of forty books, of which he gives us the plan and contents in his preface. The first six related to events anterior to the Trojan war;—the first three treating of the barbarians—as the Greeks called all other nations—and the other three of the affairs of Greece. The following eleven books contain the history of all nations, from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander of Macedonia. In the other books, the history of the world is continued down to the time when Julius Cæsar had planted the Roman eagles on the British islands. But of these forty books, only fifteen remain entire. Of the other books, some fragments are preserved by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who lived in the ninth century. The first five books are among those preserved. In the first book, the origin of the world, and the history of ancient Egypt, are the subjects treated of. In the second, the author writes of the kings of Assyria, from Ninus to Sardanapulus; and also of the kings of the different Asiatic nations. In the third, he speaks of the Ethiopians and Libyans; in the fourth, of the fabulous times of Greece; and in the fifth, of the same period in the history of Sicily. The following seven of the preserved books, being from the eleventh to the seventeenth inclusively, continues his history from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, to the death of Alexander. The three following of the preserved books—the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth—contain the wars of Alexander's successors, down to the disposition of

the two armies before the great battle of Ipsus, and there terminates what is left to us of this author's work. The whole work, in accordance with what Diodorus himself relates in his preface, cost him thirty years of labor—which, to me, seems not at all incredible.

Diodorus acquired much of his historical knowledge by visiting many different countries, and by having, in Rome, where he generally lived, access to all the archives of the government, and to the society of the learned men of his age. He had thus a good opportunity of collecting trustworthy materials; and though he may have often accepted for facts that which was not well proved, he seems, however, in general, to have desired to hand down the truth as far as possible. His style is artless and perspicuous; his reflections often judicious, and guided by the persuasion that there is a Providence who rules over all events.

I will now add some observations on the difficulty of reconciling the different statements of the various writers who have treated on the political history of the Assyrian kingdoms.

Between the original writers on this subject, there is such a variance in their respective accounts, that often we would fain think that they speak of quite different nations; but the truth is, they confound different eras, and often give to the same persons different names. We must observe, also, that neither the works of the Jewish writers, nor those of Herodotus, which have come down to us, were written with a view of treating directly of the Assyrian kingdoms; but that what they contain relative to these states, has been introduced rather in consequence of its connection with the principal subjects of their histories. Besides, the relation that existed between the kingdom of Babylon and that of Nineveh, or Assyria Proper, was of such a character, as naturally to occasion much obscurity in the history of these states. We know that they were rival cities, and that the one had the ascendancy at one time, and the other at another period; but we know not how often such changes may, in more remote times, have taken place. The great antiquity of these states cannot be doubted, and it is to be inferred, that a great many kings existed during the long period which elapsed between their foundation and the era of Nabonassar. Without, then, endorsing the long list of kings which Ctesias has furnished us, or regarding the names of those kings as correct, I am fully persuaded that he is far nearer the truth than those who have assumed that there was no reason at all for believing in the existence of so long a series of Assyrian monarchs.

I cannot understand why the very persons, who, without the least hesitation, consider Nimrod as the founder of Babylon, and him, or Assur, as the builder of Nineveh, can question the existence of a long series of successive kings. I must confess, that I think that the number of kings, as given by Ctesias, is rather too small than too large. This view also seems confirmed, by the long period given to the reign of each king,

by him. It is, too, no wonder that he should, in his history of the Assyrian kingdoms, mention many monarchs and many events not noticed by those writers who have alluded to what passed in those states only incidentally, and by way of illustration of their main subject; and who, consequently, introduced only what would serve their purpose, or what might seem to them most remarkable in the history of these people. It is also to be observed, that, with the exception of what is found in Genesis in regard to Nimrod and Assur, neither the Jewish writers, nor Herodotus, speak of the remotest age.

Ctesias, on the other hand, wrote with a view of giving a complete history of the Assyrian kingdoms, and must, therefore, have devoted more care and time to the investigation of this subject than other historians who had not the same object in view. It has, as I have before said, created doubt in regard to the veracity of Ctesias, that Nabonassar had destroyed all the historical records of these kingdoms; but this can be true only of the public archives in Babylon. But there may have been many private records, in his times, of which that king could have had no knowledge; the priests, too, might also have rescued and preserved many historical documents. But there have been those who, in order to dispute Ctesias, have asked, "Whoever sees Ninus at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been, generally, in a state of simplicity and nature, who can read this without arraigning the historian of falsehood and forgery?"* But we may equally be justified in asking, Why must the earth, in the time of Ninus, have been so thinly inhabited? Why must mankind, then, have been in a state of simplicity and nature? For no other reason, the answer must be, than that Petavius, Usher, and some others, have been pleased to compute the time of the deluge as being some eight or nine hundred years later than the period which others have proved to have been its more probable date; and that Ninus is presumed to be the son of Nimrod! To those who concede that the deluge took place about 3500 years B. C., and that Ninus lived four or five hundred years later than Nimrod, it will seem no wonder that, at least, Southern Asia was well peopled about 1400 years after the deluge, or about 2100 years B. C.; as is confirmed, beyond a doubt, by the Hindoo records, and by the inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments.

In what I have now written, I mean not to defend the details of Ctesias, because there is every reason to suppose that he, or those whose statements he has given, has greatly exaggerated many facts, or that his copyists have done so. But that there is a great deal of truth in what he has related, I think there can be no reason to doubt. That Assyria, many centuries before the time of Sardanapulus or Thonos Colcolerus, had

* See *Ancient Universal History*. London, 1747—1754 Vol. iv. p. 265.

been the seat of powerful nations, I cannot any more doubt, than I can that a long series of rulers has reigned over these kingdoms. But, on the other hand, I think that hard struggles had often taken place between the rival cities of Nineveh and Babylon, and that, though they might sometimes have been united under one ruler, they more frequently had, however, separate kings. To arrive at the truth is quite impossible. We may, therefore, accept as true, what seems to us the most probable. I will now relate some of the facts stated by Ctesias, though I am sure that, in the details, they have sometimes been painted in fabulous colors.

LETTER XVII.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FIRST ASSYRIAN KINGDOMS—BOTH OF BABYLON AND NINEVEH.

THE Babylonians reckoned that, from the foundation of their state to the time of Alexander, about one thousand nine hundred years had elapsed, as we are informed in a letter written by the philosopher Callisthenes to Aristotle. We are told—as observed before—in Genesis, that Nimrod founded the city of Babel. He is generally considered to have lived about 1875 years before Babylon came into the hands of Alexander; though, I think, there is a much greater probability that he lived at least 2400 years before that time, as he must have existed previous to Menes, or at least been contemporary with him. When I come to treat on the history of Egypt, I hope satisfactorily to prove that Menes lived at least 2770 years B. C. But even taking it for granted that the general opinion of the time when Nimrod lived has good foundation, and presuming, as generally is done, that the city of Babel was the origin of the Babylonian state, we cannot deny the above mentioned computation of the Babylonians. Besides, many eminent mathematicians acknowledge, that the epoch of the Chaldean table ascends to the year 2234 B. C. Thus the antiquity of the Babylonian state is at least so far ascertained. But there are those,* who, inclining more to the opinion I entertain, have carried the foundations of the city of Babel by Nimrod back further by about three hundred and sixty-two years, or to the year 2566 B. C., in accordance with the chronographia of Syncellus. These writers have also been inclined to presume that there is some foundation for believing in the existence of Nimrod's successors,—the Chaldean and Arabian kings, as mentioned in this chronographia—yet they have generally rejected the

* Among others Dr. Russell. See his *Connections of Sacred and Profane writers*.

third dynasty which is mentioned by Moses of Chorene—an Armenian historian, who quotes from Abydenus, a compiler of Chaldean records—as that series of kings is spoken of neither by Syncellus nor by Alexander Polyhistor.

Persuaded, as I am, that the deluge of Moses took place at least 3500 years B. C., I am the more inclined to presume that Nimrod lived rather before the year 2566 B. C. than after that time, and that many centuries elapsed between him and *that* Ninus who is said to have overrun Asia as a conqueror. But if Nimrod had any regular successors, it is very doubtful what their names may have been, or how long each of them reigned. I view, therefore, the chronographia of Syncellus as in no wise to be relied upon, though there may be a probability that it is at least in part correct. On the authority of this work there are those, as said before, who have limited the time of Nimrod's reign to six years, and have presumed that he was succeeded by six Chaldean kings who reigned two hundred and eighteen years and six months; and next by six Arabian kings, whose reign is stated to have been two hundred and sixteen years, and the last of whom is called Nabonnebus, who is said to have been taken prisoner, and probably put to death, about 2126 years B. C., by Ninus, who made himself master of Babylon.

As I before have said, the orientalisks do not agree in regard to the meaning of the eleventh verse of the tenth chapter of Genesis; but it seems, from what Micah* says, that the correct interpretation might probably be, that Nimrod went into the land of Assur, and built Nineveh. But what may be the true sense of this verse, is of little consequence. It is sufficient for us to know that Nineveh was either founded somewhat prior to, or about the same time, as the city of Babel; and that—with the exception of Assur, the founder, and Nimrod, perhaps, the conqueror—there are no allusions made by a single historian, as far as I know, to any ruler of the Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh, until the time of Ninus, whom the Greek authors consider as the founder of that city. Whether Babylon and Nineveh were governed by the same kings, prior to Ninus, we do not know; though this is hardly probable, as there is every reason to suppose that, anterior to his time, the regions round the Euphrates and the Tigris were divided into many small states, as they seem to have been in the time of Abraham, who lived about 225 years after Nimrod, or about 2346 years B. C., if we assume that Nimrod lived, as some have thought, about 2566 years B. C. I will here observe, that it has generally been taken for granted, that Abraham lived after Ninus, and, therefore, those who have presumed this to be the case, have justly doubted whether, before Abraham's

* Chap. v. 6. "Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, et terram *Nimrod* in lanceis ejus, et liberabit ab Assur cum venerit in terram nostram." This seems to confirm the opinion, that the following translation of the eleventh verse, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, is correct. De terra illa egressus est in Assur (that is in Assyria) et edificavit Nineveh.

time, any great empire existed in that part of Asia. But what is related of Ninus will seem far more probable, when we carry back the time of Nimrod, as also that of Abraham, as every historical probability seems to require.

It is certainly far more convenient, and requires, indeed, less labor to declare all ancient records fabulous, than to investigate them in order to find out the truth they envelop. But Diodorus Siculus thought differently, and does certainly deserve more credit, than many modern historians have thought convenient to award him. A man who produced a work, which might well have cost him thirty years' labor, has a right to ask for some regard. The destruction of the greater part of his work, I consider, therefore, a most serious loss to us. But what is left is a guide which we ought not presumptuously to disown.

In accordance with Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus, it has been computed that Ninus, who was the founder—the first known king—of the Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh, lived about 2126 years B. C., and that the last of his successors, of the first Assyrian kingdom, who was Thonos Colcolerus, or Sardanapulus,* who reigned about 820 years B. C. But those who, in accordance with Herodotus, have presumed that the ancient empire of Assyria lasted only five hundred and twenty years, have also generally computed that its origin is not to be dated farther back, than from the thirteenth century before our era. It is, however, most probable that Herodotus speaks only of the time after Assyria was set free from the dominion of Egypt; as there can be little doubt that Sesostris brought Assyria, or at least Babylonia, under the sway of that country, which might, at least for some time, have kept possession of this splendid conquest.

Of the kings that are said to have reigned in Babylon, before the time of Ninus, we know nothing more than what has already been said.

That the Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh had, before the time of Ninus, attained a considerable degree of power, can be justly inferred from the deeds he is said to have performed, even after making a liberal allowance for exaggeration, and admitting, too, that what Ctesias relates of this king, as well as of his successors, is painted in romantic colors. The succession of the kings after Ninus, was probably not so regular as it is given by Ctesias; even were we to take it for granted, that the Egyptians permitted the Assyrian people to retain their own kings, as vassals to the Egyptian monarchs, or that the latter, under different names, are enumerated in the list of Ctesias, for the period Assyria was under the sway of Egypt.

Having said enough to guard you from putting either too much reliance on what is related of those ancient kings, or to discard it as mere fable, I will proceed to detail the particulars of the reign of Ninus, and some of his successors, as stated by the authors already alluded to.

* There are those who have presumed that Sardanapulus was a title borne by the kings of Assyria generally, and not a name of one or more kings.

"Ninus," says Diodorus,* "the most ancient Assyrian king mentioned in history, performed great deeds. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of the glory acquired by heroism, he armed a great number of young men that were as brave and vigorous as himself. Training them for a long time in fatiguing exercises and hardships, he inured them to support the toils of war with patience, and to meet dangers with courage and intrepidity." Having, by these means, created a numerous and valorous army, he entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs. With the aid of that monarch, he began hostilities against Babylonia,* reduced its cities and strongholds, carrying the royal family away as prisoners, and putting them to death.

The king of Armenia—Barzanus—awed by the formidable array of Ninus, hastened to acknowledge himself as his vassal. But Pharnus, the king of Media, braving his power, was conquered, and paid the forfeit of his life for the resistance he had dared to oppose to the Assyrian hero. Continuing, for seventeen years, his victorious career over a great part of Western Asia, Ninus became the master of numerous nations, from the confines of Egypt to the banks of the Indus. Probably having received a check in an attempt to subdue Bactriana, he led his army back to his own country, and spent the treasures he had amassed, and employed the prisoners he had taken, in building, or rather rebuilding and embellishing, the city of Nineveh. His design being, as Diodorus says, to make that capital the largest and most beautiful city in the world, and to make it impossible for any one to build another city to equal Nineveh. It must be acknowledged, that if Nineveh was as large as what I have before said Diodorus tells us it was, then it must be admitted, that even Babylon did not equal it in greatness, though it probably surpassed it in magnificence.

Having finished this great enterprise, he set out on a new expedition against Bactriana, leading, as Ctesias relates, against that country an army that consisted of one million seven hundred thousand foot, two hundred thousand horse, and about sixteen thousand chariots armed with scythes. Diodorus observes, that this ought not to appear incredible, since, to say nothing of the innumerable hosts of Darius and Xerxes, the city of Syracuse alone, in the time of Dionysius, the tyrant, furnished one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and thirteen thousand horse, together with four hundred vessels well equipped and provided; and a little time before Hannibal, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to send into

* Book ii.

* But Babylonia is said to have been ruled at that time by Arab kings. Is it not therefore probable that Ninus first made an alliance with the last of these very Arabian kings of Babylonia, and that with his aid he subdued the adjacent countries, and then, having become his enemy, deposed and put him to death? Division of spoils leads often to animosity. Else we must presume—if an Arab king thus really reigned in Babylonia—that it was with the aid of one of his countrymen he was conquered, which seems to me less probable.

the field nearly one million of warriors. We may here also recall to our recollection, the numerous armies of the Huns, the Turks and the Monguls. We may also mention, that in the campaign of 1813, the European armies amounted to about one million of men; and even now in time of peace, they far exceed that number. Well might then the voice of a despot, and of a victorious chieftain have assembled, in fertile and *populous* Asia, the number mentioned by Ctesias. It is also to be observed that the Asiatic armies were burdened with a crowd of women and servants, as numerous as the warriors themselves. Still, I think, that this historian cannot be exempt from the suspicion of some exaggeration, but surely not to that degree which has generally been supposed.

Ninus overran the country of Bactriana, easily subduing its *numerous* and *well populated* cities, excepting, however, the capital—Bactria—to which he had to lay siege, and which was heroically defended by Oxyartes, the king of that country. It was here that the intelligent and clever observations of Semiramis* first attracted the attention of Ninus. The bravery and ability which she displayed, were not less conspicuous than the wisdom and prudence of her counsel; and the external charms of her person were not inferior to her mental endowments. Ninus soon felt that his heart was pierced by the arrows of love, and that no other physician than she, who had inflicted upon him the deep wound, had power to cure him. Still there was an obstacle in the way. The charming heroine was a married woman. In vain the monarch endeavored to persuade her husband to release her from the vow of eternal love. A servant of the king,—being governor over Syria—her husband was, nevertheless, a man, and loved his wife too dearly to yield up his right to the claims of his master. But the justice of his cause, and the feelings of his heart, were as nothing in the eyes of the enamored despot. Threatened with the fierce displeasure of the king, Menon, in rage and despair, put an end to his life, and Ninus celebrated his death by a marriage feast with his widow.

Bactria having been taken, the triumphant king returned to Nineveh, when, not long after, he there died, in the fifty-second year of his reign; and, as it is generally supposed, by a natural cause. Still, there are authors who have given the following description of the manner of his death: Semiramis, having gained over to her favor the principal men of the state, and attached them to her interest by bribes and promises, she, by artful words, solicited the king to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. Ninus at last yielded to the solicitations of the ruby lips and sparkling eyes of this tempting Eve, and commanded that all of his subjects should, during the required period, give implicit obedience to the commands of his queen. These orders were too strictly obeyed, for

* Renowned as this queen was, especially in the East, historians disagree about fifteen hundred years as to the time of her existence. But there might have been more than one queen of that name.

the deluded king was put to death, either immediately, or after some years of imprisonment. This account of the death of Ninus is generally doubted.

Semiramis did not, however, fail to pay due honors to the remains of her husband, and erected a tumulus of the most gigantic dimensions.

This celebrated queen, as well as many other eminent persons of antiquity, was said to be of divine origin; and her birth is accordingly ascribed to an affair of love, between a certain goddess—named Derceto by the Greek writers—and an obscure youth who worshipped at her altar. The child left by its celestial mother, near Ascalon, in Syria, was reared, as tradition adds, by flocks of pigeons; from which circumstance, these birds were held sacred in Syria. There are those who have asserted that the name of *Semiramis* is derived from a Syrian word, signifying a pigeon. This fable of the origin of this queen—the existence of whom has been much, though certainly without good reasons, doubted—probably indicates her low parentage, that seemed not at all suitable to the beauty of her person, and the extraordinary qualities of her mind.

Semiramis succeeded her departed husband, and seems to have been actuated by the ambitious desire of eclipsing his glory. She at once applied all the energy of her mind to acquire an immortal name, by the grandeur of her schemes. She undertook to build, or to rebuild, the city of Babylon. The account I have before given of its magnificence, proves that she succeeded in raising a city not less worthy of admiration than that built by her husband. We must observe, however, that both these cities must have occupied a long period of time in attaining that astonishing greatness, which has rendered them so famous in history.

It is said that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen, collected from all the provinces of her extensive empire, in the building of Babylon. The number mentioned may well excite some doubt of its accuracy. Yet, as this queen did not confine her enterprise to this metropolis alone, but adorned the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris with new villages and towns, it cannot be denied that a vast number of men must have been engaged on all these works. She took, also, many judicious measures to extend the commerce of her people, and paid a due and no less praiseworthy attention to the improvement of agriculture, for which purpose she caused canals to be constructed, as a means of irrigation.

She undertook, also, a journey through the several provinces of her empire; and wherever she came, she commanded, when necessary, works to be constructed for the public use. Thus, places which were in want of water, were provided with aqueducts, and roads that had been impassable, were greatly improved, and even new ones were constructed when found necessary. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with the name of *Semiramis* inscribed upon them.

The authority of this queen over her people, is best proved by the following incident. One day, as she was occupied in dressing her hair,

intelligence was brought her of a sedition in the city. Though her hair was not yet in proper order, she hastened instantly to the place where the seditious people were assembled. Her personal appearance, in a moment, brought the tumultuous crowd to order, and the queen returned to finish her toilet. A statue, in commemoration of this incident, was afterwards erected, representing her with her dress disordered, in the manner in which she appeared among her rebellious subjects.

But the restless and ambitious spirit of Semiramis was not satisfied with the glory acquired by the works of peace. Assembling a numerous army, she marched into Media, where she left many monuments to attest her creative genius, and her care of the public wants. Some authors have told us, that, during her stay in that country, she abandoned herself to sensual pleasures and luxurious sloth. But conquering the allurements of voluptuous enjoyments, and following the beckoning goddess of victory, she marched her army through Syria and Egypt, adding a greater part of Libya and Ethiopia to her dominions. She is said to have then visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and to have inquired of the oracle how long she had to live. The answer she received was, that she should not die until Ninyas, her son, had conspired against her, and that, on her death, a part of Asia would pay her divine honors.

Having accomplished her schemes in that part of the globe, she returned to Asia. But visions of new victories flitted before her mind, and distant India awakened her ambition. Prudence, however, seems to have been the guardian angel of this gifted woman. She took up her seat in Bactria—that splendid trophy of her sagacious mind—and remained there during the three years she was occupied in preparing an armament suitable to the hazardous enterprise she was about to undertake.

The army which Semiramis assembled, is said, by Ctesias, to have numbered three millions of foot, and five hundred thousand of horse, besides the armed chariots, and the camels which were loaded with boats—two thousand in number—for navigating the Indus.*

As the strength of the Indians consisted, to a great extent, in their numerous elephants, Semiramis took with her three hundred thousand hides of black oxen, with which the camels were to be accoutred, for the purpose of familiarizing the horses of her own army with the sight of these animals, and of terrifying the Indians.†

* The number of men and horses of this army cannot but give us good reason to think that the historian may have greatly exaggerated it; but, at the same time, we must observe that three years passed in preparing this armament, and that the nomadic and predatory tribes of these regions might well have assembled in an extraordinary number, in hope of partaking in the spoils of the wealth of India. Thus, there might still be much truth in these statements, though in part exaggerated, as they probably are.

† I think that Semiramis was too sagacious ever to intend to intimidate, with artificial elephants, the Indians who brought into the field a vast number of real ones; but the hides of oxen were probably intended to be used as a means of crossing the rivers, as Herodotus tells us was done on the Euphrates, and as I have before related.

The king of that part of India against which she led her formidable hosts, having received information of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never been injured by him, she came marching in hostile array against his territory. The Indians adding some reproaches, threatened, that should their monarch be successful, he would inflict upon her the punishment due to her bold and unprovoked aggression.

"Tell your master," answered Semiramis, with a smile, "that in a short time I will myself inform him who I am."

Continuing immediately her march towards the Indus, she attempted to pass that river with her army. But she was soon to experience that the goddess of fortune is not always to be trusted, and that even her favorites have sometimes to feel her capricious temper.

The king, whose territory Semiramis invaded, and whose name was Stabrobates, had made such preparations as were to have been expected from so powerful a monarch, who was resolved manfully to defend his throne. It is said that he had assembled an army greater even than that of his powerful enemy.

On the attempt of the army of Semiramis to pass the Indus, which was defended by Stabrobates, a bloody battle ensued, but after a long and hard contest, the Indians were put to flight, with a loss of one thousand of their vessels, or rather boats, and one hundred thousand prisoners. Passing over the river on the bridge of boats which she had formed, Semiramis left sixty thousand men to guard this bridge, and, encouraged by her success, hastened with her formidable army to pursue the beaten enemy. The flight of Stabrobates seems to have been partly a *ruse*, for when he had retreated as far as he thought proper, he drew up his army, and a pitched battle was then fought between these numerous hosts. The fortune of the day was long doubtful; but the elephants which the Indians brought against the Assyrian army were made of far different stuff from that of the animals with which Semiramis is said to have thought to intimidate her enemies. Despite all the efforts of this heroic queen, her troops were unable to withstand an army more numerous than themselves, and to resist the formidable charge of the elephants, which broke their lines, and trampled them in the dust.

The Indian king himself fought at the head of his troops, as did Semiramis in the front of hers. Meeting each other, Stabrobates, without the least regard for her sex, attacked her with fury, and wounded her twice, but the gallant bearing of the queen, and the fleetness of her horse, saved her life.

The army of Semiramis now fled back to re-cross the river, but crowding together at the bridge, great numbers of them perished, in consequence of the disorder unavoidable on such an occasion, when so vast a number press together, each eager to save himself. When the

general safety required it, the queen ordered the destruction of the bridge, in order to check the pursuit of the victors. Stabrobates, on his part, forbade his troops to attempt the passage of the river, or to pursue the discomfited enemy ; acting thus in obedience to an oracle, as the Greek historian says. But we may well be allowed to interpret his conduct as a proof of that monarch's wisdom. Semiramis having lost two-thirds of her formidable army, returned to Bactria ; and when the exchange of prisoners had taken place, as a proof, I think, of peace having been restored, she set out for Assyria.

Discovering some time afterwards, that her son was plotting against her, and that one of her principal officers had offered him his assistance, she called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and in the belief that her end was approaching, she punished neither the officer, who had been arrested, nor her ungrateful son ; but voluntarily abdicated the throne in favor of the latter. She is said, afterwards, to have withdrawn from the sight of men, entertaining the hope soon to have divine honors paid to her in accordance with the promise of the oracle. We are told that her ambitious desire was accomplished, and that the Assyrians worshipped her under the form of a dove, in the shape of which bird she was said to have been translated from the earth.

Such, we are told, was the end of the celebrated Semiramis, who died at the age of sixty-two, after a glorious reign of forty-two years.

Curious enough, there have been many modern historians who have attempted to deny the very existence of this queen, in spite of everything which has been written of her by the ancients, and of the fact that her name was known over almost the whole of western Asia many centuries before the Christian era. Laudable as it is, in the historian to accept nothing as true which is not proved by satisfactory evidence, it is, notwithstanding, ridiculous in those who profess to believe and to relate as truths things entirely unsupported by evidence, and contrary to common sense, to deny the existence of a person to whom the ancient historians have attributed so many remarkable deeds, and whose life is attested by so many circumstances. That Ctesias painted his narrative of her in romantic colors, and attributed to her some actions which others of the Assyrian kings perhaps performed, and that the number of her troops is exaggerated, is doubtless true, as it also may be that she perhaps lived in more recent times ; but to deny her existence can never be done, without disregarding every probability of truth. That powerful kingdoms existed in India so early as 2000 years B. C., I think nobody can doubt, who has taken the least pains to investigate the matter ; and I consider it, therefore, only as a proof of ignorance, or wilful prejudice, that any should deny the possibility of raising numerous armies at that period in that region.

Ninyas the son of Semiramis, and her successor, had neither the talents, the activity, nor the ambition of his parents. He seems to have

spent the most of his time in the indulgence of pleasures ; or, at least, kept himself aloof from the sight of the people. Being the master of so vast an empire, of which he was left in undisturbed possession, and having no desire to revenge his mother's defeat, there was no occasion for him to practice the bloody game of war ; yet he did not altogether neglect those preparations by which he might preserve the tranquillity of the state, and provide for his own defence. It is said that he used to levy an army every year, enlisting a certain number of men from each province, who, at the end of that time, were each bound by an oath of fidelity, and dismissed to their homes. By this means, the young men were inured to arms, and conspiracies against the monarchs were prevented, as the same troops were not held together long enough to form a familiarity, which could induce them to communicate to each other plans of treason and rebellion.

Almost nothing is known of the thirty-two of his immediate successors, as Ctesias, or at least his transcribers, only say that they passed their time in an inactivity and indolence, similiar to that of Ninyas. This has naturally awakened a suspicion against the veracity of this historian ; but to me it seems the more to confirm the belief that what he has told us of Ninus and Semiramis, is mainly true ; for, if he invented what he has related of them, I think that he might well have had ingenuity and unscrupulousness enough to write some fictitious stories of their successors. The truth seems to me to be, that Ctesias has plainly stated the traditions which came within his knowledge ; and that nothing had been related of these succeeding kings, whose actions, in comparison with those of Ninus and Semiramis, probably had been too insignificant to awaken any general interest, or to dazzle the vulgar. Besides, the exploits of Ninus and Semiramis were such, that they might well have found a place in the records of Persia, in which nothing might have been related of those of their successors. But we may be well assured, that so many kings did not reign in tranquillity, nor in an unbroken line of descent, during so long a period of time as that of some twelve hundred years. The destruction, however, of the Chaldean records, by Nabonassar, is a sufficient reason why we know almost nothing of what happened during that long period in Assyria.

It was, however, during this period, that Sesostris, the famous Egyptian king—whose existence has also been doubted, until recent investigations have removed this doubt—reduced Assyria, or at least Babylonia, to the sway of Egypt, though it soon regained its independence.

Ctesias says, that Teutamus, the twenty-third king after Ninyas, sent a great body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tethonus, at a time when the Assyrian empire had existed more than a thousand years. But in Homer, nothing is said of so mighty a king as an ally of Priam.

The last* of this long race of sovereigns, Thonon Colcolerus, or Sardanapalus, is said to have surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, love of luxury and of sensual pleasures. He spent his time generally in the company of beautiful women, dressed and painted like them, and occupying himself with needle-work or spinning. He considered the greatest glory to consist in the possession of immense treasures, and felt himself happy only when feasting on delicacies and dainties, and rioting in every kind of debauchery. But becoming despised by his subjects, Arbaces, governor of Media, a brave man, found an opportunity of getting into the palace, and by his own eyes persuaded himself of the scandalous life Sardanapalus spent in his seraglio. Kindled with indignation and disgust at such unworthy conduct in a man whose servant he was, he took the resolution to dethrone this contemptible monarch, whom he was ashamed any longer to serve. Arbaces then formed a conspiracy, in which Belesis—a man of high rank, a priest and astrologer—and several others of the principal persons in the empire engaged. Belesis confirmed the governor of Media in his purpose by assuring him that the knowledge he was in possession of enabled him to predict that Arbaces should succeed in his enterprise, and become a ruler over the dominions of Sardanapalus. Arbaces, on his part, promised, if successful, that Belesis should become the ruler of Babylon.

The conspirators had, however, mistaken the character of their seemingly slothful and effeminate master, who, on the first rumor of their undertaking, hastened at the head of the troops who had remained faithful to him, to suppress the revolt. The conspirators having succeeded in gathering an army among their friends, and in gaining over many of the king's soldiers, attacked the royal army, but suffered defeat in three pitched battles. Relying, however, on the astrological predictions of Belesis, they persevered; and reinforced by the troops of Bactriana, which also had revolted, they surprised the army of the king at a splendid feast and totally destroyed his forces.

Sardanapalus fled to Nineveh, where he had provided himself with immense magazines. The victorious rebels pursued him to the gates of that capital, to which, without loss of time, they laid siege. The king, confiding, however, in what had been declared by an ancient oracle, that Nineveh could never be taken, unless the Tigris became its enemy, abandoned himself again to convivial enjoyments, and spent his time in fatal security among the beautiful women that were assembled in his seraglio.

* The list of kings of the first Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh contains, in accordance with Eusebius, thirty-six kings, who reigned twelve hundred and forty years: but according to Syncellus, forty-one kings, the time of whose reign together amounted to fourteen hundred and sixty years. These writers, however, agree that Thonon Colcolerus of Ctesias, or Sardanapalus of Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Alexander Polyhistor were the last of the kings that ruled over the first Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh.

Nineveh, provided with provisions for a considerable time, and well fortified, was not easily to be taken. The siege consequently proved one of long duration. But after two years, the river, swollen to an unusual size by an extraordinary fall of rain, inundated its banks, and threw down no less than twenty stadia* of the walls of the city. Thus a passage was opened for the rebellious army. Sardanapalus, seeing in this the fulfilment of the oracle, offered no further resistance. But so far from surrendering himself to the mercy of his enemies, he resolved to die as a man, who would not be separated from the objects of his pleasures and happiness even in death.

He ordered a pile of wood to be erected in one of the courts of his palace, and heaping all his most precious treasures upon it, and, with his wives and concubines, entering a chamber constructed within, set fire to the pile, and thus burned himself and them together. Athenæus states that the treasures destroyed amounted to the sum of a thousand myriads of talents† of gold, which is a sum almost twice the national debt of England. This statement is, therefore, to be interpreted as expressing that the treasures thus burnt amounted to an immense sum.

It is related that Sardanapalus had ordered two verses to be inscribed upon his tomb, importing‡ that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all that had caused him pleasure and enjoyment, leaving everything else behind him. A statue, after death, being erected to him, it represented him as a dancer, with the following inscription upon it, addressed to the spectators by Sardanapalus himself: "*Eat, drink, and enjoy yourself; all things else are nothing.*"§

The description of the effeminate manners of this king, and what has been related of his exploits on the field, and of his death, have, in the eyes of modern historians, been so much at variance with each other, that they have concluded that two monarchs of the same name have been confounded with each other; yet it is no less probable that the enemies of Sardanapalus, after his death, have painted him in darker colors than he deserved. But the gratification of sensual pleasures, of whatever kind they may be, even to excess, and also an inordinate desire for the company of women, are no proofs of a man's cowardice. There are, in history, a great number of celebrated heroes who have rioted in debaucheries, and spent a great part of their time in the company of women; though few of them have had the talent of rivaling the ladies at the distaff.

But there can be no doubt that this monarch, in some way or other, had raised the ire of the sacerdotal order, and of the aristocracy, and therefore fell a victim to their machinations. It is so common, in ancient history, to find the kings who have offended these powerful classes, described

* Two miles and a half.

† About \$6,700,000,000!

‡ Κεῖν ἔχω ὅσα ἔφαγον καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ μετ' ἑωυτοῦ

τέρπην' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλβια πάντα λείπεσθαι.

§ Ἐσθὲν πινὼ ἀφροδισιάζω· τ' ἄλλα δὲ οὐδέν.

as unworthy of the throne, though, perhaps, the people would generally have preferred these rulers to those who, by the spoils of conquered nations, have satisfied the avarice of the priesthood, and of the nobility. You will almost always find that a king has been a corrupt ruler, whenever there is a priest who has conspired against him. That class having been in the possession of the art of writing, they have handed down to posterity the rulers of empires, in whatever colors they pleased. They had at their command the wrath of the divinities, as long as threats were effective; but when it was deemed necessary actually to inflict punishments on the transgressors of the will of the gods, then the priests took the execution of vengeance into their own hands, from fear, I suppose, that the celestial beings would be more indulgent than themselves to human frailties.

After the death of Sardanapalus—which event we will presume to have taken place about 820 years B. C., though there are many who compute it to have happened more than a hundred years later—the Assyrian empire was divided, at least in accordance to the general opinion of historians, into three smaller, but still considerable kingdoms: viz. that of *Assyria Proper*, with Nineveh as the capital; that of *Media*, to which Arbaces is said to have given its independence, and that of *Babylon*, which was given to Belesis, who is said, by some writers, to have been governor of that city prior to his conspiracy against Sardanapalus.

The history of these kingdoms is, for about two centuries after that event, so obscure, and particularly that which concerns both of the Assyrian states so mixed together, that it is quite impossible to ascertain the exact truth. The most probable opinion seems to me to be, what even some other historians have also presumed, that no division of the Assyrian empire took place in reality, but that Media and Babylonia continued to remain dependent on the Assyrian monarch of Nineveh. The first governor, or perhaps rather, vassal-king of Babylonia, might, as an accomplice in the overthrow of Sardanapalus and friend of Arbaces, who mounted the Assyrian throne of Nineveh, have enjoyed a kind of independence, and hence have been considered, especially by foreign nations, as a sovereign prince.

The wars which the Assyrian monarchs carried on after that time to the west of the Euphrates, and of which some are mentioned by the Jewish writers, confirm the opinion that Babylonia continued to be dependent on the monarchs of Nineveh.* It is not probable that the armies of the latter would otherwise have been allowed to pass and re-pass so freely over the territory of Babylonia, as they evidently did on many occasions.

* Otesias has placed the destruction of this city at the time of the overthrow of Sardanapalus; but he was probably mistaken, as there is every reason to presume that event to have taken place at a later period.

Another still stronger proof in support of this opinion, in regard to the relation between the rulers of Nineveh and Babylon, is, that Merodach Baladan, king of the latter city, and the Medes, under the command of Dejoces, made themselves independent about 710 years B. C., which had not been necessary had they been so before that time.

From the little we know of what took place in the Assyrian kingdom during the thirteen centuries—which, in accordance with the computations I have adopted—passed between Nimus and the death of Sardanapalus, it is easy to perceive that an impenetrable darkness prevented the ancient historians from taking cognizance of the greater part of the numerous remarkable events which naturally, under so long a series of years, must have happened in that empire. There can be no doubt, from the knowledge we have of the history of other states, that the Assyrian empire had also to pass through various changes of good and bad fortune. Though we are left in ignorance thereof, sure we may be, that had we correct information of the successors of Ninyas, we would find many of them liable to heavier charges than that they were effeminate, indolent, and fond of sensual pleasures. Had kings never made themselves objectionable in any other way, then no enslaved and down-trodden nations would have had to cry for vengeance on their princes.

LETTER XVIII.

THE SECOND ASSYRIAN KINGDOM OF NINEVEH.

Arbaces,
about 820
years B. C. THE first king of the new series was, in accordance with Ctesias, *Arbaces*—the illustrious Mede—who, as we have seen above, had been the chief instrument in reducing Sardanapalus to such a condition that he was forced to put an end to his life.

Arbaces is said to have been a magnanimous and generous prince. The year of his death is not known with certainty.

Pul or Belus
about 790
years B. C. *Mandauces* succeeded him, as Ctesias relates. This king is considered by many to have been the same who, by the Jewish writers, is called Pul* or Belus, and we will presume this to be the fact.

This prince invaded Syria, but Menahem,† king of Samaria, hastened

* This king is, by many historians, and even by the learned M. Rollin, considered to have been the father of Sardanapalus. But though there is great reason for such a supposition, I have found the arguments against the same still stronger.

† 2 Book of Kings, xv. 19.

to buy his friendship, by paying over to him one thousand talents of silver. Pul is presumed by the authors of the English "Universal History" to have had two sons: Tiglath-Pileser and Nabonassar, of whom the former succeeded him on the throne of Nineveh, and the latter was appointed king of Babylon, as a vassal, however, to his elder brother. There are many reasons—the principal of which I have alluded to before, when speaking of the relation which both of the Assyrian kingdoms seem to me to have held to each other—that induce me to adopt this opinion, which is, nevertheless, liable to much doubt.

*Tiglath-Pileser** appears to have been the successor of Pul, and is, perhaps, the Sosarmus or Artycas of Ctesias. He warred against Pekah, the king of Israel, about the year 740 B. C., and carried away many of the Israelites into captivity. Bribed by Ahaz, the king of Judah, who was attacked by the kings of Israel and Syria, Tiglath-Pileser marched his army against Damascus, the capital of Syria, slew Rezin, its king, and transplanted his people to Kir, in Media;† thus putting an end to the kingdom of Damascus, or Syria. The king of Judah had to pay dearly for the assistance the Assyrian monarch had lent him; for he had not only to contribute an enormous sum of money, but also to acknowledge himself a vassal.

Tiglath-Pileser about 747 B. C.

Shalmaneser, the Enemessar of Tobit, was the successor of Tiglath-Pileser. Under his reign, Hosea, the king of Israel, entered into an alliance with Sabacus,—who is called So in the Bible,—the Ethiopian king of Egypt—hoping, by his assistance, to be able to shake off the Assyrian yoke. But Shalmaneser marched against the king of Israel a formidable army, and having, in the first onset, subdued all the plain country, laid siege to Samaria; which, however, for a period of three years, was heroically defended by Hosea, but, at last, was taken by the Assyrian king. Hosea, falling into his hands, was loaded with chains, and kept by his ungenerous conqueror in prison for the remainder of his lifetime. The people of Israel were driven away as a flock of sheep from their native land, to the Median cities of Halah and Habor. Thus, the attempt of Hosea to maintain the independence of Samaria, brought total ruin on this country; which, in consequence of its separation from the kingdom of Judah, had constituted an independent state for about 250 years. Shalmaneser pursuing his victorious career in Syria, turned his arms against Phenicia, some cities of which, either

Shalmaneser, about 726 B. C.

* This king is considered by some historians to have been the immediate successor of Sardanapalus, and to have assumed the name of Ninus the Younger, as the second founder of the Assyrian empire.

† This goes far to prove that Babylonia as well as Media at that time, was dependent on Assyria; because it is not probable that the king of the former country would have else allowed the Assyrian king to march his army through Babylonia, as he must have done; and if Media had not been subject to Assyria, the Syrian prisoners would probably not have been carried into that country.

intimidated by fear, or actuated by jealousy of the preponderating power of Tyre, opened their gates without resistance; but his attempt to put himself in possession of Tyre failed, after having vainly struggled for five years. After a reign of about eleven years, Shalmaneser died, and was succeeded by his son.

Sennacherib,
about 714
B. C. *Sennacherib*—called by Isaiah also Sargon—is, in the opinion of some historians, the same king whom Ctesias calls Arbaces.

He led an army against Hezekiah, the king of Judah, who had withheld the stipulated tribute, and compelled him not only to acknowledge his supremacy, but also to agree to pay an annual tribute of thirty talents of gold and three hundred of silver. But convinced of the weakness of the king of Judah, and wishing to come into possession of his kingdom, he sent three of his generals to accomplish this purpose. They succeeded so far as to lay siege to Jerusalem itself. Encouraged by the words of Isaiah, Hezekiah, however, was not so intimidated by their threats and reproaches as to surrender the city. Neither did the Jews listen to the persuasions of the enemy, who promised to carry them away into a land abounding with corn and oil. Meanwhile, the kings of Ethiopia and Egypt, who had joined their troops, were hastening to the deliverance of Jerusalem. Sennacherib being informed of this, marched to meet these new enemies, whom he soon defeated and pursued into their own countries, which he ravaged, collecting an immense spoil. Returning from this victorious campaign, the Assyrian monarch again invaded Jerusalem; but not to him was it allowed to take that city. The confident hope of Isaiah was not frustrated. What human force had attempted in vain, that was done by Him who brought forth the world by the power of His word. The greatest part of the Assyrian army was destroyed by pestilence, and the arrogant monarch was reminded by a terrible retribution that there existed a Power superior to his own. But what does a despot care for the life of his soldiers, as long as he himself remains unhurt?

Sennacherib, together with the remnant of his army, fled precipitately from the vicinity of Jerusalem; but on his return to Nineveh, he seems to have been more enraged than humbled. His despotic temper, soured by disappointment and defeat, drove him to commit the most inhuman enormities. Almost all his subjects were made to feel his rage, but chiefly the captive Jews and Israelites, a great number of whom, it is said, he caused to be killed daily, prohibiting every one from burying the slaughtered corpses. Pursuing his bloody career with relentless rage, his own sons seem to have feared for their own lives. It is at least to be hoped that the great crime they committed in murdering their own father, was done from motives of self-defence in preventing him from taking their own lives. Sennacherib was put to death by two of his sons, while kneeling in prayer in the temple of Nisroch, his god. Remarkable inconsistency of human

nature! The very same man who rioted in cruelties towards his fellow-men, forgot not that duty which he thought he owed to his god. True it is, the tyrant and the bigot have often been joined in the same person!

Esarhaddon,* another son of the murdered monarch, succeeded his father to the throne; neither of the parricides having dared to dispute with him for the succession; but fearful rather of punishment, they had both fled to Armenia. The losses his father had suffered in his last campaign, and his tyranny probably also, had incited the Babylonians, as well as the Medes, to attempt a recovery of their independence. Thus Esarhaddon found himself, at the very beginning of his reign, involved in two wars. Unsuccessful against the Medes, who soon after formed a separate monarchy, under Dejoces, 706 years B. C., he was more fortunate against the Babylonians, who were reduced, about 680 years B. C., to an acknowledgment of his supremacy. Advancing afterwards into Syria, he recovered what had there been lost, near the close of his father's reign. He carried away most of the Israelites whom his ancestors had left in their native country, and thus blotted out this people from the list of nations. Sending a part of his victorious army against Judea, this kingdom was reduced to complete dependence, and its king, Manasseh, carried in chains to Babylon. In order to repopulate Samaria, Esarhaddon sent colonists, selected out from among the people that lived in the countries beyond the Euphrates, to inhabit the Samaritan cities; and thus proved that he was not only an able general, but also a prudent and wise ruler over the territories he had laid under his sway. Pitiful it is, however, to see how the people have always been treated, by princes, as herds of cattle!

Esarhaddon,
about 710
years B. C.

Esarhaddon† died after a fortunate reign of about forty-three years; thirteen of which were after the Babylonians had been reduced to subjection. He was succeeded by

Saosducheus,‡ who, in accordance with the canon of Ptolemy, came into possession of the throne of the united Assyrian kingdoms 667 years before the Christian era. No very remarkable

Saosducheus
667 years
B. C.

* There have been historians, who, from the bravery displayed by this prince, have presumed him to have been the warlike Sardanapalus, who made such firm resistance to his rebellious subjects, and that his deeds have been attributed to that one who burnt himself.

† There have been historians who have presumed that the name of Sargon, by Isaiah, ought to be applied to Esarhaddon, and not to his father; and thus that it was he and not his father who marched an army against Egypt and Ethiopia, carrying from thence many captives, as spoken of by Isaiah xx. 4.

‡ Some chronologists have introduced between these two kings, another king, under the name of Ninus III., and who, they said, ascended the throne 667 years B. C. But this does not seem to me probable. Did such a king ever exist, and did he succeed Esarhaddon, then this monarch must, most probably, have died some years before 667, and Ninus have reigned between the time of his death and the year 667. There are historians, and among them the learned M. Rollin, who presume that Saosducheus is the same king who is called in the Book of Judith, Nabuchodonosor.

events distinguished his reign, which lasted twenty years. He was succeeded by his son

Chyniladan,
647 years
B. C.

Chyniladan. This king is presumed by many historians to have been the Nabuchodonosor of the Book of Judith. He was an ambitious and warlike prince, and raised a formidable army, either to defend his own territory against the encroachments of the Medes, or to reduce them again under the sway of Assyria. In a pitched battle upon the plain of Ragau, he completely defeated Phraortes, (Arphaxad,) the king of the Medes, and pursuing him to the neighboring mountains, whither the defeated prince had fled for safety, took him prisoner, and caused him to be shot with darts; thus proving himself a cruel and ungenerous victor. After having got possession of Ecbatana, the capital of Media, Chyniladan returned triumphant to Nineveh,* which then was in its splendor, according to Herodotus, as also the Book of Judith,† and where he is said to have entertained his victorious troops with a feast which lasted for one hundred and twenty days. Afterwards, he sent Holofernes, one of his generals, to punish those vassals that had revolted against his authority, and had refused to send to him the aid he had required in his Median campaign. Fortune, at first, accompanied Holofernes, until proceeding against the Jews, and investing Bethulia, a mountain fortress, he there fell a victim to his own passions, by the hand of Judith, the Jewish heroine, who had devoted herself to the purpose of destroying him and saving her country. The Assyrian troops, dismayed at the loss of their general, fled in disorder; pursued with great slaughter by the enemies they had despised. There is nothing more worthy of mention to be related of the reign of Chyniladan.

It has, by some historians, been observed that the successful war against the Medes; the splendid feast that followed; and the dispersion and the defeat of the Assyrian army subsequent to the death of Holofernes, might, perhaps, be found again in the events which, with Ctesias, form his conclusion of the reign of Thonos Colcolerus. Such a confusion seems to me to be possible, but not very probable.

Sarac succeeded Chyniladan, according to Alexander Polyhistor. This king is, by some modern historians, also called

Sardanapalus II., as presumed by them to be identical with the king spoken of by Justin, under that name. By the inability of this prince, or from his own ambition, Nabopolassar—the governor of Babylon, and a Babylonian by birth—to whom he had committed the chief command over

* There are many historians who ascribe this war and conquest to Sarseduchens.

† The authors of the English Universal History are inclined to think the Book of Judith fictitious.—See Vol. IV.

‡ *Sarac* is considered by M. Rollin to be identical with Chyniladan, but though an historian of great authority, I think, from reasons too profuse here to be given, that he is mistaken in this instance, as well as on some other occasions.

the troops of that region, was induced to revolt against him. Instigating the soldiers under his command to lend him their aid, Nabopolassar entered into an alliance against Sarac with Cyaxares, the Mede and son of Phraortes, who, bent upon revenging the death of his father, had inspired his countrymen with his own feelings; and in a pitched battle defeated the Assyrian monarch. Joining their troops, Nabopolassar and Cyaxares invaded Nineveh, where Sarac had sought refuge against his enemies. But a formidable number of Scythians, at that time entering these regions, in pursuit of the Cimmerians, whom they had driven out of Europe, drew the attention of Cyaxares upon themselves. Raising the siege of Nineveh, this prince marched his army against these invaders, but was defeated by them. The Scythians—as I will relate more particularly in another place—had for twenty-eight years the supremacy in Asia; but were at last, by the perseverance of Cyaxares, almost annihilated. Having, during this long interval, by no means forgotten his plan of destroying the remnant of the Assyrian monarchy, Cyaxares led his army once more against Nineveh, where he was joined by Nabopolassar, who, in accordance with some historians, then, for the first time, had entered into an alliance with him. Be this as it may, Nineveh was taken, and this great city was razed to the ground; in order, probably, to prevent its ever again rising to power, and laying the neighboring nations again in fetters. Sarac was either killed, or, as we are told by some writers, through dread of falling into the hands of his implacable foes, put an end to his own life, by burning himself, his family, and wealth, in the same manner as Ctesias has related of Sardanapalus.

Thus the splendid drama which the conquering Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh had displayed for so many centuries, was brought to a close by a tragedy, in which, by the flames of conflagration, the perishable nature of all human greatness was inscribed with the blood of those who were deemed unworthy of holding any longer the sceptre of Asia.

LETTER XIX.

THE SECOND ASSYRIAN KINGDOM OF BABYLON.

BELESIS, as I have related before, was one of those who conspired against Thonos Colcolerus, or Sardanapalus I. After the death of Sardanapalus, he continued as governor, or became the vassal-king of Babylon, under the supremacy of the Assyrian monarch of Nineveh. It does not seem to me probable that he became the sovereign ruler of Babylon; and

the following, which I am about to relate, will, I think, convince you that my opinion has a good foundation.

Belesis is represented as a crafty and mean-spirited man. After having conspired against his master, he deceived his accomplice, the brave Arbaces, in the following manner. When they had accomplished their purpose, and the proud palace of the ancient Assyrian monarchs was reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins, Belesis told Arbaces, that, in the midst of the war, he had made a vow to Belus, his god, that if they were successful, and the palace should be destroyed by fire, he would remove the ashes to Babylon, and there heap them up in a mound, near the temple of this deity; there to stand in commemoration of the overthrow of the ancient Assyrian empire of Nineveh. Arbaces had no objection to this conscientious performance of what his associate had promised his god. But Belesis seems to have been privately informed by an eunuch of Sardanapalus—who, from some reason or other, had had the good fortune not to have been compelled to die with his master—of the immense treasures which had been consumed in the conflagration of the palace of Nineveh; and knowing that this was a secret to Arbaces, he invented this story. The ashes were brought to Babylon, but probably well sifted, before the pious man fulfilled his pretended vow. But the fraud was detected, and Belesis was called to an account and tried for this transaction, it is said, by the other chiefs who had assisted in the war, and who, upon his own confession of the crime of which he was accused, condemned him to lose his head. Arbaces, however, too generous to permit the punishment to be inflicted upon the hypocrite, freely forgave him, and left him in the possession of his treasure and the government of Babylon, saying: "The good he had done ought to serve as a veil to his crime." Meaning that his participation in the overthrow of Sardanapalus was a good action.

It is also related that Belesis became so effeminate that the successor of Arbaces, on the throne of Media, sent a man by the name of Parsondas to reprove him for his unworthy mode of life. But Belesis so far seduced the ambassador by the allurements of beautiful women, and luxurious entertainments, that he forgot his mission, and became even more effeminate and dissipated than the man whose manners he was sent to reform.

Fictitious as these accounts in some measure probably are, they seem, however, to indicate, that Belesis was by no means a sovereign prince of Babylon. Besides, between him and the accession of Nabonassar to the reign of Babylon, there is no mention made in history of any Babylonian ruler; which circumstance seems to imply that this city was governed by the delegates of the Assyrian monarch of Nineveh.

Nabonassar, presumed generally to have been sovereign prince of Babylon, ascended the throne, according to astronomical calculations, on Wednesday, 26th of February, 747 years B. C., and

Nabonassar,
26th of Feb.
747 B. C.

Ptolemy* appears to consider him as the first sovereign king of Babylon, which is also a confirmation of the opinion, that Belesis and his successors, until Nabonassar, were vassals of the Assyrian monarch of Nineveh. I have before mentioned, that there are historians who think that Nabonassar was a younger brother of Tiglath-Pileser, and was dependent on his authority; which opinion seems to me probable, from reasons already stated. The authors of the English Universal History, together with some other historians, are inclined to think that the celebrated Semiramis was the wife of Nabonassar; but this seems to me to be an hypothesis, worthy of no attention, and to have originated in the unwillingness of these writers to cede to Babylon an antiquity which seems to them not sufficiently supported by the authority of the Bible. But how can the omission in that Book of the name of the Babylonian or Assyrian rulers affect the antiquity of these empires? I hope that no one will have the egregious folly to assert that the Bible contains the history of these states. Every one who pleases to pay the least attention to what is written in the Bible of the Assyrian kingdoms, must admit that the events, as well as the rulers of that nation, are mentioned only incidentally, or in connection with the affairs of the Israelitish and the Jewish people.

Under the reign of Nabonassar,† an exact method of reckoning time was introduced among the Chaldeans, by the adoption of the Egyptian solar year, and from his reign is dated the so-called Era of Nabonassar.

As nothing remarkable has been related of this monarch, who reigned fourteen years, nor of his three immediate successors, who together only reigned about twelve years, and that under a time when Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser marched their armies into Syria, it seems the more probable that the Babylonian kings were mere vassals of these Assyrian monarchs. This is almost conclusively proved by the revolt of Merodach Baladan—the fourth successor of Nabonassar—against the power of the Assyrian Monarch of Nineveh; for how can he be said to have revolted unless he was subject to his sway? And as it is not mentioned that he had himself first been made to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Nineveh, this fate must have happened to some one or more of his successors. From this evidence, as well as from other proofs before stated, I think we may be pretty well assured that there existed no sovereign prince in Babylon, after the time of Sardanapalus, until Merodach

* Ptolemy was a celebrated geographer, astronomer, and mathematician. He was born in Pelusium, in Egypt, about 70 years A. C., and is said to have attained an age of about eighty years. He corrected the tables of Hipparchos on the stars, and brought the astronomical observations of the ancients to a system, which he wrote down in his work, called *Μεγάλη Συναξίς* consisting of thirteen books, and which was named after himself.

† Mr. Rollin considers Nabonassar to have been identical with Belesis, founding this supposition, I presume, upon the opinion that Pul was the predecessor and father of Sardanapalus, and that the overthrow of the latter took place about eighty-three years later than what I have assumed to have been the case.

Baladan, who, after the severe losses of Sennacherib, seized on the occasion to make himself independent.

Merodach Baladan—so called, according to the Jewish writers, or Mardach Empades, as he is named by others—either from sympathy with the sufferings of Hezekiah, king of Judah, or from policy, wrote, as we know, letters of congratulation to him on his recovery from illness. These letters were handed over to the king of Judah by special messengers, who, perhaps, might have told—if not to the king himself, who seems to have been a man of a good heart, but of inferior capacities, at least to Isaiah—the plans which Merodach, Baladan had formed to throw off the Assyrian yoke, and thus compel the monarch of Nineveh to divide his forces. This is only a supposition; but the intelligent reader, who has paid full attention to this subject, may not, perhaps, regard this conjecture as altogether unfounded. Merodach Baladan having declared himself independent, soon afterwards died, in the year 710 B. C.

After him, Ptolemy enumerates four kings and two interregna, during a period of twenty-nine years. After a continuance of the last interregnum of about eight years, Esarhaddon, as I before related, subdued Babylon, and reduced it again to a tributary state—in the year 680 B. C.—in which condition it remained until Nabopolassar, or, as he is also called, Labynetus, raised the standard of rebellion, and, in alliance with Cyaxares, in the year 606 B. C., took and destroyed Nineveh, that mighty city, which so long had exercised dominion over the no less proud city of Babylon—which, from this time, is to be exalted to the metropolis of Western Asia.

We do not know with certainty in what year Nabopolassar declared himself independent, nor are we quite certain if Nineveh was taken by him and Cyaxares, or by the latter, and

Nabopolassar's son and successor. The truth might be, that, during the lifetime of Nabopolassar, he sent his son to co-operate with the Median prince in the destruction of Nineveh; we will therefore take it for granted, that this was the case, and that Nabopolassar reigned two years after this event, in accordance with the opinion of several historians, and that he was succeeded by his son,

Nabocolassar, Bochtanser, so celebrated under the name of Nebuchadnezzar. This king, during his long reign, raised Babylon to the summit of its greatness, and made the Assyrian

empire of that city as powerful even as that of Nineveh is said to have been in the palmy days of its glory. Already, in his father's lifetime, he had proved himself an able commander, when sent by that prince* to reduce the Syrians, who, after the taking of Carchemish by Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, had, at the instigation, or by the menaces of that

* Berosus tells us, that Nabopolassar had made his son co-regent with him.

monarch, thrown off the Assyrian yoke. In this expedition, Nebuchadnezzar had been completely successful. Defeating Necho, in the vicinity of Circesium, and re-taking Carchemish, he had compelled the Syrian provinces to acknowledge the supremacy of his father. After having taken Jerusalem, and loaded the king of Judah—Jehoiakim—with chains, intending thus to have him carried to Babylon, he had been moved to pity—by the affliction of the unfortunate prince, who solicited mercy—and had restored him to the throne. Thus he had, in his youth, proved himself a brave warrior, endowed with noble feelings. A great many Jews, however, and among them some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither* all the treasures which had been taken, were transported.

While occupied with these affairs, Nebuchadnezzar received the news of his father's death. Leaving the principal part of the troops with some trusty generals, and ordering them to carry the prisoners and the spoils to Babylon, he himself immediately set out for that city, taking the nearest way through the desert, and attended only by a small retinue. On his arrival at Babylon, he was acknowledged the successor of his father, and thus mounted the throne of which he had made himself worthy by his heroism and generosity.

In the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar had a dream, which is said to have inspired him with much fear. Pitiful, indeed, it is, to read how often courageous men have trembled with fear, under the influence of superstition!

Desirous of knowing the meaning of this dream, Nebuchadnezzar consulted the wise men, the soothsayers, and the Chaldeans, commanding them to tell what it was that he had dreamed. This, at least, seems to indicate that he was a man of sagacious mind; because he had just reason to require of them a knowledge of what his dream was, had they been able, as they pretended they were, to interpret dreams. What he, therefore, required of these men, was nothing more than a test by which they might prove that there was reason to put confidence in the interpretation they might give. But the wise men, and the others, whose answer he had requested, declaring themselves unable to comply with his wish or command, became the objects of his wrath, and he condemned them to suffer the punishment of death. There have been those who have thought that the cause of this violence, on the part of the king, was, that he believed that he was treated insincerely, presuming that he viewed the wise men, the soothsayers, and the Chaldeans, as able to answer his question, but that they would not do it. Superstitious as this king undoubtedly was, it seems to me, however, that he must have been too

* Daniel says, in the 1st chap., 2d verse, that the vessels of the house of God, were carried into the land of Shinar, to the house of his (Nebuchadnezzar's) god. The land of Shinar is here evidently Babylonia.

intelligent a man, sincerely to have harbored so foolish an opinion. His anger seems to me to have originated in the just and rational cause he had to be offended with men whom he had convicted of falsehood and imposture in pretending to be endowed with the power of interpreting dreams.

We know that, by timely intercession, the cruel sentence of the king was not executed; but we do not know whether the terror of death had any salutary influence upon the wise men. Still, it is reasonable to presume that they, at least in the presence of the king, made no further boast of their power of revealing what is beyond the knowledge of man.

About that time, Jehoiakim, forgetting his promises, and wishing, as was natural, to recover his independent position, yet imprudent enough to overrate his means, revolted from the king of Babylon, whose troops were still in the land of Judah. These were led, by the Assyrian generals, against Jerusalem, to which city they laid siege immediately. Jehoiakim appears to have died just at the very commencement of the siege, and was succeeded by his son, Jechonias,* who, after the elapse of three months, went out, and, together with his relations, delivered himself into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who had hastened to the siege of Jerusalem, and taken upon himself the chief command of his army.

Nebuchadnezzar, after having, by the surrender, thus come into the possession of Jerusalem, caused the treasures that were still to be found in the royal palace and the temple to be transported to Babylon, as were also the numerous captives, consisting of the royal family, the chief officers, and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, allowing few but poor people to remain.

In the place of the captive prince, Nebuchadnezzar exalted Zedekiah to the throne of Judah, and took of him an oath of fealty. But Zedekiah, discarding the oath, entered into an alliance with the king of Egypt, and raised the standard of revolt. Nebuchadnezzar immediately sent an army again to besiege Jerusalem. The approach, however, of the Egyptian army, obliged the monarch of Babylon to raise, for a while, the siege. Advancing to meet the Egyptians, a battle ensued between them and the Assyrian army, in which the latter was victorious.

The siege of Jerusalem was now renewed, and after having been continued for about twelve months, the result was that that city fell into the hands of the Assyrian generals, as did also Zedekiah himself, whom they sent to Nebuchadnezzar, who was then at Riblah. That monarch caused the sons of Zedekiah to be murdered before the face of their father, whom he thereafter deprived of his sight. Every feeling of humanity seems, on that occasion, to have been stifled within the breast of the Assyrian monarch, who could, after having lacerated the father's heart

* Also called Jehoiakim.

by the slaughter of his sons, inflict also such a cruel punishment on the wretched parent himself. Perjured as this fallen king might have been, he had still done nothing else which the laws of nations do not perfectly justify. But what does an absolute and victorious monarch care for laws, especially in those times, when it was thought that a prisoner was but the mere property of the conqueror!

Zedekiah, loaded with fetters of brass, was carried to Babylon, where he was kept a prisoner for the remainder of his life. Many of his chief officers were also punished with death, as accomplices in the revolt against the Assyrian monarch. Jerusalem, with its temple, was burnt, and its fortifications destroyed.

In regard to some children of the royal family, and of the principal Jews, Nebuchadnezzar took good care of their education, as we read in the Book of Daniel, which fact is one of the proofs that there were many good qualities in the character of that monarch, whose chief faults seem to have been an unbounded ambition and excess of pride.

Four years after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar marched his army again into Syria, and laid siege to Tyre, which city then is said to have been ruled by a king, by name of Ithobal. The city of Tyre* was a strong city, fortified by art as well as by nature, and famous for the wealth it had accumulated by trade. Its citizens were then the merchant-princes of the world,† and the city itself was probably the richest then existing in the world. Thirteen years it resisted the formidable power of Nebuchadnezzar; but that monarch was too proud to desist from his undertaking. Therefore, though his troops suffered incredible hardships during this long siege, he did not discontinue it. But the Tyrians, who anticipated that their city would at last fall into the hands of their powerful enemy, in the meantime built a new city on a neighboring isle, about a mile from the shore, whither they retired. When, therefore, Nebuchadnezzar at last came into possession of the old city, he found only empty houses, and had thus no other recompense for this laborious undertaking, than the consciousness of having reduced the citizens of so strong a city to remove from their ancient homes.

But the intestine troubles of Egypt promised Nebuchadnezzar a rich recompense for his fruitless toil in his attempt on Tyre. Consequently, he led his army into Egypt, which land he overran with his victorious troops, that made a horrible devastation wherever they came, and caused such a damage to that country, that it is said to have taken forty years to repair it. At last, after having subdued the greater part of Egypt and collected immense booty, Nebuchadnezzar concluded peace with Amasis,

* Tyre was, as I have said in my geographical description, founded by Sidon. Isaiah calls it therefore "the daughter of Sidon." When that city was taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants escaped in ships, and founded the city of Tyre.

† Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. Just. Book xviii. chap. 3.

and left him, as a vassal-king of Babylon, in the possession of the throne of Egypt.

After his return to Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar finished the works he is said to have undertaken with a view to embellish that magnificent city. But he was not allowed to enjoy for a long time the fruits of his praiseworthy as well as of his blameable acts. He became for a time a mad-man, and therefore a striking example of the vanity of all human power. Afterwards his understanding was restored to him, and for this divine favor he was, as we know from Daniel, sincerely thankful to the Supreme Being. One year later he died, after a long and very successful reign, and was succeeded by Evil Merodach, his son.

Evil
Merodach.
561 B. C.

Evil Merodach, in the canon of Ptolemy, mentioned by the name of Ilvarodam, had, during the time of his father's loss of his understanding, proved himself a bad ruler, and had therefore, on the return of his father's reason, been severely rebuked by the aged monarch. While regent, during the visitation inflicted upon Nebuchadnezzar, he is said to have provoked the anger of the king of Media, by plundering a part of his territory, on the occasion of a great hunting-match, which he had ordered, with a view to celebrate his marriage with Nitocris, a Median lady; but meeting with an armed troop of Medes, the prince of Babylon was routed and pursued with great slaughter. In this fight, according to Xenophon, Cyrus, then only seventeen years, first distinguished himself.

Nebuchadnezzar seems to have justly appreciated the folly of his son, in drawing upon himself the vengeance of such warlike neighbors, and consequently was able to predict what afterwards really happened.

The first act of Evil Merodach, on mounting the throne, indicates that his disposition was not totally void of generous sympathies. He liberated from prison, Jechonias, or Jehoiachim—who had been king of Judah, but who, from the first day of his captivity, had continually been kept in custody—and treated him, afterwards, as a sovereign prince. The motive for this generous act may, perhaps, be found in the fact of his being himself raised to the throne from the prison, into which his father—from displeasure at his conduct during the time the old king had been deprived of his understanding—had thrown him. Misfortune has, generally, the effect, upon men of natural good disposition, to make them sympathize with the calamities of others, while adverse fortune, or obstacles, in the realization of their wishes, stifle hard and callous hearts the more against the voice of suffering humanity.

Evil Merodach is, by many historians, considered to be the Belshazzar of Daniel, and it must be conceded that there are many reasons in support of this hypothesis; still, they are not so satisfactory that I would admit it as proved, without a doubt.

—This king appears to have been of an indolent nature, and excessively

fond of the luxuries of the table, and the enjoyments of the seraglio. But either disgusted with his debaucheries, or for some other reason, his own relatives are said to have headed a conspiracy against him, the result of which was the untimely death of this king, after a short reign of somewhat more than two years.

In the murder of Evil Merodach—presuming him to be identical with the Belshazzar of Daniel—we find the accounts given by Berosus and Daniel, of the manner in which this action was performed, fully to coincide with each other. The former historian tells us that Evil Merodach was killed at a banquet by some of his courtiers, or rather by the principal men of the state; and Daniel, after having spoken of a feast on that very night, says: "In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain."

Neriglissar, or *Nericassolassar*, his sister's husband, who had been one of the chief conspirators against him, became his successor. Those who take it for granted that Evil Merodach is identical with the Belshazzar of Daniel, consequently consider that Neriglissar is identical with Darius, the Mede, who, according to Daniel, succeeded Belshazzar. There are again other historians, who presume Neriglissar himself to be the Belshazzar* of Daniel, with some appearance of probability; and I confess that I am much inclined to endorse this opinion.

Neriglissar,
556 years
B. C.

Neriglissar seems to have been an able prince; but it was, however, with the utmost difficulty that he was able to resist the formidable inroads of the Medes. At last, he was obliged to seek for foreign aid. The king of India is said to have sent ambassadors to induce the contending parties to desist from further hostilities, and come to a peaceful arrangement of their quarrels, but without success; whereupon there immediately ensued a bloody battle between the Medes and the Assyrians, in which Neriglissar was slain, and his army totally dispersed.

Laborosoarshoed, as he is called by Berosus, or *Labassoarasc*, as he is styled by Abydenus, succeeded his father, Neriglissar. Still, it is to be observed, that Laborosoarshoed is not mentioned at all in Ptolemy's canon. The reign of this prince is said to have lasted but nine months; and he himself is described as a very vicious youth; indulging his passions without the least restraint, and conducting himself as though he deemed it his privilege to consult only his own inclinations. But what is related of his shameful habits and cruel disposition, is probably much exaggerated, and perhaps altogether false. The principal cause that led to his assassination, in the very first year of his reign, seems to have been the ambition* of his successor, rather than any fault of his own.

Laborosoarshoed, 553
years B. C.

* This prince must, in that case, have reigned about twenty-three years, but which is not so long a time as to give any objection to the opinion above stated.

Nabonidus, or *Nabonadius*, called, by Herodotus, Labynetus, is said to have been a party in the murder of his predecessor, whose throne he mounted. He is generally considered to have been the son of Evil Merodach, and of his wife, the celebrated Nitocris. There have been some historians—and among them M. Rollin—who have considered him to be identical with the Belshazzar of Daniel; and it cannot be denied that there are reasons, in support of such an opinion. But among other conflicting testimonies, I will mention one only. Daniel calls Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar; but the very historians who consider him to be the very Belshazzar of Daniel, concede, however, that he was the son of Evil Merodach, and the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar. It is, however, to be observed, that the word *son* is often used in the Bible to denote some remote descendants.*

It appears that, after having, by such violent means mounted the throne, Nabonidus had a severe struggle to maintain himself on it during the seventeen years his reign is generally considered to have lasted. Babylon was, nevertheless, much embellished, and strengthened by new fortifications. The merit of these works seems, however, principally to belong to his mother Nitocris, who, in accordance with what historians have told us of her, was unquestionably a woman of great talents. She exerted herself not only to adorn Babylon, and to improve the surrounding country, but also to fortify that city against the storm she foresaw would come sweeping from the East. It was she, who is said to have constructed the walls along the banks of the Euphrates, to prevent an enemy from gaining access to the city by way of that river. There is no mention of her death, but it probably occurred before that of her son, and the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus.

It is related that she had ordered an inscription to be made on her tomb, dissuading future kings from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent necessity. The tomb remained unopened until Darius, moved by curiosity or from avarice, caused it to be searched, when nothing was discovered but the following inscription:

* There is evidently great confusion among the historians in regard to the successors of Nebuchadnezzar, down to the time of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. Without claiming my view to have been founded on what the ancient historians have related of this matter, I will state what has occurred to my mind, during the investigation of this perplexing question.

Nabonidus or Labynetus II, seems to me to have been probably confounded with Nabopolassar or Labynetus I, and thus these different names belong to only one person; that is, to Nabopolassar. Further, Neriglissar might have been the last Assyrian king of Babylon, and the son of Evil Merodach and Nitocris, who, in consequence of her great abilities, assisted her son in the government, and who, being killed after the death of his mother, was the very Belshazzar of Daniel, that was succeeded by Darius the Mede, as his successor is called by Daniel. If we are to judge from the Book of Daniel, we may presume that between Belshazzar and Cyrus, there was in Babylon but one king, Darius, the Mede, who might well be identified with the last king of Media.

"Hadst thou not had an insatiable thirst after riches, and a sordid and avaricious soul, thou wouldst never have opened the tomb of the dead."

One of the principal causes of the overthrow of the Assyrian empire of Babylon, or as Mr. Heeren and many other historians called it, the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, is to be sought for in the composition of its armies, which, in the later times of its existence, consisted not of genuine Assyrians and Chaldeans, but of many different nations, held together by no other motive than fear. When, therefore, the great abilities of Cyrus, and the bravery of his troops, into whose bosoms this great commander had inspired the ardor of his own soul, came in conflict with those discordant elements, the result was not long doubtful. The first check the monarch of Babylon suffered, induced a part of his army to leave his standard, and offer their services to his victorious foe. This example was soon followed by all the rest of the subjugated people, and therefore we find the last Assyrian monarch of Babylon, as the case had been with the last Assyrian king of Nineveh, confined within his own seemingly impregnable capital, surrounded solely by the degenerated descendants of those brave generations that had raised Babylon to its astonishing greatness, and the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire to a position the most powerful in Western Asia.

The strength, however, of the fortifications of Babylon, and the immense magazines of this city, which are said to have contained supplies sufficient for twenty years' consumption, inspired the king as well as the Babylonians themselves with confidence. Considering themselves beyond the reach of their formidable enemies, they scoffed at them, and are said to have given themselves up to indulgence in every kind of amusements and pleasures.

After having spent full two years in besieging Babylon, and when on the point of despairing of the capture of this city, the vain security of its inhabitants at last suggested to Cyrus, as both Herodotus and Xenophon relate, the idea of a bold stratagem. Having been informed that a great annual festival was to be celebrated in the city, and that the Babylonians, on the occasion of that solemnity, used to pass the whole night in convivial enjoyments, and that, being altogether absorbed in pleasures, they took no thoughts of the enemy that was bent upon their destruction. Cyrus therefore posted strong divisions of his troops at the point where the Euphrates entered and departed from the city—which, as we know, was divided by this river, into two parts—and ordered them to enter Babylon, that very night, by way of the channel, as soon as they found it fordable. Having given these orders, and encouraged his troops, by assuring them that he marched under the guidance of the gods, that able general commanded the great ditches or canals, which he had himself caused to be made, as well as that canal which led to the lake which I have before described, to be opened to receive the waters of the Euphrates; expecting

that his troops would have time to pass through the channel of the empty river, before these receptacles were filled. He was not deceived in this calculation, and as the gates leading from each street to the bank had, in the disorder of the feast, been left unclosed and unguarded, as it is related—though more probably they were opened by traitors,* or by the captives of the foreign nations that were in Babylon—this daring enterprise succeeded. The troops of Cyrus seemed, almost without opposition, to have reached the

very palace of the king, who was slain, not, however, without resistance. Though the conqueror appears to have used his victory with moderation, still he added this magnificent conquest to the vast empire he was forming; thus putting an end to the second Assyrian empire of Babylon, about seventy years after the destruction of that of Nineveh.

Babylon
taken by
Cyrus, about
539 years B.C.

I will here observe, that there have been historians, and among them Mr. Heeren, a writer of the highest authority, who have considered the second Assyrian empire of Babylon as having been established by the Chaldeans, and that this nation took possession of Babylon between 630–625 B. C., and, consequently, also brought ruin on the second Assyrian empire of Nineveh. We shall find, when we come to speak of the great Cyrus, that Xenophon, in his history of this monarch, relates how Cyrus warred against a people called Chaldeans, but who were not the Chaldeans of Babylon. It might, therefore, easily have happened, that Nabopolassar had enlisted great bodies of that people, or tribe, and employed them in establishing his new empire, and in overthrowing that of Nineveh; and that afterwards a great many of those Chaldeans, who had assisted him in this enterprise, settled in Babylon, and in the surrounding country. Nabopolassar might also have found it agreeable to his policy, to bestow high offices upon a great number of these Chaldeans, in order to have persons upon whom he could rely, by reason of their absolute dependence on him for the continuance of their good fortune, in case the natives should be dissatisfied with him. Yet I cannot but think, that, before Nabopolassar's time, a great many of the higher classes among the Babylonians were of Chaldean origin—descendants of those Chaldeans, who, probably, in very remote times, made themselves masters of Babylon, but who afterwards were subjected by Ninus to the sway of the Assyrian monarch of Nineveh.

The sceptre which the Assyrian monarchs of Babylon had wielded was broken asunder, as that had before been which had rested in the hands of the kings of Nineveh. This should give us no wonder. The Assyrian people had passed through those stages of duration which are

* We know that there were traitors to their country in the army of Cyrus, and it is reasonable to suppose, that the Jews, and the other captives in Babylon, did what they could to assist the enemy of their enemies. If such was the case, Cyrus was at least thankful.

allotted to nations as well as to individuals. They had had their infancy, their youth, their manhood, and were now arrived at the age of decrepitude and decay. Thus, dissolution was nothing but what was to be expected; because nations and individuals are alike subjected to the same laws of growth and decay. The grave follows on the old age of the one, as certain as it does on that of the other; the difference being, that the death of a nation is political, while that of the individual is physical. It happened, however, in the case of the Babylonians, as it often does, that the laws of nature were hastened in their course by the victims themselves. Disregarding the voice of caution and prudence, the Babylonians, while rioting in voluptuous enjoyments, were rushing headlong to destruction, and became the easy prey of their enemies.

Knowing, as we do, that the Assyrians held in subjection conquered nations, from the Libyan desert to the Armenian mountains, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus; that they dragged hundreds of thousands of captives from their native homes to distant lands, and that they covered numerous battle-fields with the corpses of their fellow-men; are we to think that they had been allowed to exercise so much power, and to inflict so much suffering upon so large a portion of the human race, for no wise purpose of Providence whatever? Let us not for a moment harbor a thought so unworthy of the wise and benevolent Father of men! Short-sighted as we are, and though not always capable of perceiving the hand that rules over the destinies of nations, we would more often obtain a glimpse of the ways of Providence did we seek them with sufficient attention.

The still atmosphere in the course of time breeds a mortal pestilence; but the hurricane which sweeps over land and water, leaving in its path terrible traces of its destructive power, disperses, however, the pestiferous vapors, and infuses health and vigor into the constitution of man. Had nations been left in an undisturbed state, separate from each other, their spiritual life would have been suffocated; and such a condition must have produced narrow views and prejudices between the separate divisions of the human family, that would have been detrimental to the advancement of mankind in its progress towards a comparatively improved state of existence and must have induced the different people to consider it as a pollution to have had any communication at all with each other. The history of the Jews and the Egyptians proves this beyond a doubt. But wars and commerce have been the means of spreading ideas and knowledge from one nation to another, and of destroying the impediments which the different languages, manners, and religious and social institutions have raised against the intercourse between the various nations of the globe.

The convulsions of nature and the uproar of the elements are often terrible in their immediate results, and so are wars and revolutions among nations; but in their lasting effects, the latter no less than the

former are in general so beneficial as to afford a manifold recompense for the damages they have caused. This happens in the one case in consequence of the laws which have been prescribed for nature, and in the other from the direction by Providence of the evil passions of men to the benefit of the whole human race.

By bringing remote nations in contact with each other, and by carrying numerous captives of the conquered people to foreign countries, the Assyrians were the instruments of spreading knowledge, of dissipating prejudices, and, consequently, of advancing mankind onward on the road of civilization, and of rendering many sublime truths more generally known. Thus, for instance, do we find the Jews, during their captivity in Babylonia, obtaining a glimpse of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; and I think that there can be little doubt that they again, on their part, made many among the Assyrians, and among their fellow-prisoners of other nations, aware of the folly of worshipping images.

The justification of the dominion which the Assyrians of Babylon and Nineveh exercised for so many centuries over so great a number of foreign nations, and of the wars which were carried on by them, is, therefore, to be found in the benefit mankind at large have gained by them.

Do not, however, consider these words as meant to excuse the Assyrian princes who signalized themselves by a lust of conquest, by ambition, by a love of unprovoked and sanguinary triumphs, by greediness of obtaining possession of the accumulated wealth of other nations, and by the cruelty with which they treated the vanquished. On the contrary, I trust that you will feel a deep indignation against those conquerors, who, without having the intention of conferring any benefit at all upon the human race, have pursued their bloody career for their own ambitious designs, or for satisfying their own sordid cupidity. It is also my sincere wish that you may be convinced of the great wrong which nations commit, when permitting themselves to be the instruments of their rulers for carrying on unjust wars, and for robbing their fellow-men of what justly belongs to them. But, nevertheless, while condemning the blameworthy actions of such nations and their rulers, we shall find, on a close investigation, that great empires have never been founded, without being instruments in the hands of Providence of conferring great benefits on the human race.

LETTER XX.

THE HISTORY OF THE MEDES.

THE Medes are said, by many, to have been so named from Madai, the third son of Japhet; and they consider their opinion confirmed by the fact that these people are constantly called Madai, in the Bible. Others, again, say that this name is derived from Medus, the son of Medea and Jason, of whom we shall speak in the history of the Greeks; and others, again, consider that the Medes got their name from a city called Media.* This proves only the futility of all attempts to arrive at the truth in this matter.

The Greek writers, in general, consider the Medes, or Medians, to have been originally Persians, and Herodotus relates that they were called Arians till the time of Medus, the son of Medea, from whom they took the name of Medians.

The government of this people was monarchical, and seems early to have degenerated into a despotism. The Medes seem to have had kings of their own in the most remote times; and there are historians who entertain the opinion that one of the four kings that invaded, in the time of Abraham, the southern coast of Canaan, reigned in Media. This, however, appears to me a conjecture, founded on no probability at all. But Lactantius mentions one Hydaspes, whom, he says, reigned before the Medes were conquered by the Assyrians, and Diodorus Siculus tells us that Pharnus, a king of Media, was, with seven sons, defeated and taken prisoner by Ninus. Be this as it may, I think that no one who examines this question without prejudice, will deny that the Medes date their first formation into a social body, from a very remote age, the precise time of which it is impossible to determine.

* From this city, Strabo says that the whole country got its name, which, according to Ptolemy was bounded on the north by part of the Caspian Sea, on the east by Parthia and Hyrcania (having, however, subjected these countries at one time as far as to Bactriana) on the south by Persia, Susiana, and Assyria: on the west by Armenia Major. It was, in ancient times, divided into several provinces, among which was one called Syro-Media. All these were by a later division reduced to two only, the one called *Media-Magna*, the other *Media-Atropatia*, or simply Atropatene—*Media-Atropatia* was that part that lay between Mount Taurus and the Caspian Sea—and is supposed to have been so called from one Atropatus, who being governor of this province in the time of Darius—the last Persian king before Alexander—withstood the latter prince, and upon the downfall of the Persian monarchy, and the death of Alexander, seized on this part of Media, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to Strabo's time, [see Strabo, Book II.] or until after the birth of Christ. It was to this region—a cold and barren country—that Shalmaneser transplanted many of the captive Israelites.

The Medes were undoubtedly at one time a warlike race, but in the course of time became one of the most effeminate people of Asia, especially after the time of Cyrus. In battle they wore the same armor as the Persians, whom they are said by some writers to have taught the art of war, and particularly that of handling the bow with dexterity.

In their customs, there was in some particulars much resemblance to those of the Scythians; as, for example, they thought it dishonorable to depart from life in a natural way, and to be buried. Therefore, they threw the bodies of their friends, parents and relations, when on the point of death, to huge dogs, of which they are said to have bred a great number, and which they probably used in hunting the animals of prey that infested their country.

Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were obliged by law to maintain at least seven wives; and the women again who had fewer than five husbands were looked upon with contempt.* This is another proof of the promiscuous state in which some divisions at least of the human family were accustomed to live in the first ages of mankind. It was, doubtless, impossible, at least in the voluptuous climate of Southern Asia, to introduce at once a social regulation, by which the appetites of men would have been circumscribed within so narrow limits as was afterwards done in Europe, and in regions of a more rigorous climate.

Some writers charge the Medes with being the first authors of the unnatural and abominable custom of making eunuchs;† but others attribute it to the Persians, and name the city of Spada as the place, where it first originated.

The custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the contracting parties, which prevailed among all the Eastern nations, even in the times of Roman greatness, was originally peculiar to the Medes.‡

What progress the Medes had made in literature we do not know, but in architecture and some of the arts, they appear to have attained a considerable degree of excellence. Some of the cities they built are described as having been very large and magnificent; though what is related by Herodotus of Ecbatana, seems to have been, in some degree, exaggerated. This city was the capital of Media, and is said to have been built—more probably enlarged and embellished—by Dejoces. Herodotus says, that Ecbatana had seven walls, all of circular form, and gradually rising one above the other, in gradations equal to the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was particularly favorable to the design of erecting these walls, and might, perhaps, have suggested the idea of it to the mind of the architect. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost of these walls, of which the outer-

* Strabo, book xi.

† Athenens, book xii.

‡ Herod. book i. chap 74.

most was, according to Herodotus, equal in compass to that of the city of Athens. Each wall was surmounted by differently colored battlements; the outside or first of which was white, the second black, the third purple, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermost, as more immediately surrounding the royal palace were more highly embellished than the others, the one being overlaid with silver, and the other with gold. I presume, however, that the silver and gold covering was very thin, or that the guards kept strict watch over them, else these walls must have often needed a re-plating of the precious metal. But whether this description is exaggerated or not, it is a fact confirmed by other writers, that Ecbatana was a most magnificent city.

The kings of the Medes, at least from the time of Dejoces, were complete despots, and claimed even equal honors with the gods themselves; and Dejoces seems to have introduced those ceremonies of the court, which rendered an approach to the royal person so difficult, for the purpose of infusing into the minds of his subjects a great reverence for their kings and by these means impose upon them a greater readiness to obey the mandates of their rulers.

As the religion and customs of the Medes were, in their chief points, the same as those of the Persians, I will defer speaking of these subjects to the extent they deserve until I come to treat on the history of the latter people.

After the destruction of the first Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh, by Arbaces, we have several lists of kings who are said to have reigned in Media until the time of Cyrus.

According to Ctesias, there were ten Median kings, of whom Arbaces was the first, before the time of Cyrus. Herodotus again states, that Dejoces became the first king of the Medes, some time after they had shaken off the Assyrian yoke, and that this prince had three successors, to the last of whom this writer gives the name of Astyages, which is also the same name given by Ctesias to the last king of the Medes, who is, in the list of Diodorus Siculus, called Apandos.* The different statements of these historians might easily be reconciled by presuming, as I have before stated, that, in the time of Arbaces, no separation of Media from the Assyrian monarchy took place, but that the Medes were re-instated, not so much to an independence, as to an equality with their former masters, the Assyrians. As Arbaces was a Mede, it is very probable that he preferred his native country to the Assyrian capital, and that he therefore spent more of his time in Media than in the palaces of Nineveh. The names given to his immediate successors, in the list of Ctesias, in my opinion—which has also been that of other historians—are only the Median

* Eusebius and Syncellus have also furnished us with lists of eight Median kings, but they differ as widely from Ctesias in their names, and also in the years of their reigns, as they do from each other. Still both of them mention Arbaces as the first king of Media, and Astyages as the last.

names of the Assyrian monarchs. This opinion, I think, gains much probability of its correctness, from the fact, that the kings who reigned in Nineveh, from the downfall of Sardanapalus, to the separation of Media from Assyria, were six, of whom Esarhaddon was the last, and in the beginning of whose reign Dejoces became king of Media. These six Assyrian kings, together with the four Median kings mentioned by Herodotus, constitute precisely the very number of kings in the list of Ctesias.

The opinion, that Media remained united with Assyria, though the people of the former country were independent of the Assyrians, from the time of the overthrow of Sardanapalus to the time of Dejoces, or that the Medes and the Assyrians stood in the same mutual relation as the Swedes and Norwegians at present do, seems to me indirectly proved by what Herodotus says in regard to this question.

The Assyrians* having for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to be weakened by the revolt of several nations. The Medes were the first to throw off their yoke, and kept for some time possession of the liberty they had acquired by their valor; but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, anarchy began to prevail, and proved even worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence, and robberies, occurred everywhere, because there was no one who had power to prevent these disorders, or sufficient authority to bring the perpetrators of them to due punishments. But this condition of public affairs induced the Medes to establish a form of government, which rendered their state more flourishing than it had ever been before.

These disorders may well have been the natural consequence of the independence which the Medes, under Arbaces, acquired; for it happens, generally, that people, as well as individuals, unaccustomed to the enjoyment of liberty, do not know how to make a proper use of this divine gift. It is also a proof that the Medes had, at least, been without any immediate ruler for some time anterior to Dejoces; but agrees very well with the supposition, that the kings of Nineveh were their nominal rulers only, and without any real power to enforce order among them.

After the conquest of Media by Ninus, the Medes attempted, during the reign or regency, as some historians will have it, of Semiramis, to recover their liberty, but she, as is before related, entered Media with a mighty host and compelled its inhabitants to submit to her sway. Encamping near a mountain, called Bagistan, she is said by Ctesias† to have caused

* Book I.

† I must here observe that many historians have considered what is related by this author, and on his authority, by Diodorus Siculus, respecting the Medes to have no foundation in truth. I have, in treating of the history of the Assyrians, more than once stated my opinion of the reliability of Ctesias, as well as of the objections which have been made against his

a pleasure-garden of vast dimensions to be laid out there, as she also did in some other places, during her stay in that country.

Of Arbaces I have before spoken, and under his three next successors there is nothing concerning Media important to relate.

Under the reign of Arbianes, or Arbacines—who might well be the same king we know under the name of Sennacherib, or else his vassal-king—there arose a war between the Medes and the Cadusians, who, at the instigation of Parsodas, the former prime-minister and favorite of Arbianes, took up arms and shook off the yoke which they for some time had groaned under. Parsodas was born a Persian, but served the king of Media with great fidelity, until being provoked at a sentence passed upon him by his master, he fled with three thousand foot, and a thousand horse to the Cadusians, whom he stirred up to revolt against that prince. The Cadusians being encouraged by this man—who seems to have been in possession of the faculty of communicating his own spirit to a whole nation—rose in vindication of their liberty, and committed the whole management of the war to Parsodas as the most suitable person to lead them to victory. But Arbianes appears to have died before the war broke out.

His successor, Artæus—who might possibly have been the same person as Esarhaddon, king of Assyria—but whom, in regard to the manner in which he is related to have conducted the war against the Cadusians, I would rather presume to have been a vassal-king, or governor of Media, under that warlike prince—hearing of the vast preparations the Cadusians were making, and that they would soon advance against Media with an army of two hundred thousand men, hastened to gather a far greater host, numbering, as Ctesias states, eight hundred thousand warriors. But in the battle which ensued between these armies, the Medes, though so vastly outnumbering their adversaries; were routed and driven to seek their safety in flight, leaving on the field of battle fifty thousand killed and wounded. The Cadusians made Parsodas their king, who ceased not to inspire them with an implacable hatred against the Medes; and even on his death-bed, he is said solemnly to have conjured them to wage an eternal war against that people, and thus to have laid the foundation of

veracity; and I again repeat, that his statements, in some degree, may reasonably be deemed exaggerated, but to presume them in general to be altogether unfounded and fictitious, requires a great deal of prejudice. It is curious to observe that many among the modern writers, who have uttered the same doubt in regard to all what Ctesias has related, have been those the most credulous in regard to what has been stated by other ancient writers, without even, in some cases, having the advantage of being supported by the probabilities of truth. But in order to make Pul appear as the first king of Nineveh, all that has been written proving this not to be the fact, has been declared by those who have advanced that opinion, to be mere fables. Something must, undoubtedly, have taken place in Media, before the time of Dejoces, therefore we may well accept what Ctesias has told us of the more remote times; it being, indeed, in general nowise incredible.

that mortal enmity that existed for a long time between these two nations. It seems, however, from what I have before related, on the authority of Herodotus, that there had been much disorder in Media, from the time of Arbaces down to that when the Medes, who were then divided into six tribes, but who, wishing to restore tranquillity among themselves, unanimously elected for their king, Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth. Many historians presume that this event took place in the time of Sennacherib, but this seems to me not probable.

Dejoces, according to the same authority, had by his own prudence and sagacity, prepared the way for his elevation to that high dignity. Amidst the anarchy which prevailed throughout all Media, he signalized himself by the wisdom of his councils and the justice and probity of his actions; and thus gained a great reputation, not only for the regularity of his own conduct, but also for the possession of those great qualities necessary to govern others. Whether the conduct of Dejoces arose from motives of policy, as Herodotus appears to presume, or whether it emanated from a natural love of order and justice, or whether from both causes together, no one can decide; but the first consequence of his virtuous life was his election as judge by the inhabitants of the village where he lived.* In this capacity, he proved that his countrymen had not overrated his abilities, or his probity; because he soon introduced order into that village, and thereby drew the attention of the inhabitants of the neighboring district upon himself, as an able and impartial administrator of justice and the public weal. Consequently, there came to him many persons from the neighborhood in order to make him the arbitrator of their disputes. As most of them left him satisfied with his decisions, the fame of his equity increased daily, and all who had any affair of importance, which they wished to have decided, applied to him, with the assurance of receiving a judgment founded upon natural justice and equity.

But at this time occurred a circumstance which, if true, goes to prove that he, at least in part, acted from ambitious designs. Suddenly he ceased to administer justice, declaring himself to be much fatigued with the calls of the numerous people, who resorted to his tribunal, in order to have their cases decided; and he continued to refuse to exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the endeavors of many persons, who, for the sake of public order, were desirous of changing his resolution. He answered that his own domestic affairs would not allow him time to attend to those of other persons. Thus it happened that the disorders and transgressions, which for a short period had been restrained, by the judicious management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than before; and

* In Dejoces we have signal evidence that the chief magistrates were not always hereditary, but often elected, even in ancient times. Dejoces became first a judge and afterwards a king, by virtue of the voice and sovereignty of the people.

soon the evil increased to such a degree, that the Medes were obliged to hold a general council and deliberate on the means of putting a stop to the confusion and anarchy that prevailed.

Dejoces is said to have sent emissaries to this assembly, with instructions how they were to act. When measures for arresting the course of the public evils were to be proposed, these emissaries represented, that unless some new and vigorous means were devised, the country would, in a short time, become a wilderness and a den for robbers; and that the only remedy in the present emergency, seemed to be to elect a king, to whom should be entrusted the power to restrain violence, and frame laws in support of order. Then peace and tranquillity would be restored, and every man would be left undisturbed in the management of his own affairs; whereas, if the anarchy which then prevailed were allowed to continue, the people would generally be obliged to seek a refuge in foreign lands. This opinion gained the approbation of the assembled Medes generally, as they appeared to be convinced, that no expedient could be devised more effectually to restore tranquillity and order among them, than to elect a king; and they soon agreed that there was no person in Media better qualified to discharge worthily the duties of the chief magistrate than Dejoces, who, consequently, was, with common consent, elected their king.

Dejoces, after having ascended the throne, did all in his power to prove to the Medes that they had not been deceived in the choice they had made of him for restoring public order. But in order to make the people more ready to obey what he commanded, he began, by surrounding himself with those ceremonies which his knowledge of the character of his countrymen, and of human nature, had suggested to him, as well adapted to inspire awe and respect for his own person. He therefore required of the Medes to raise him a magnificent palace, on a spot selected by himself. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose, from among his subjects, such persons as he deemed fittest to surround his person as a guard, and on whose feelings of attachment to himself, as well as regard for their own interests, he could place reliance. When he thus had put his own person in security against the changeable temper of his subjects, and the discontent which he would naturally create among many, by obliging them to abstain from their former loose mode of life, he applied himself with all his energy to the civilization of his subjects, who, having been accustomed to live in villages, almost without laws and without government, had assumed the disposition and manners of savages.* He now undertook the building of Ecbatana, of which capital I have before spoken.

When the city was ready,† Dejoces obliged a great part of the Medes to settle in it, and he then began to enforce more earnestly the laws he had

* See Herod. Book I, chap. 96—101.

† Still I think that Dejoces only rebuilt, enlarged, and embellished that city.

instituted for the welfare of the people, and for the support of the royal authority; and it seems that he was even as anxious, and took as much care to attain the latter object as the former. In regard to his own person, he began to keep himself at a distance from his people, whose access to him became from that time almost impossible. He permitted them to communicate to him their wants and grievances, only through the medium of his officers, and thus laid the foundation of that almost divine reverence with which the Medes, and afterwards the Persians, looked up to their monarchs.

There can be no doubt, that Dejoces found the royal authority congenial to his nature, and that he was not anxious to lose the enjoyment he experienced in being in possession of the throne; but it must also be acknowledged that it required great tact and sagacity to prevent the Medes from retaking the power they had conferred upon him, and that if they had done so, it would, in their barbarous condition, have been no less ruinous to themselves than to the dethroned monarch. It cannot be denied, that, had Dejoces continued to entertain a familiar intercourse with his subjects, they might, in the uncivilized state they were, have sooner been induced by contempt to disobey his orders, and plot against his authority. Therefore, by making himself almost invisible to them, and revered by the wisdom of the laws he promulgated, and the strict justice he enforced in his decisions, he acquired both respect from his subjects, and security for his own power. It cannot be denied, that the immediate consequences of this policy were beneficial to all parties, but that, in its more remote results, were of a quite different nature; for hence originated very probably the custom, so general in Asia, of princes living in their palaces concealed from the eyes of their people, and surrounded only by flatterers and women; hence the practice of administering governments on the information of spies, dispersed throughout the whole state, whose statements were often as false as they themselves were; hence the enervating effects of the seraglios; hence despotism in its most odious form, and hence the rule of eunuchs and ministers, who, by means of court intrigues, held the real power; while the monarchs themselves were satisfied with the privileges of rioting in debaucheries, of being worshipped almost as divinities, and of sending their ministers to a bloody death, whenever a favorite mistress or his own caprice demanded this sacrifice.

Ambitious and crafty as Dejoces seems to have been, it is, however, to his lasting glory, related, that he did all in his power to humanize and soften the manners of the Medes; that he framed laws promotive of the public weal; and that he never wished to adorn his head with laurels bought with human blood.

Among the rules of etiquette which he prescribed for those who had the privilege of approaching his person, was one forbidding any one to laugh

or to spit in his presence, which indicates both his severe disposition, and the rude manners of his subjects.

When he died, after a long, and, as appears, happy reign, he was succeeded by his son

Phraortes, or *Aphraartes* as he is called by Eusebius, or *Arphaxad*, as he is named in the Book of Judith.* Herodotus informs us, that *Phraortes* was a very warlike prince, and that, not satisfied with the kingdom of Media, invaded Persia, and after a decisive battle, subduing the people of that country, compelled them to acknowledge his supremacy.† His success in this enterprise, induced him to extend still further his conquests, until, by degrees, he made himself master of all the countries that lie north of Mount Taurus, from Media as far as the river Halys. At last he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, who were weakened by the revolt of several subdued nations, but, nevertheless, were yet very powerful. Defeated, as I have elsewhere related, by the Assyrian monarch Chyniladan, on the plains of Ragau,‡ he was afterwards taken prisoner, and was cruelly put to death. The victor took Ecbatana by storm, and gave that city up to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered and stripped it of all that was of any value.

Phraortes,
about 687
years B. C.

Presuming that *Phraortes* was the same who is called by Ctesias *Antibarnes*, or *Arbarnes*, he, according to that historian, sustained a long war against the *Sacæ*, from the following cause:—The Parthians, who had been brought under the dominion of the Medes, made an attempt to recover their liberty, and in order to gain the assistance of the *Sacæ*, put themselves under the protection of that nation, which appears to have been both valiant and powerful. The *Sacæ* are said to have inhabited the mountain chain that separates India from Central Asia, then called *Scythia*, and to have been at that time governed by a queen of the name of *Zanarā*—a woman of a heroic soul, and possessed of high intellectual and personal charms. She is said, by the same historian, to have rescued her country from the tyranny of the neighboring princes, and to have civilized her subjects, and accustomed them to military discipline, and the fatigues and dangers of war.

As the Medes wished to subdue the Parthians again, and the *Sacæ*, on the other hand, to protect them, the Medes and the *Sacæ* came to war with each other; but as neither one could gain a decided advantage over

* There have been historians who have viewed *Phraortes*, or *Arphaxad*, as the king who built Ecbatana, in consequence of the version generally given to that passage in the Book of Judith, where allusion is made to this subject: but the Greek text says only that *Arphaxad* enlarged Ecbatana by new buildings. *Ἐπεκράδηνεν ἐν Ἐκβατανίαις.*

† Other historians think that the subjection of Persia, or more correctly Persis, was effected by *Cyaxares*.

‡ Situated to the south of Teheran, the present capital of Persia.

the other, peace was at last restored between the belligerent parties, upon the condition that the Parthians should submit to the Medes, but the Sacæ and the Medes to keep possession each of what they had occupied at the commencement of hostilities.

The valorous queen of the Sacæ is said to have caused many cities to have been reared by her subjects, and to have made herself so well and so deservedly loved by the people she governed, that they, on her death, paid her divine honors.

CYAXARES
about 635
B. C.

Cyaxares succeeded his father Phraortes to the throne of Media. He was an intrepid prince, and hastened to take advantage of the check the Assyrian army had received before Bethulia, as I have related before. Therefore, after having become well settled in his own kingdom, and having prepared a formidable army, he added many of the neighboring states to Media by conquest, and at last, thirsting to revenge his father's defeat and murder, he invaded Assyria. But when he had conquered the army of the Assyrian monarch, and laid siege to Nineveh, he was compelled for a time to give up the thought of taking that city, as he had to march his troops against the Scythians, who, like a hurricane, came sweeping from the North, in pursuit, as it is said, of the Cimmerians, whom they had chased from their ancient homes, in the neighborhood of the Palus Mæotis. The army of the Medes, despite the bravery of Cyaxares and his soldiers, were defeated; and the Scythians meeting with no further obstacle in their way, are said to have laid all Western Asia at their feet, and then to have pursued their course toward Egypt, which country, however, by means of valuable presents from Psammiticus, the Egyptian king, they were induced not to enter. On their return through Syria, they are said to have plundered the temple of Venus, at Ascalon, one of the most ancient that was dedicated to that divinity; and some of them to have settled at Belthshan, a city in the tribe of Manasseh—which, from them, was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The dominion which the Scythians, for the space of twenty-eight years, exercised over a great part of Western Asia, viz: over Armenia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Colchis, and the inroads which they frequently made into the neighboring countries, caused much vexation, particularly among the Medes, who, therefore, resolved to attempt by a blameable expedient to get rid of these dangerous neighbors. Pretending to wish, by a feast, to strengthen the alliance that had been concluded between themselves and the Scythians, they invited probably the principal men, and not the greater part of the latter, as is related, to a general feast. The Scythians came, without entertaining any suspicion against their hosts, but when they had been made drunk, they were massacred by the Medes, who afterwards hastened to take possession of the provinces they had lost, and extended again their empire to the banks of the Halys.

Herodotus* further relates, that the rest of the Scythians, having learned of the violent death of their countrymen, took refuge in Lydia, under king Halyattes, who received them as a friend. But in consequence of this humane act, the king of Lydia had to defend himself against Cyaxares, who came advancing towards his country. A bloody war was, for the space of five years, continued between the Lydian monarch and Cyaxares; the former prince naturally being aided by the Scythians. In the sixth year, during a battle which was then fought between the contending parties, an eclipse of the sun—which had been foretold by the famous Thales, the Milesian—took place. This event, which however was quite unforeseen by the Medes, as well as by the Lydians, who were then engaged in the heat of the contest, inspired both parties with terror, and they looked upon it as a sign of the displeasure of the gods; wherefore they immediately ceased the work of destruction, and made peace with each other. The mediators of this peace were Syenesis, king of Cilicia, and Labynetus, (Nabopolassar,) king of Babylon; and to confirm it the more strongly, the two belligerent princes agreed that Halyattes should give his daughter, Aryenis, in marriage to Astyages,—eldest son of Cyaxares.

The next and greatest enterprise of the Median monarch, was the siege and capture of Nineveh, which event I have before related.

We are also told that Cyaxares aided Nebuchadnezzar in his victorious war against Pharaoh Necho, and that it was by a mutual agreement that these two famous sovereigns divided the dominion over Asia between themselves, and that Nebuchadnezzar obtained for his wife, Amyite, the daughter of Cyaxares.†

Astyages, the successor of Cyaxares, is said to have been the son of that monarch, and the eldest one too, having been married as above related, to the daughter of Halyattes, the king of Lydia. *Astyages* is mentioned by Herodotus, as well as by Ctesias, as the immediate predecessor of Cyrus, as he is also considered to have been by Eusebius and Syncellus; the latter of whom calls him *Astyages*, or *Darius*. But this king would have been too old at the taking of Babylon to have been that *Darius*, the Mede, mentioned by Daniel as the successor of *Belshazzar*; some modern historians have therefore taken it for granted that *Astyages* was succeeded by his son *Cyaxares*. This is, however, contrary to my opinion. Had such been the case, I cannot see any reason why this *Cyaxares* would not have been mentioned by Ctesias and Herodotus as a king of Media; besides, no notice has been made of him in Ptolemy's

Astyages
665 years
B. C.

* It seems from what this author relates of the inroads of the Scythians, that he was well acquainted with the principal part or the outlines of this event, but not of its details. Therefore we cannot be sure that every circumstance happened as he relates it.

† There are historians who will have her to have been the daughter of *Astyages*, but that opinion seems to me not well founded.

canon. I know it has been said, that he is not mentioned by Ptolemy, because the most important affairs during his reign were transacted by Cyrus, and because the glory of Cyrus put that of his own actions in so deep a shade that the Median king was not at all thought of. But this reasoning is too shallow to shake my opinion, founded upon the evidence above mentioned.

It is true that the authority of Xenophon is with those who regard Astyages not as the last king of the Medes, and who give to this king a successor in Cyaxares II., whom they consider to have been the last of the Median kings. In this instance, however, it seems to me, as I will attempt to show, when treating of the history of Cyrus, that it is more probable that Xenophon was mistaken, than that Herodotus and Ctesias were in error.

It has also generally been presumed that Astyages was the same king as the Ahasuerus of Daniel, the father of Darius, the Mede. But I cannot accede to this view, though entertained by many great and learned historians. It appears to me, from the language used by Daniel, in the ninth chapter,* that Darius was the son of no king, or at least of no Median king, because we would not then find this expression, "Darius of *the seed of the Medes*;" but, in all probability, Daniel would have said: "son of Ahasuerus *the king of the Medes*." Besides what follows in the same verse, does not give us the least hint that Darius was a king before he "was made the king of the realm of the Chaldeans;" but the phraseology of the sentence seems more to imply that another person raised him to that dignity.† It has therefore occurred to my mind that this Darius, the Mede, probably was a nephew or son of some very near relative of the king of the Medes, whom that monarch, after the conquest of Babylon, appointed as a vassal-king, under his supremacy. I am well aware that Astyages must have been very old when Babylon was taken, but I think that we will find reasons sufficient to make it evident, that it does not therefore follow that he was upwards of one hundred years old, as some historians presume must have been the case, if he lived when that event took place.

By presuming Astyages to have been the last king of Media, as he was, according to what Herodotus and Ctesias have told us, and by admitting that Darius, the Mede, might have been only a member of the royal family, whom Astyages made king of Babylon, it appears to me, that the contradictory testimony which, in regard to these subjects, has been handed down to us, might more easily be reconciled.

* This verse reads as follows: "In the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans."

† In chapter v. verse 31, Daniel says: "And Darius, the Mede, *took the kingdom*, being about threescore and two years old." This is no contradiction of the opinion I have above advanced, because Darius might at the taking of Babylon have commanded the Medes, as Cyrus did the Persians; but as the former then were the dominant nation, Daniel might well attribute to the chief of the Medes the taking of that kingdom.

As the most illustrious exploits which, during the reign of Astyages, were accomplished by the Medes, took place under the leadership of Cyrus, we will pass them over without further mention, until treating of the history of that famous conqueror, whose brilliant career so greatly eclipsed the deeds of all other princes of his time, as to put them altogether in the shade.

I will here observe, that the dominion which the Medes for a time had exercised over a great part of Asia, was, in a remarkable manner, transferred to the Persians, without any struggle on the part of the former against such a degradation, but rather as a voluntary tribute to the genius of the Persian hero, and under the tacit condition of being treated on equal terms with the dominant branch of the same family, as these two nations could justly be called, and which unity of national character rendered this transfer of power, the more easily to be accomplished. They appear to have had the same religion and the same language, and ought to be considered, as the Greeks ever seemed to have done, as one nation, but of which the one part at that time had attained a higher degree of refinement and, consequently, more effeminate state of manners; while the other part, just then emerging from a state of comparative barbarism, was in possession of all the strength and energy of youth.

Having finished what I have at present to say of two of the principal nations that appear during the first of those periods into which I have chosen to divide Ancient History, our attention is now claimed by the Egyptians—a people far more remarkable than either the Assyrians or the Medes.

LETTER XXI.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS BEFORE ENTERING UPON THE HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

A NATION,—whose sages gave wisdom to the illustrious lawgivers of the Jews and of the Athenians, and sowed the seeds of learning and philosophy in the sublime genius of Plato, and in many other great minds of the people around it—a nation, which signalized itself by its innumerable inventions and works of art, and which reared those stupendous monumental structures that seem destined to defy the ravages of time—has indeed a right to demand that its historical claims should receive no light regard from the hands of posterity. Such, however, has been its fate for many centuries. Ignorance, prejudice, bigotry and

vanity have united to deride and cry down the sages of Egypt as vain boasters, and to represent the records, which attest the high antiquity and civilization of the ancient Egyptians, as a tissue of fables. But the day of reckoning is come, and full justice will surely be done to a people wronged, and to historians unjustly defamed, in whose defence their mute monuments suddenly came forth, touched by the enchanting wand of the genius of Champollion.

There can be no doubt that numerous Egyptian records once existed and which—though probably not formed into a systematic history—if preserved, would have enabled us to acquire a far more correct knowledge of the history of this people than what we can now obtain from the scanty information we possess in regard to them. In accordance with Clement, of Alexandria, who lived in the second century of the Christian era, forty-two volumes, written as it was said by Thoth the second, or Trismegistus, and preserved by the priests, contained all the rules and precepts, relating to religion, government, cosmogony, astronomy, geography, medicine and the arts. Though we may entertain reasonable doubts that any one individual was the sole author, we cannot question the existence of such works among the ancient Egyptians. We are told by writers who lived at the time of the sway of the Persians over Egypt, that there then existed above twenty thousand volumes in constant and universal use among the Egyptian people. These works were the productions of kings as well as of priests—many of the names of whom we know—who lived more than a thousand years before the Persian conquest. But it happened to the Egyptian records, as to those of many other ancient people, that they were destroyed,* partly by accidents and casualties, and partly by the wanton will of barbarous or arrogant conquerors, who seem to have been disposed to do as much injury as possible. There can be no wonder, then, that we have so few records left of the ancients, when we consider the numerous causes of destruction to which they were exposed, and the destructible materials of which they were composed. It is rather to be wondered at that any works of the ancients were preserved until the invention of the art of printing, which has now permanently secured to us all that was then left of ancient writings. I must, however, confess, that I rejoice that this inestimable discovery was not earlier made. I will, in another place, state my reasons for this remark, which will naturally appear to you as very singular, but which, nevertheless, I do not make without mature consideration.

* Among the many instances of the destruction of ancient archives, I will here mention the conflagration of the Ptolemaic library at Alexandria, on the occasion of the furious attack of the populace upon Julius Cæsar, and the subsequent annihilation by the command of Omar, of the still more numerous, if not more valuable library, collected at that city during a period of six hundred years. There can be little doubt that at least in the occurrence of the former event, many ancient Egyptian records became the prey of the flames.

The sources from which modern historians have hitherto obtained their information concerning Ancient Egypt and its inhabitants, are principally the works of the Jewish writers, of Herodotus and of Diodorus, and the fragments of Manetho, and of Eratosthenes. But the antiquity which was claimed, by the Egyptians, for their country, was not regarded as admissible, in consequence of its having been deemed incompatible with what is styled the "Mosaic Chronology." It, however, happens, as I have elsewhere related, that there are *three versions of this Chronology*—the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint—each of which is regarded, by high authorities, acknowledged to be orthodox, as containing the genuine Chronology of Moses; still these same authorities differ among themselves in their computations, even to the extent of some thousands of years. The discrepancy between the Hebrew and the Septuagint version, in the reckoning from Adam to Abraham, amounts to nearly 1400 years, and in that from the deluge to the latter patriarch, nearly 800 years. The Hebrew dates were, for a long time, held as infallible, in the Protestant churches; but, of late, the general opinion has taken a contrary turn, and is now setting strongly in favor of the Septuagint—the dates in which were formerly stigmatized as forgeries of the Alexandrian Jews. This reproach is, however, now transferred to the Hebrew text, and its rabbinical compilers of the Byzantine age. It is, therefore, admitted by all unprejudiced and enlightened men of the present time, that the chronology of the Jews can in nowise be considered as part of the eternal truths taught in the Bible.

The arguments which, on the pretended authority of the Mosaic chronology, were brought against the claims of the Egyptians to a high antiquity being thus overruled, it rests now to show that these claims are founded on good and indisputable evidence.

The testimony of Manetho, though now less objected to than formerly, would not alone have convinced many of the reality of the great antiquity now conceded to the Egyptians, had not a happy discovery of an illustrious Frenchman compelled the ancient monuments of Egypt to stand forth in corroboration of, in part at least, what Manetho related in support of the antiquity of the Egyptian people.

I will here give a brief notice of the events which led to the discovery of hieroglyphical interpretation, and of its process and consequences.

After the revival of letters in Europe, the thoughts of many learned men were turned towards Egypt, as the acknowledged cradle, if not the birth-place, of many of the sciences and the arts. Many ponderous volumes, of various merit, particularly in the preceding centuries, were produced, purporting to throw some light through the clouds that enveloped the history of that interesting country. There were even those who pretended to have discovered the mode of interpreting the hieroglyphics; but their pretensions have been proved to be too vain to deserve our

attention. Among the few Europeans—who, braving the dangers which accompanied the travellers that, under the ruthless sway of the Memlooka, visited Egypt—were some, indeed, that signalized themselves by enriching us with valuable information of that country, though they produced no evidence that the claims of the ancient Egyptians to a high antiquity were founded. But the greatest impulse to the study of Egyptian antiquities, was given by that famous expedition to Egypt, which, under the command of Bonaparte, in 1798, was undertaken by the French, not only for the conquest of that country, but, thanks to the commander-in-chief, also with a view of enlarging the sphere of knowledge. We know that by the imbecility of the government then existing in France, and the jealousy of the English, one of the objects of the expedition was frustrated. The other was, nevertheless, more successful than even the most sanguine hope had anticipated. Since the living barriers of that formidable band of horsemen which had changed Egypt almost into a den of privileged robbers, had, with irresistible force, been borne down by the mighty sword that had humbled the pride of Austria, and given a glorious peace to enfranchised France; the European traveler began to have a more free and less dangerous access to Egypt, for which we are also greatly indebted to Mohammed Ali, who, whatever his enemies may pretend, has given abundant proofs of possessing the character of an enlightened prince.

The great French work, “Description de l’Egypte,” compiled at the expense of the French government, by the industrious savans who had accompanied the expedition of Bonaparte, after their return to France, presented, for the first time, faithful architectural copies of the Egyptian monuments. Investigations afterwards made, proved that the French artists of that day, had not with scrupulous exactness delineated the hieroglyphic inscriptions sculptured on these monuments; still, a mass of fac-similes, almost correct, had been furnished to those who were inclined to attempt deciphering them, and thus a great step had been taken towards effecting this long sought for object. This work was followed by others, who also, in some degree, dissipated the darkness that enveloped the antiquities of Egypt. I must, however, here add, that the learned Dane, George Zæga, already, in 1797, in his work, “De Origine et usu Obeliscorum”—Of the Origin and the Purpose of the Obelisks—had attempted to give fac-simile copies of certain hieroglyphical inscriptions.

What, however, appears principally to have led to the discovery of the key for deciphering hieroglyphics was the *Rosetta Stone*, a block of black basalt, whose extreme length is about three feet, measured on the flat surface, which contains three inscriptions. The breadth of this stone—a fragment of which is lost—where it is entire, is about two feet five inches, and its thickness varies from ten to twelve inches. The under part of the stone which is not sculptured, is left rough. It was discovered by M. Bouchard, a French officer of the engineers, in August, 1799, while digging

for the foundations of Fort St. Julien, on the western bank of the Nile, in the vicinity of Rosetta, from which it takes its name. This valuable relic fell into the hands of the English by the capitulation of Alexandria, and was transported to England and deposited in the British Museum. Two of the inscriptions are in the Egyptian language, though in separate and distinct characters; the first, or uppermost, being in *hieroglyphics*, and much mutilated, so that several lines are entirely wanting and others partially destroyed; the second is in the character called in the Greek translation, *enchorial*,—"writing of the people,"—or, as it is else styled, *demotic*, to designate its ordinary and popular use; the third inscription is in *Ancient* Greek, purporting to be a translation of the hieroglyphic and demotic text, which records the coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes, an event that took place 196 years B. C., in the month of March.

The French General, Dugua, brought from Egypt to Paris, a cast and two impressions of the stone, made at Cairo; and in 1803, an analysis of the Greek inscription, made by M. Ameillons. was published by the order of the Institute. Representations of the stone were subsequently given in the "Description de l'Égypte," and the Royal Antiquarian Society of London caused copies to be engraved and disseminated throughout all Europe.

The importance of this stone and its inscriptions was at once acknowledged as a possible means of supplying a *key* to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Consequently the Rosetta Stone awakened the greatest curiosity and excitement among all the learned of Europe who took interest in Egyptian Archæology; among whom were some of the most distinguished philologists of the age, who undertook its critical investigation. By the labors of some eminent Greek scholars, the mutilated Greek inscription was supplied with the words which had been lost in consequence of the fractures in the stone, or at least the meaning of the whole was satisfactorily ascertained. With no less zeal, though with not so prompt, but in the end with equal success, other eminent scholars were investigating the meaning of the two inscriptions in Egyptian characters, of which they began soon to advance the opinion, that the Greek inscription was nothing but a translation; and consequently that there was no foundation for the opinion of the ancient as well as the modern antiquarians, that the hieroglyphics and other Egyptian characters had ceased to be used, and their interpretation lost from the time of the Persian conquest of Egypt, by Cambyse, about 525 years B. C. Meanwhile it was ascertained by M. Quincy de Quatremère, a member of the French Institute, and editor of the "Journal des Savans," that the present Coptic language was the very one which had been used by the ancient Egyptians.

It was principally upon the investigation of the second Egyptian inscription, or what is called in the Greek text "*enchorial*," or writing of

the people; termed also demotic, that the learned bestowed their labor; from the reasons that it was best preserved, and seemed, at the first glance, easiest to decipher, but which proved not to be the case. In 1802, however, the greatest Orientalist of Europe, the celebrated M. Silvestre de Sacy, made an advance towards the interpretation of the demotic text. He happily found out the meaning of the groups, which represented the proper names, and indicated that the signs in these groups were letters.

The discoveries of M. de Sacy were further advanced by a Swede, Mr. Akerblad, who resided at Rome. He furnished a skeleton alphabet of the demotic text; but omitting to observe the suppression of the vowels, as is generally customary in the Oriental languages, he did not succeed in applying this alphabet to the greater part of the demotic inscription. Thus a great advance had been made, and to Mr. Akerblad is due the merit of having indicated a passage in the hieroglyphic character, which discoveries subsequent have fully confirmed.

Some years elapsed after Mr. Akerblad's discoveries were made, before any visible advancement was made in the deciphering of the Egyptian inscription. But in 1814, the celebrated Dr. Thomas Young published in his "*Archæologia*" an improvement of the demotic alphabet of Mr. Akerblad, and added a translation of the demotic inscription, placed by the side of the Greek, but distinguishing the contents of the different lines, so far as he was then able. In 1816, Professor Tychens, of Gottingen, proved that the hieratic character (not on the Rosetta Stone) was but a simple mode of writing of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Meanwhile the English consul-general, Salt, and a countryman of his, Mr. J. W. Bankes, identified, in 1818, the name of "Cleopatra" in a hieroglyphic oval on the obelisk of Philæ, to which conclusion they had been led by a Greek inscription on the same obelisk, and afterwards proved to be correct.

But an article, entitled "Egypt," which appeared in the supplement to the fourth and fifth editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Edinburg, 1819, first pointed out the method adopted by the ancient Egyptians, in their peculiar art of writing; and Dr. Young was generally considered as the ingenious author of that Essay. He also positively indicated the names of "Ptolemy" and "Berenice," in the hieroglyphical groups on the Rosetta Stone, and also the probable meaning of about two hundred groups of the hieroglyphic characters, many of which interpretations have later been confirmed.

The honor of having discovered the *key* to the deciphering of hieroglyphical characters is in general acknowledged to belong to Dr. Young, but it is to the genius of M. Champollion, the younger, that we are chiefly indebted for the astonishing discoveries which, in later years, have been made in Egyptian archæology, or what concerns ancient

Egypt and its inhabitants. This illustrious Frenchman put forth at once a complete system* which is said to be applicable to every epoch and to every legend in the history of Egypt. He was the chief necromancer who caused the Egyptian monuments to speak, and recalled to life those characters that had been so many centuries lying dead in the crumbling papyri of Egypt. The enigma which for thousands of years had baffled all the attempts of so many learned men of almost all civilized nations was thus happily solved in our own days. This is the reason that justice, at least in part, can be done to the claims of the ancient Egyptians, and to Manetho, the native historian of Egypt, who has so long and so unjustly been disregarded.

Manetho† was a learned Egyptian of Sebennytus, a high priest and sacred scribe of Heliopolis, who, nearly simultaneous with the translation of the Septuagint Bible, prepared, at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus from the temple archives, a connected series of Egyptian annals, in good Greek, comprising, besides a preamble of gods, and demigods, thirty dynasties of mortal kings, with names, dates of accession and remarkable events of each epoch, down to Alexander's invasion in Egypt, 332 years B. C. This work was dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus with the following letter :

"The Epistle of Manetho, the Sebennyte, to Ptolomæus Philadelphus.

"To the great and august king Ptolomæus, Manetho, the high priest and sacred scribe of the sacred Adyta, in Egypt, being a native of Sebennytus, and a citizen of Heliopolis, to his sovereign Ptolomæus, humbly greeting :

"It is our duty, most powerful king, to pay attention to all things which it is your pleasure we should investigate. In answer, therefore, to your inquiries, concerning the things which shall come to pass in the world, I shall, as you command, lay before you what I have gathered from the sacred books written by Hermes Trismegistus, our forefather. Farewell, my prince, my sovereign."

This gives, indeed, a curious idea of the duty of an historian, at that time in Egypt. In our days it is a hard task enough for an historian simply to tell, in truth, the events which have past.

We will return to Manetho, after having dwelt a little more upon the investigations of the hieroglyphic characters.

Dr. Young, though he had found the key, had been unable to apply it in such a manner as to unlock the door, as seems from an essay of date 1823,†

* In 1824, M. Champollion, the younger, published his work: "*Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens*;" having already, in 1822, published an essay on phonetic hieroglyphics.

† This historian flourished about 260 years B. C.

‡ Accounts of some recent discoveries in Hieroglyphic Literature and Egyptian Antiquities." London: 1823.

in which he relates, "that the ancient Egyptian did *not* make use of an alphabet to represent the sounds and articulations of certain words, before the domination of the Greeks and the Romans." It appears from certain circumstances, very probable that even Champollion partook in this error for some years, and consequently considered the hieroglyphics as signs of things and not of sounds, and thus denied the alphabetic principle in the hieroglyphic legends, the existence of which he afterwards so victoriously proved in his "Memoir on Phonetic Hieroglyphics," read by him, on the 27th of September, 1822, before the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres at Paris, and in which he demonstrated that "the ancient Egyptians had used pure hieroglyphical signs, or characters, representing the image of material objects, to represent simply the sounds of the names of Greek and Roman sovereigns, inscribed on the monuments of Dendera, Thebes, Esne, Edfoo, Ombos and Philæ." It is a curious fact, that already, in 1814, in his work, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," M. Champollion expressed his hope "that it would at last be discovered that sounds of words, and the expressions of thoughts, were represented upon the tablets, whereon the Egyptians had painted but material objects," and that, not more than six years afterwards he was himself the person who realized what he so short a time before had expressed the hope would be done. It was however, by the results of M. Champollion's subsequent investigations, that the fact was first established, that the greater part of those signs, or representations of material objects, painted, delineated, or sculptured, in all hieroglyphical texts and legends, were phonetic, and reducible, as effected by himself, into an alphabet, composed of a certain number of distinct articulations, "for each of which there was a number, more or less great, of homophones; i. e. symbols, differing in figure, though identical in sound—applicable to a well-defined system, and never solely by graphical caprice."

M. Champollion proved another important fact, viz: that the hieroglyphic characters are complex; being figurative, symbolical, and phonetic, representing these three phases always in the same text, sometimes in the same phrase, and frequently in the same word. He made it also evident, that the opinion was false, that phonetic signs were first employed in Egypt, after the year 650 B. C., when Psammeticus first permitted foreigners to settle in Egypt, and there to become citizens, by proving in his work, "*Precis du Systeme Hieroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*," that the *phonetic* signs were unquestionably in constant and general use, as far back as in the nineteenth century before the Christian era. It has since, by his own investigations, as well as by those who have followed in his footsteps, been proved, that this mode of writing was used in times far anterior to the last mentioned period.

Among the many learned men who have distinguished themselves in the same field of pursuit, in which Champollion the younger, acquired an

immortal name, the most eminent are his friend and pupil, Ippolito Rossellini, of Pisa, Dr. Lelpeius of Berlin, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, and Dr. C. C. I. Bunsen.

By the joint labor of Champollion the younger, and his very learned brother, Figeac Champollion—who wrote a highly valuable chronological dissertation, the chief object of which was, to reconcile Manetho with the discrepancies of other writers—many of this historian's statements, so long disregarded, were proved to be correct, and the restoration of his eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings effected; but the death of the younger Champollion, in December, 1831, retarded, for many years, the development of the full truth which it is reasonable to suppose that brilliant and intuitive genius would have accomplished, had his life been prolonged. In spite of all endeavors of the learned men engaged in investigating the archæology of Egypt, the progress for some years afterwards was very slow in the historical department. Some additions, however, were, from time to time, made to what was known of the period already investigated by the Champollions, and even some names, and genealogical connections of several kings anterior to the eighteenth dynasty, were ascertained from the monuments. But, at last, Dr. Bunsen came forth with a work,* in which, with great, if not complete success, he established the reality of Manetho's thirty dynasties.

But before we take a survey of Dr. Bunsen's investigations of that subject I will say some words of Manetho's history itself.

This work was divided into three books. The first treated of the reign of the gods, of the demigods, and of eleven dynasties of mortal kings; the second comprised the reigns of the succeeding eight dynasties; and the third extended to the dethronement, by Darius Ochus, of Nectanebo, the last king of the thirtieth dynasty. There can now be no reasonable doubt that this work, in its main points, was an authentic history of Egypt, though in its details, there was much confusion and much exaggeration. But, unfortunately, only a meagre epitome of it has come down to us, and that in two texts or versions. Julius Africanus, Bishop of Emmaus—Nicomopolis, who lived about the year 200, epitomized and commentated the History of Manetho, but even the original work of this learned prelate has not reached us; only extracts from it, comprising the thirty dynasties more or less entire, together with the table of Eratosthenes, of which I will in another place speak, are to be found in the Chronography of Syncellus. The dynasties of Manetho are also preserved in the Chronology of Eusebius† which has been handed down to us almost entire,

* In 1845, the work above alluded to, was published in Hamburg, under the title of:—*"Egyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte,"* (The place of Egypt in Universal History,) by O. C. I. Bunsen.

† *Eusebius*, with the surname Pamphili, also called *father of the history of the Christian church*, was born in Palestine, about 270, and died about 340. He was the most learned man

in an Armenian version, while the part of it concerning Egypt, forms also a portion of the compilation of Syncellus, who, however, himself tells us, that the text of Eusebius was but a transcript of that of Africanus, and that the discrepancies that occur are corruptions on the part of the copyist.

Manetho's history was compiled from the most ancient and authentic sources, of which the principal seems to have been the books of Thoth II., or Hermes Trismegistus, and the sacred inscriptions on the columns of Hermes. It is also very probable that the genealogical tablets, of which some have reached us, the papyri in the library of Alexandria, afterwards destroyed, and the sculptures on the temples and other buildings were by him consulted. Being a learned priest himself, and thus master of the hieroglyphic writings, he was at least able to perform his task faithfully. National vanity might still be supposed to have induced him to extend the antiquity of his nation even beyond what the legends he consulted claimed; but the test of his veracity, which now is at hand, has proved, that there is little reason to suppose him guilty of any essential falsification, though he undoubtedly accepted as truth, much that was fabulous and thus proved himself in some degree wanting in that critical judgment which is so necessary in an historian, in order to separate the false from the true.

Before returning to Baron Bunsen's work, I will here say a few words of Eratosthenes, one of the authorities on which the historical part of that work is founded, and who, as I have before mentioned, is to be consulted by every one that investigates the history of the ancient Egyptians.

Eratosthenes was a Greek of Cyrene, and lived about sixty years after Manetho, or about two hundred years B. C., in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes, on whose command he seems to have composed his *Laterculus*, or catalogue of Egyptian kings, from ancient Egyptian records, and from the information he might have gathered from the learned scribes of Thebes. He was a learned man, a mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, and, besides, superintendent of the library of Alexandria. This catalogue, however, comprised but thirty-eight kings; but was continued by his disciple Apollodorus, surnamed "the Chronographer," in a further succession of fifty-three kings; but these documents are lost, except a fragment which is preserved in the work of Syncellus.

I will here observe, that there is much discrepancy between Manetho and Eratosthenes; but that the former, in regard to the names, and even to the number of kings, has been confirmed far more fully by the deciphered writings on the monuments, than the latter. This seems to me very natural, as it was to be expected that Manetho, a native and learned priest, would be much more thoroughly acquainted with the history of Egypt, as handed down in the hieroglyphic writings, than a foreigner, whose knowledge of these subjects must have been more superficial. Still, the state-

of his time, and became bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine. He was one of the opponents of Athanasius.

ments of Eratosthenes might, on the other hand, reasonably be supposed to be more unprejudiced and impartial, and are, therefore, very useful in some respects, as far as they go.

Dr. Bunsen, to whose work we now turn our attention, defers, in regard to the historical part of his composition, to the following authorities: 1. The Dynasties of Manetho; 2. The Catalogues of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus; 3. The preserved Papyri, especially a most important one in the Turin collection; 4. The inscriptions on the monuments, of which the two most remarkable are the Genealogical Tables of Karnak and Abydos, with various other similar, though not so numerous, lists of royal names; besides many scattered over the face of the monuments generally.

In regard to the two versions of what is still extant of Manetho's work, Dr. Bunsen gives the preference to that of Africanus, excepting in cases where the discrepancy may appear to originate in errors of the text of that author, to whom, however, the preference which Dr. Bunsen has given him, appears reasonably due. Still there can be no doubt that the lists of Manetho's dynasties, with which Africanus has furnished us, never left Manetho's hands in that incorrect state, especially as regards numerals, in which they have reached us; which is very evident from the fact that the *epilogus* or sum subjoined to each book—Manetho's work being divided in three books—differs in some cases widely from that which results from the summing up of the separate entries; and which also makes it very difficult to form any approximate estimate of the number of kings and years it may originally have contained.

I will here subjoin a table of dynasties, reigns, and years after Africanus, with the *epilogus*, and also the actual sum, for each book and thereafter add another table, called by Syncellus "The Old Chronicle," as in many points differing from that of Africanus.

THE TABLE OF AFRICANUS.

BOOK I.			BOOK II.			BOOK III.		
DYNASTY'S.	REIGNS.	YEARS.	DYNASTIES.	REIGNS.	YEARS.	DYNASTIES.	REIGNS.	YEARS.
I.	8	263	XII.	7	160	XX.	12	135
II.	9	302	XIII.	60	453	XXI.	7	114
III.	9	214	XIV.	76	184	XXII.	9	116
IV.	8	284	XV.	6	284	XXIII.	4	89
V.	9	218	XVI.	32	518	XXIV.	1	6
VI.	6	203	XVII.	43	151	XXV.	3	40
VII.	70, Euseb. 5	(70 days)	XVIII.	16	259	XXVI.	9	150
VIII.	27	146	XIX.	6	204	XXVII.	8	124
IX.	19	409				XXVIII.	1	6
X.	19	185				XXIX.	4	20
XI.	16	43				XXX.	3	38
Sum.	200	2267	Sum.	246	2213	Sum.	61	838
Epil.	192	2300	Epil.	96	2121			

Some of these entries, as, for instance, 70 kings in 70 days, and 76 kings in 184 years, are evidently false, or probably corrupted from the genuine in the original lists of Manetho. But as the above table now is, it represents 507 kings reigning in Egypt, during a period of 5318 years; and as Menes is the first of these kings, and the reign of the last one ended about 340 years B. C., it carries back the reign of the former to about 5650 years anterior to the Christian era, or about 2100 years prior to that time, when, according to Johannes Von Müller, the deluge took place.* We will, however, see how Dr. Bunsen has limited the years given in this table to a number less at variance with the prevailing opinion on this subject, but still, probably, not acceptable to all.

The following table is a reduction of the old Egyptian chronicle, made and handed down to us by Syncellus. The chronicle itself is presumed to have been compiled some years before the dethronement of the last Pharaoh. Its chronology extends down to 359 years B. C.

THE OLD EGYPTIAN CHRONICLE.

	YEARS,
1st. <i>Reign of the Gods—or Auritæ.†</i>	
To <i>Hephaestus</i> — <i>Vulcan</i> — <i>Pthah</i> , the creator, is assigned no time.	
<i>Helios</i> —the Sun—the son of <i>Hephaestus</i> , reigned three myriads of years, equivalent to	30,000
<i>Cronus</i> , and other twelve divinities reigned together	3,984
2d. <i>Reign of the Demi-Gods, or Maestrians.‡</i>	
The eight Demi-Gods reigned together	217
3d. <i>Reign of Men.</i>	
The fifteen generations (Dynasties) comprised in the Cynic Cycle or Sothic period, reigned	443
The remaining fifteen dynasties of kings, commencing with the sixteenth dynasty and ending with the thirtieth dynasty, reigned together	1881
Reign of Men	2324
Total reign of Gods and Men	36,525

It has been supposed by some antiquarians that, under the reign of the gods, is understood the time anterior to the deluge; and as *Cronus* and his nearest twelve successors nearly agree in number with the patriarchs from Adam to Noah, this fact has been adduced in confirmation of this supposition. The reigns of the demi-gods have, by these antiquarians, been presumed to allude to those generations which lived after the deluge, but before the time of Menes. I will, in another place, state my own opinion

* These numbers reduced on the most moderate calculation, according to the above table, gives, however, a period of no less than 5226 years, and a series of 349 kings, the reign of the last of whom terminated 340 years B. C.

† This word has generally been considered as alluding to "the golden age," but there are those who think that it more properly means "the children of the sun."

‡ Alluding to those "born of the sun."

on this subject. When we compare these two tables we find in accordance with the former, that the reign of Menes took place no less than about 2967 years anterior to the time assigned to it in Syncellus's reduction of the Old Egyptian Chronicle, which gives to the period between that king and the birth of Christ only 2683 years.

The incorrectness of these two tables has evidently been proved, by the careful and diligent investigations of those, who, in more recent times, have occupied themselves with the historical part of Egyptian archæology. But the honor belongs chiefly, if not solely, to Dr. Bunsen, of having fully and satisfactorily substantiated, by historical and monumental evidences,* that there exists a great deal of authentic history in the entire series of the dynasties of Manetho, extending from the very origin of human society, through a period of several thousand years before the Christian era.

We have seen, that, at the lowest computation, the sum of the whole list of Egyptian kings, by Manetho, gives 5226 years, and 349 kings. But as there is a passage in Syncellus, which mentions a reduction of "The Thirty Dynasties," described in the three books of Manetho, to 113 generations, and 3555 years, Dr. Bunsen considers this statement as an expression of Manetho's own views. This conclusion appears, however, somewhat questionable, as there is no author quoting, either immediately or from second-hand, the work of Manetho, that, by a single expression, gives us reason to interpret the passage alluded to, as embodying the opinion of Manetho himself. It is, nevertheless, a curious circumstance, that Dr. Bunsen has arrived, by his investigations, at a result, not differing materially, in regard to years, from this passage of Syncellus. Interesting as the subject may be, it would, nevertheless, occupy us too long to follow Dr. Bunsen through the laborious and detailed process that led him to the conclusion,—which will astonish the most of my readers,—that the duration of the Egyptian empire, from the time of Menes to the conquest of Egypt, by Darius Ochus, about 340 years B. C., was no less than about 3300 years; thus carrying back the reign of Menes to about 3640 years anterior to the birth of Christ. Besides this, Dr. Bunsen assumes, what is very reasonable, that the Egyptians must have

* By the proper and ingenious use Baron Bunsen has made of the table of Eratosthenes and the Turin Papyrus, he has been able to correct, at least in part, the errors which were found in the lists of Manetho's first dynasties, where the greatest difficulties were chiefly met with. The table of Eratosthenes gives a succession of 38 kings, commencing, like Manetho's first dynasty, with Menes, giving to the name of each king its Greek interpretation, and the years of his reign—the whole series extending over a period of 1076 years. The Turin Papyrus is a catalogue of dynasties, with names and dates similar to those of Manetho's, written in the hieratic text, or a kind of short-hand of the pure hieroglyphic. It comprised, when entire, a list of kings, from Menes down to the time of its own compilation, under the nineteenth dynasty, or about 1400 years B. C. It may, therefore, be a fragment of the original records, on which the lists of Manetho were founded. Being in a very mutilated condition, the fragments, have, however, by Dr. Leipsius, and some others, been so far reconstructed, as to give with tolerable accuracy, the order of the succession of the kings.

existed for some centuries, ere they attained that degree of civilization, they must have possessed, when Menes brought them together into a great and united empire. In regard to the results of Dr. Bunsen's praiseworthy and invaluable investigations, I will here only mention, that it has gained the approbation, in its essential part, of many competent judges.

Liable to great errors as Manetho or his copyists were, there can now be no doubt that, in the main points, the statements of this historian are correct; and it is to be lamented that the greatest part of his work has been destroyed.

Let not, then, any prejudice render us unwilling to accept this truth, which has been established by overwhelming evidence, but rather let us be grateful to those learned men, who, by their genius and assiduous labors, have dispelled the fog and doubt, that for so many centuries have surrounded the most remote times of the Egyptian history.

All human affairs are intimately blended together, and results must often be sought in causes the most remote. Had not the enfranchisement of France—that glorious event, which dispelled clouds of prejudice, that had so long obscured the light of human reason—taken place, there is every probability, that impenetrable darkness would still have continued to envelope the history of the ancient Egyptians. But after the republicans of France had victoriously defended their freedom against the allied princes, they planted the tri-colored banner on the banks of the Nile. The genius of that remarkable man who led the expedition to Egypt, was of too comprehensive a cast to confine its operations within the duties of a mere military commander. In accordance with his own suggestions, he was accompanied by many of his learned countrymen, whom he inspired with the most ardent desire to gather as much information as possible of Egypt and its ancient inhabitants. In respect to the former their labors were very successful. This awakened among many of the great and learned men of other nations a laudable ambition to rival the French in cultivating this field of knowledge. French, Italians, Englishmen, Germans, Swedes and Danes vied with each other in efforts to interpret the hieroglyphics that met the eye on so many monuments of Egypt, and which were truly deemed to conceal much valuable knowledge of the ancient Egyptians. It was a glorious race: the prize being an immortal name. A Swede and then an Englishman were at the very point of carrying the victory; but the unfading laurels were destined to adorn the brow of the illustrious Champollion, who, favoured by fortune and led by his brilliant genius, at last read the mysterious characters, that, for many centuries had baffled the endeavors of so many learned and ingenious men.

The evidences which the deciphered hieroglyphical writings of the papyri and monuments of Egypt give in support of Manetho's history, and of the great antiquity of this nation, has forced Dr. Bunsen—an able and

competent judge—to arrive at the conclusions above given, a result which must have greatly astonished most of you. But having investigated the reasons upon which this opinion of the learned Baron is founded, I cannot doubt that it is, in the whole, fair and just; and I think that, approved as it has been by many of the highest authorities of Europe, it is not likely to be reversed in its main point, that is, in the antiquity it yields to the Egyptian empire. This fact established, we will be ready to admit that we have carried back the foundation of the Assyrian empires, not so far as might have been done, and we will also be willing to give a fairer hearing to the claims of the Hindoos and the Chinese. But the conclusion which we shall draw from the high antiquity—if satisfactorily proved—of these nations will be highly gratifying to every friend of truth: and I hope that the ultimate results of our investigations will dispel many of our prejudices, and give us a clearer insight into the ways of a benevolent Providence. Of what avail is human wisdom, unless it leads us to a better knowledge of that God whom we worship?

LETTER XXII.

EGYPT, AND THE INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS OF ITS ANCIENT INHABITANTS.

EGYPT was anciently termed, by its inhabitants, Chemia, which name some antiquarians—though, in my opinion, upon no good foundation—think was derived from Ham, or Cham, the son of Noah. The name by which this country is generally signified in the Bible, is the land of Mizraim*—from hence the Arabians call it Misr, which the Greeks write Mesre and Mestrea. Egypt† is the Greek name of this country.

* Many think this name derived from Ham's son, but as the word Mizraim has a dual ending, there have been those who have presumed that it denotes rather a people than a single person. But as the singular of Mizraim is Mazor, which signifies a fortress, there are some who entertain the opinion, that Egypt received this name from the natural strength of its situation.

† Diodorus Siculus says that it was called Egypt from one of its kings named *Ægyptus*. But there are others who think that Egypt signifies simply the land of the Copts, the word Aia being Greek for a country, and thus that *Ægyptus* has easily been softened in pronunciation into *Ægyptus*. And again there are some who consider that Egypt is so called from the blackness of its soil, from the dark color of the Nile, and of its ancient inhabitants, as such a blackish color is called by the Greeks *Ægyptios*, from *gyps* and *ægypte*—a vulture of that color.

The climate of Egypt is naturally very warm, from its near situation to the tropics. The air is generally dry, yet heavy dews fall after the swelling of the Nile, which continue for several months. In Lower Egypt it rains sometimes in the winter, though, according to Plato, and some other ancient writers, this was not formerly the case. Snow has even been observed to fall in Alexandria. In Upper Egypt, and near the cataracts, it rains very seldom. Thunder and lightning are very infrequent here, and are completely divested of that grandeur witnessed in other climates.

The Nile fertilizes the soil of its banks by the slime brought down by its waters, and renders it highly productive. Agriculture in Egypt is an easy task; the soil requiring neither ploughing nor digging. When the waters of the Nile have retired, the Egyptian husbandmen have usually only to mingle some sand with the earth, to abate its strength; after which the sowing is done. We are told* that, in ancient times, they used to turn their swine into the fields to tread the seed into the ground, and then, without further care, wait for the harvest; and when this season arrived, the swine were again turned in to beat out the grain, which was afterwards gathered and garnered up. The sowing is ordinarily done in the end of October and in November, on the fall of the Nile, and the harvest is ripe in March and April.

The fecundity of animal life, in Egypt, is remarkable. The cows very frequently bear twins, and the sheep bring forth twice a year; having often two lambs the first time, but only one the second.

The pasture of Egypt is also very rich; the grass generally growing as high as the cattle, which feed on it during the winter, but which, in the summer, the ground being scorched by the sun, or overflowed by the Nile, are taken up and fed on hay, beans, and barley.

During two seasons of the year, Egypt represents to the eye a most beautiful prospect; which, however, must have been still more enchanting in ancient times, when this country was decked with towns and villages.† Ascending some elevated point of land, or, if you choose, one of the great pyramids, near Cairo, in the month of July or August, during the inundation of the country by the Nile, you will behold a broad sea, bounded by mountains and forests, and interwoven with a great number of villages and groves, resembling the isles of the Ægean Sea. Above the surface of the water there rise many spires and turrets, and a few causeways by which the communication between the villages is kept up; the whole forming a prospect of almost unsurpassed beauty. On the other hand, during the winter months of February and March, all the country is like a meadow, whose verdure, embossed with flowers, charms the eye; while scattered over the wide plain wander innumerable herds of cattle, attended

* Herod. Book II. Diocl. B. 1.

† Herodotus and Diodorus.

by vast numbers of husbandmen and laborers busied with their rural occupations. The air is fragrant with the perfume of unnumbered flowers, which adorn the lemon, the orange, and many other trees, and is one of the softest, purest, and most salubrious ever breathed by man. The spots still covered with water are visited by numerous flocks of fowls, which easily fall a prey to the aim of the eager sportsman.

The towns and villages of Egypt, in order to be secure from the inundation of the Nile, were all built on mounds, raised by a great deal of labor. The communication between the separate towns and villages, while the country is under water, is carried on either by causeways or by boats, and when the inundation has ceased, the canals serve for the same purpose of communication.

The course of the wind, so variable in Europe and in America, is nearly periodical on the banks of the Nile. The northerly breezes blow for nearly nine months in the year. They continue, with few intermissions, from May till September; but about the autumnal equinox they veer round to the east, where they remain nearly six weeks, with only slight deviations. About the end of February the winds come from the south, but fluctuate much till April, when the current of the air moves more from the eastward.

The southerly winds are the most changeable, as well as the most injurious to the health; sweeping over the arid sands of Africa, uninterrupted by rivers, lakes, or forests, they arrive in Egypt imbibed with the noxious exhalations of the desert. At their approach, the azure of the heavens assumes the color of mourning; the sun loses its splendor, and presents the view of a red-hot globe; a light warm breeze is felt, which by degrees increases in heat so as to become almost suffocating. The air, though darkened by no vapors, becomes so gray and impregnated by fine sand, that it sometimes is necessary, even in the day-time, to make use of candles. The green leaves are shrivelled in a short time, and everything made of wood is warped and cracked. The animal creation feels no less the pernicious effect of these winds, which are said sometimes even to cause death. The water itself is rendered incapable of mitigating the painful sensation by which the whole body is oppressed.

These are the hot winds of the desert, called by the Arabs, *simoon*, and by the Turks, *samiel*, and which, by some historians and travellers, are said to have proved fatal to whole caravans, and even to large armies; but there are some modern writers, who, having experienced the effects of these winds, deny them the power of raising waves of sand that would cause such terrible effects; and which they allege to have taken place rather from want of water and food.

Among the products of Egypt which were of the greatest use to its inhabitants, the reed *papyrus*, or *byblus*, must unquestionably be numbered, though at present of little value. It is by the natives called *al*

berdi, and grows on the banks of the Nile, with a stalk of nine or ten feet high. This is the plant of which, in ancient times, the Egyptians made their writing paper, which thence took its name. The mode of manufacturing their papyrus or paper, was as follows: the pith was taken out of the stalk, and was then worked into a white paste or glue, from which at last the paper was made, almost in the same manner as paper is now made out of linen rags. Others, however, relate that the paper was made of the inner rind of the reed. It is also related that the first inhabitants of Egypt used the reed for food, and that they made clothes and domestic utensils of it; and even shoes for their priests, and crowns for their gods.

The flax of Egypt, especially one variety of it, was exceedingly fine, and the Egyptians dressed and spun it to such a degree of fineness, that the threads could scarcely be seen.* It grew in so great abundance, that they had not only enough to clothe their priests and other dignitaries, and to make shrouds for their dead, but also to carry on a lucrative trade by means of its exportation to foreign lands. Over all Western Asia the linen of Egypt was in great request; the superfine quality of it being called *byssus*, which was often dyed purple, and was so dear that only the richest people could afford to buy it.

The fertility of the soil was the chief source of wealth to Egypt, and the quantity of corn exported was immense. Egypt also carried on a very extensive, and no doubt lucrative, trade with foreign countries.

It is said that the Egyptians were the first to practice the true principles of good government, by which the people were rendered comfortable and happy. The laws and the institutions of Egypt were cherished with singular affection by its inhabitants, and were also highly extolled by other nations, and particularly by the Greeks, who adopted many of the Egyptian customs and institutions.

The form of government in Egypt was monarchical; but in the earliest times, the kings appear to have been but the mere tools of the priesthood. The crown of Egypt seems to have been hereditary, but the kings were obliged to conform to the established laws of the country, which, in all probability, were framed by the priests. Not only the public, but even the private life of the kings was regulated by strict rules. They were not allowed to use in their service any slave bought for money, or servant born in their palaces; but they were served by the sons of the priests of the most distinguished birth, who, at the age of twenty years—after having received a thorough education, which, we may be allowed to presume, consisted partly in being trained to play the part of spies—were placed at court, to attend upon the person of the kings, in order, as it was said, that, surrounded by men of distinguished merit, they might learn nothing

* See Pliny Nat. Hist. Book XIX. chap. 1.

unworthy of their high dignity, and be in less danger of the temptation to fall into vicious habits.

There were hours appointed by night, as well as by day, when the king could do nothing in accordance with his own will, but was obliged to pay his sole attention to business, and occupy himself only with affairs of the state. He was required to rise early in the morning, and the first thing he had to do was to peruse the public dispatches, and letters received from the several parts of the kingdom. This done, he took a bath and dressed himself in a splendid robe, when, assuming the insignia of his royal office, he went to the temple to sacrifice; where the victim being brought to the altar, the chief priest, in the presence of the king and the assistants, offered a prayer in a loud voice to the gods for the health and prosperity of the king, and prayed that he might administer his high office in accordance with justice and the laws of the kingdom. The priest, on this occasion, used generally to speak of the virtues of the king; of his piety towards the gods; of his paternal care of the people; of his temperate habits; his magnanimous forgiveness of injuries; his love of truth; of his control over his own passions; his generosity in rewarding the good; and his mercy in punishing the evil. He then alluded to the faults which the monarch might have committed, through ignorance or inadvertence; but while deprecating such errors, he, however, absolved the king from the blame attending such actions, and attributed all the guilt to his ministers and counsellors. It is said that the priests used this method to make the kings ambitious of practising virtue, and at the same time to remind them of their faults, without humbling their pride. When the sacrifice was duly performed, the scribe generally read, out of the sacred records, what had been noted down of the actions and counsels of the eminent men of former times, in order that the king might be instructed in the performance of his duties, and inspired with a noble ambition to emulate, by his own deeds, the fame of the most eminent of past generations. It was indeed an excellent plan for the priests to lead the king to act in accordance with their own wishes, without making themselves odious to him, by directly attempting to control him in his conduct.

The private lives of the kings, no less than their public conduct, being regulated by certain rules, they were not the masters of themselves, but slaves of the law, or the rules, which the priesthood had formed. They were not allowed to take an airing, a bath, or remain alone with their wives, or even do the most indifferent thing, except at certain times, which were particularly appropriated for this or that purpose. They could not choose what to eat; still it must be admitted that if they were not permitted to feast on delicacies, they were at least supplied with good and substantial meals, at which a certain quantity of wine was served them. The mode of life which they were thus obliged to observe, is acknowledged to have been very favorable to the health, and it is therefore less to be wondered at that

some of the Egyptian kings reigned for a long series of years. Still there must have been some king who had made himself independent of these troublesome prescripts, as Plutarch relates, that on one of the pillars in a certain temple of Thebes there was an inscription containing imprecations against a king, who had made himself guilty of introducing luxuries among the Egyptians.

The restraints thus laid upon the will of the Egyptian kings, though vexatious, and sometimes of no utility, yet showing that the priests had determined to make the monarchs pay dearly for the honor of the high dignity they possessed, were, nevertheless, in general, salutary to the kings themselves. There were some other checks upon the individual will of the king more deserving to be mentioned, as they restrained him from wronging or oppressing the people. No king was allowed to punish, out of passion or caprice, any one of his subjects, or to pass any judgment whatever, except in accordance with the law; and though many, especially among the later kings, violated the law, this cannot diminish the merit of these institutions. Fear of having insult offered to their remains after death, which the Egyptians considered as the greatest calamity, was also a great inducement to the kings of Egypt to make themselves beloved by the people.

The grief which the Egyptians expressed at the death of their kings, was, however, in most instances, in my opinion, only apparent, and ought to be viewed more as an act of decorum, in accordance with the established custom on such occasions, than as a proof that the kings had generally made themselves worthy of the lamentations of the people. Though I will speak of the manners of the Egyptians in another place, I will here mention the way in which they mourned their departed princes.

As soon as the death of the king had taken place, and was known, the whole kingdom went into mourning; rending their garments; shutting up their temples; discontinuing all sacrifices; omitting all feasts and solemnities for the space of seventy-two days. Companies of two or three hundred, both men and women, having thrown dust on their heads, and being girt with linen girdles, marched in solemn procession twice a day; singing the praises of the king in mournful dirges, and reciting the virtues of the dead. During this time they abstained from eating flesh and wheat, and also from all delicacies, even to that of tasting wine; neither did they take any bath, or anoint themselves; or sleep in their beds, or embrace their wives. Every Egyptian mourned as though he had lost a father or a son. Meanwhile, the funeral ceremonies being prepared, they were observed with great pomp; on the last day, the corpse of the deceased king was laid in state at the entrance of the tomb, where, according to the law, his actions were recited; every one having liberty to bring accusation against him, if there was any who thought that he had reason to do so. When the priests had made the funeral oration and praised the dead, as

was the custom, the assembled people responded to the eulogy by their applause, if deserved ; but if not, they boldly expressed their dissent and their disapprobation of the dead. It even depended upon the people whether he should be honored with a solemn burial, which, in consequence of the displeasure expressed by them, was denied to several of the kings. Thus, through fear lest such an insult should be offered to their remains, and their memory branded with eternal infamy, many of them, who otherwise would have attempted to oppress the people, were restrained within the bounds of justice and law. There were, however, some who, yielding to their passion for power, and shaking off the authority of the priests, exercised their sovereignty without regard to the laws, or the ancient customs of the country ; yet some of these absolute monarchs, nevertheless, appear to have deserved the love of the people ; while others signalized themselves as consummate tyrants. But the influence of the priesthood upon the people was so great, and so artfully exercised, that few of the kings escaped punishment who made any attempt to rule, except in conformity with the will of the clergy.

All land in Egypt was distributed into three divisions, of which one was allotted to the king, and was appropriated to defray his personal expenses, and maintain the royal dignity with becoming and imposing splendor ; the second belonged to the priests, but its revenues were employed not only for their support and that of their families, but also for the providing of sacrifices, and all other means of public worship ; the third was the property of the soldiers, who for that reason were the more anxious to defend their country. Diodorus Siculus makes the remark, that the Egyptians had given such a large portion to the soldiers, because they thought it absurd to trust the safety of the whole state in the hands of those who had nothing valuable at home to fight for.

It can properly be said, that the king, the priests, and the soldiers, constituted the three estates of the kingdom. The chief power seems, however, in the earliest times, to have been in the hands of the priesthood, who, by every means of deception, though also by many arts which deserve praise, had established their power over the people. They were exempt from taxes, and the kings appear to have been more independent of them, than they of the kings.

The priests wore linen garments and shoes, and were subjected to many rules tending to preserve the health, as well as to distinguish them from the rest of their countrymen. They had to wash themselves twice during the day, and twice during the night, in cold water, which was no doubt salutary ; but they had also to observe many superstitious customs. They appear to have had no domestic cares, for they were daily supplied with geese, and other animal food, in abundance, and were allowed to eat of the consecrated bread. They also had an allowance of wine per day, but were forbidden to eat fish. Beans, which no Egyptian used to eat, were

held in abhorrence by the priests, who even shunned the sight of them, as being considered impure and abominable.

If it so happened that a king was elected, he was chosen from among the priests or the soldiers, and if from the latter, he was instantly initiated into the secrets of the priesthood.*

The militia was divided into two bodies; the one called Calasirians, the other Hermothyans, according to the different *nomes* or provinces they inhabited. The *nomes* of the Calasirians could furnish 250,000 men, and those of the Hermothyans 150,000, when they were the most numerous. These soldiers were not permitted to learn, or to exercise any mechanical art, but were obliged, from father to son, to apply themselves to the art of war.† Still the exploits of the Egyptian armies were in general not very remarkable; but their horsemen were praised as skilful, and there were also among them those who were very expert in the art of driving chariots.

For neglect of duty, cowardice, or flying from the field of battle, the soldiers were punished by marks of infamy; it having been thought more advisable to incite them to their duty by motives of honor, rather than by the fear of corporeal inflictions. The humanity and wisdom of this law is evident, as was made apparent by the greatest captain of modern times, who practically illustrated that no stimulus was so effective to incite soldiers to heroic deeds, as that of the sentiment of honor. The exploits of the republican and imperial armies of France, far excelled those of any other of modern nations, and equalled even the most celebrated of the Greeks and the Romans; but these French soldiers were not driven by fear of the lash, to those impetuous charges, that broke asunder the armies composed of men whose backs bore marks of the ignominious scourge. Whatever partizan historians may falsely relate, the people of Germany can bear witness, that the French soldiers conducted themselves with far more humanity, than did those who pretended to be their friends. The cause of this difference is to be found mainly in the treatment respectively received by the soldiers of the two armies. What but brutal and inhuman actions can be expected from men, who are themselves treated as brutes?

The lands belonging to the militia of Egypt were exempted from public taxes, as well as those of the priests. The portion allotted to each individual was about four acres.

The king's guard consisted of one thousand Hermothyans and as many Calasirians, who, however, were changed every year, that all might participate, in turn, in the honor and the advantage; for, besides the revenues from their lands, those that were on duty at court had a daily allowance of five pounds of beef and two pints of wine.

The husbandmen hired from the king, the priests, and the soldiers, the lands on easy terms, and employed themselves diligently in their cultiva-

* Plut. de Isid. et. Osiris.

† See Herodotus.

tion. The Egyptians being, as I have elsewhere mentioned, divided into separate classes, or castes, the sons were always obliged to succeed to the employment of their fathers. This regulation so objectionable as tending to prevent, in many instances, the development of individual talent, had, however in general, the effect to make each caste expert and skilful in their respective professions. Thus the husbandmen of Egypt, in ancient times, were much praised for their skill; though I think that they were chiefly indebted for their fame to the fertility of the soil, and that they were not to be compared with the agriculturists of Assyria. The shepherds of Egypt were also spoken of as having great experience and knowledge of the care and management of sheep.

The Egyptians were very methodical, but also very careful in the administration of justice; and in order to prevent bribery or partiality, they were very scrupulous in the choice of their judges, whom they required to be men of high reputation. The court consisted of thirty judges—ten from each of the three cities, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis—and this tribunal is by some writers considered to have been of equal respectability with that of the famous Areopagus, of Athens.

The members of this court chose from among themselves a president, whose place was then supplied by one from that city from which he himself had been sent. The salaries of the judges were paid by the king, who allowed the president a stipend proportioned to his superior dignity. In order to distinguish the president from his fellow-judges, he wore a chain of gold around his neck, from which hung an image of precious stones, called "Truth"—as representing *Thmè*—the goddess of Truth. Whenever the president assumed this insignia of his high office, it signified that he was ready to ascend the tribunal chair. The members of the court having taken their places, and the eight books which contained all the laws, having been laid before them, the plaintiff had to make his complaint, clearly and distinctly set forth in writing; a copy of which was given to the defendant, who had a right to return a written answer. To this the plaintiff was permitted to reply, and then again the defendant to rejoin. Each party having thus given each two pleas the court took them into consideration; and after having agreed upon the sentence, the president turned the image of Truth towards the party in whose favor the judgment was given.

No advocates were permitted to speak in behalf of either of the contending parties, nor were they themselves allowed verbally to transact their business at the court; as it was feared that the superior eloquence, or the ability to disguise the truth, would exert an injurious influence. There can be no doubt that the talents of public advocates are often detrimental to justice; but this can also be true of superior skill in composing written instruments of complaint or defence. The Egyptian judges required, therefore, only a simple and intelligible statement of the case,

void of all rhetorical adornments, in order that justice alone might be allowed to influence their decision,

The punishment of death was inflicted in many cases. This is not to be wondered at, when considering that these people were not influenced by the principles of the Christian religion, which surely are at variance with extreme or cruel punishments. I trust I may be able, before I finish this work, to make it evident, that the punishment of death is not founded on a belief either in the immortality of the soul, or in that of rewards and punishments after death. But the pharisaical are generally the strongest advocates of severe punishments, in order to impress on the minds of the people, a belief that they are actuated by the most sincere aversion to all that is evil.

Among the Egyptians perjury was punished with death, being considered a great crime, not only against man, but against the gods.

He who saw a man killed, or violently assaulted upon the highway, and endeavored not to rescue him, was punished with death. Though I certainly do not approve of the species of punishment which was to be inflicted upon the culprit, I think that society has an equal right to punish a neglect of duty, which seems to be so very natural as to attempt to save, in such a case, the life of a fellow-being, as to punish him who actually commits the fatal deed.

If the person who had seen another killed, proved that he had been unable to give him any assistance to save his life, he was, nevertheless, punished with a certain number of stripes, and was kept without food for three days, provided he had neglected to bring the murderer to punishment.

A false accuser was sentenced to the same punishment the accused would have had to suffer, if found guilty. This appears to me to be a very just law.

Every Egyptian was obliged to give in writing his name to the governor in the province where he lived, and also state by what means he subsisted. But if it was proved that he had given wrong information, or that he got his living in an unlawful way, then he was punished with death. Surely a punishment not at all in proportion to the transgression ! This law is said to have been introduced by Amaris.

He that wilfully killed any person, whether freeman or slave, had to suffer death himself. This at least proves that the Egyptians did not entertain that irrational prejudice, which holds the life of a freeman as more sacred than that of a bondsman.

Parents who killed their children were not condemned to suffer the punishment of death, but to embrace the corpses of their murdered offspring for three days and three nights ; a guard being constantly at their side, to see that the sentence was punctually executed.

Parricides were put to death in a way which caused the person guilty of this horrible crime, the greatest agonies, before life finally left the mangled body.

Mutiny and disorders of the soldiery were punished with marks of disgrace.

Rape was punished with death, and for adultery, the male offender received one thousand stripes, while the woman had to submit to the dismemberment of her nose. Surely, we cannot but condemn in the strongest terms, the infliction of so cruel and inhuman a punishment on the woman. As a curious contradiction of principles in legislation, we cannot forbear in this place to observe the attempt which in our days has been made by certain lawgivers, who seem to understand very little of the important office committed to their trust, to exempt the woman in such cases from all punishment whatever, and to visit on the other sex alone, the retributions of the law. Admirable wisdom, worthy of the age of progress!

Brothers and sisters were allowed to marry each other* after the example of Osiris and his sister Isis—worshipped as divinities, and probably regarded solely as symbolical personages,—whose marriage was said to have proved an extremely happy one. From the circumstance that after the death of Osiris his wife Isis, would not contract any new matrimonial alliance, and as a widow ruled Egypt, in such manner as to gain the admiration and love of the people, the regal authority is said, from that time, to have been committed to females as well as to males, and that the power of the former was even greater, than that of the latter. Manetho, however, informs us, that the law permitting women to ascend the throne of Egypt, was introduced during the reign of Binothris, a king of the second dynasty; thus confirming the antiquity of this usage.

It is also said, that from regard to the memory of Isis, marriage contracts in Egypt generally, contained the promise on the future husband's side, to do every thing that pleased his wife. I suppose that the meaning was, that he should not interfere with the management of her household affairs; and thus far, I think that the husband ought to submit to the will of his wife.

Usury was, in all cases, condemned by the law of Egypt. The creditor could not seize upon the debtor's person. This law was introduced by Bocchoris, one of the wisest kings of Egypt. He considered the person of every citizen as the property of the state. Solon borrowed this just and humane law from Egypt, when revising the code of the Athenians. Diodorus Siculus very properly remarks, that this law was much more consistent with justice and common sense, than that which allowed the creditor to seize the person, while forbidding him to take the plows and other implements of husbandry, belonging to the debtor.

* Against the abomination of this law, much has been said by those who have not given sufficient attention to the subject. We know that Abraham married his half-sister, and there can be no doubt that this custom prevailed generally, among the ancient nations, until the experience of its bad effects taught them wisdom.

It cannot be too often repeated, nor too deeply impressed on the minds of the people, that no civil right is so sacred as that of man's personal liberty, and that, therefore, all laws which permit the seizure of any person—except on sufficient evidence of a criminal violation of law—are unjust, and unworthy of any nation that claims to be civilised or free. It is a mockery of liberty to tell us, that the person arrested will, generally, be permitted to give bail, for thousands of the poorer classes cannot procure bonds; thus, a poor man, though innocent, may often be committed to prison, while the wealthy criminal gives bail, and hastens to place himself beyond the reach of the law. Thus in consequence of such barbarous legislation, it often happens, that a man in England, or even in America, may be arrested, when, if he lived in some countries of Europe—where the political liberty of the people is more limited—his person, in the eyes of the law, would be held sacred, and he would be left unrestrained, until good proofs are obtained, of the crime of which he is accused. I know well, that there will be lawyers, and many others, who will say, that if the accused be not arrested on the first suspicion, he will flee from justice. Let him then flee; that is the best proof of his guilt; pursue him then, and if you catch the fugitive, you are surely justified in imprisoning him. Rather let ten guilty ones escape, than violate the sacred liberty of an innocent man.

It appears that "the stick" was frequently used as an instrument of punishment in ancient times, as it is at this day, among the modern Egyptians. The bastinado is held in particular esteem in Egypt, and Sir Gardiner Wilkinson relates* that the people on the banks of the Nile say: "The stick came down from heaven, a blessing from God."†

In the mode of executing deeds, conveyances and contracts, the ancient Egyptians were peculiarly formal and minute, and a very extraordinary number of witnesses was required for these documents. In later times, during the reign of the Ptolemies, deeds of property commenced with a preamble, reciting the date of the king's reign at the time they were executed, with the name of the president of the court, and also that of the clerk, by whom they were written.

A remarkable feature in Egyptian law, was the sacredness with which old edicts and usages were upheld. They were as closely interwoven with the religion of the country as the laws of the Israelites and the Mahomedans are with their respective religions. It is to be observed that the reason of this veneration of ancient customs, was that they were regarded as having been derived from the Gods themselves; hence it was considered injurious to make any alterations in institutions so sacred. Few innovations were, therefore, allowed to be introduced, and not before

* Ancient Egypt, Vol. 2d, p. 40.

† "Nezel min ésemma énebòat bāraka min Allah."

fatal consequences had proved, that the gods were not entirely to be trusted as legislators. The people appear, however, generally, to have been convinced of the divine origin of their laws; but it must be admitted that, had these laws not been the production of wisdom and experience, the people would not so long have placed an unbounded confidence in them, nor regarded them as palpable proofs of the favor of the gods.

There were, however, among the Egyptian monarchs, a few who signalized themselves as legislators. As such are mentioned Mnevis, Sosyches, Sesostria, Bocchoris, Asychis, Amasis, and even the Persian Darius. The chief merit of the first of these appears to have consisted in his success in inclining the people to accept the laws, which he pretended to have received from Thoth or Hermes: "an idea," says Diodorus, "which many other ancient lawgivers have successfully adopted, who have inculcated a respect for the laws they themselves formed through the awe which is naturally felt for the majesty of the gods."

Amasis was particularly eminent for his wisdom and for the many salutary amendments he made to the Egyptian laws. These praiseworthy acts of his, seem to have been duly appreciated by the people who revered his memory. Darius also rendered himself deserving of the gratitude of the Egyptians, who acknowledged his merits by giving him the title of Darius the Divine.

I will here observe, that, though Egypt in later times was divided into three parts, as I have mentioned in another place, such was not the case in the earlier period of its history, when it consisted of only two divisions—"The Upper and Lower Regions." This division was not only marked by a distinction in the administration of the laws, but was also indicated by a difference of language. Thebes was the capital of the one region, and Memphis of the other; and we know also that these regions constituted, at some period, quite separate kingdoms. In later times Egypt was divided into three provinces, of which the middle part, or Heptanomis, was subdivided into sixteen nomes, and the two other provinces into ten nomes each. Sesostria, or Rameses the Great, is said by Diodorus, to have caused Egypt to be divided into nomes.* "The nomes," says Strabo, "were subdivided into toparchiæ or local governments, and these again into minor jurisdictions."

Every Egyptian monarch assumed the title of "Lord of the Two Regions," or "the Two Worlds," from the time that Upper and Lower Egypt constituted one kingdom.

For what we know of the Egyptian laws and institutions, we are chiefly indebted to Diodorus Siculus. Herodotus, in this respect, fails to give us all the information which he appears to have had good opportunity to gather relative to this subject during his visit to Egypt.

* Ammianus Marcellinus states, that Libya, at one period, was attached to Egypt; but without forming a part of Egypt Proper.

LETTER XXIII.

THE SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

It has long been a subject of inquiry among the learned, whether the earliest germs of science and art were originally introduced into Egypt from another land, or whether they sprang up from its own primitive soil. A true solution of the question would seem rather to refer the origin of Egyptian civilization to both these sources; for it most probably was the fruit equally of indigenous plants and engraftments from a foreign stock. There are many who think that knowledge was communicated from Egypt to the Hindoos and to the Chinese; nay, even that the latter were originally an Egyptian colony. But it appears to me, that there is much greater reason to suppose the Egyptians received the first germs of civilization from the Hindoos, or that the first settlers in Egypt, at least those in Upper Egypt or Thebaid, emigrated from India.

There existed a striking resemblance, which has generally been admitted, between the customs, the arts, the worship, and the mythology of the ancient inhabitants of India, and those of the people that dwelt in the earliest period on the banks of the Upper Nile. The temples, for instance, in the neighborhood of Bombay, are acknowledged to exhibit features the same as those of the sacred edifices of Nubia, not only as to the style of architecture, but also in their similar adaptation to the practice of the same worship. In both cases they consist of vast excavations hewn into a mountain or hill, and are adorned with huge figures, which typify the same powers of nature, or serve as emblems to indicate the same qualities in those beings that were supposed to rule the world. The cave of Elephanta in Egypt has, for instance, a striking resemblance to the excavated temples of Guerfeh Hassan. It can further be adduced in confirmation of the above hypothesis, that when the sepoys—the soldiers of India—joined the British army in Egypt, they imagined that they had found their own temples in the ruins of Dendera, and evinced much anger towards the natives for neglecting the ancient deities, whose images are still preserved. “There is a resemblance, too, in the minor instruments of their superstition—the lotus, the lingam, and the serpent—which can hardly be regarded as accidental. But it is chiefly in the immense extent, the gigantic plans, the vast conceptions, which appear in all their sacred edifices, that we most readily discover the aspirations of the same lofty genius, and the efforts to give expression to the same vast and sublime ideas. In India and in Egypt the hardest granite mountains have been hewn into the most striking, if

not the most beautiful, fronts of temples, adorned with sculpture. In both countries large masses of rock have been excavated into hollow chambers, whose sides are decorated with columns and statues of men and animals carved out of the same stone; and in each are found solid blocks of many hundred tons weight, separated from the adjoining mountain, and lifted up to a great height. By whom and by what means these wonderful efforts have been accomplished, is a mystery sunk too deep into the abyss of time, ever to be revealed." The division of the people in castes, is also a most remarkable coincidence between the ancient institutions of Egypt and those of India. From all these, and many other circumstances which will be made evident during the course of the history of the respective people of these countries, I think that you will be willing to admit, that there is great probability, at least, that an intimate intercourse between these nations must have existed long before any historical period of which we have any knowledge.

With regard to the progress which the ancient Egyptians had made in science and learning, we have very few data to lead us to any certain results. There can, however, be no doubt, that they were familiar with the theory as well as the practice of many of the higher principles of art. Their claims to excellence in this respect, are by no means light; still, the progress they made in science as well as in literature, is in no degree equal to that of the Greeks. It is, however, to be observed, that when literature was fast declining in Greece, and science and philosophy neglected even in Athens, the favorite place of the muses, both the one and the other, were flourishing with vigor at Alexandria under the protection of the Ptolemies. There have been those who have considered that so occurred partly in consequence of the circumstance that some of the less rigid of the Egyptian priests were probably prevailed upon to initiate into the secrets of their learning some of the Alexandrine philosophers, who then published as their own, the first principles of astronomy and geometry.* This is a supposition which may have some foundation in truth, but which, nevertheless, is not fully proved, and to which many valid objections, in my opinion, can be made.

The art of writing has been claimed as an invention of the Egyptians; and so it may have been, though I am much more inclined to think that this honor belongs to the Hindoos. There have been those who have thought that this art was directly revealed to man by his Creator; but this is an opinion which I am not at all inclined to adopt. It proves both a want of acquaintance with the capacities with which man is endowed, and a narrow view of the ways of Providence.* On the contrary, it appears more reasonable to suppose, that the human race must have existed many

* See Part I. of *Egyptiaca*, by William Hamilton, Esq.; London, 1809, page 60.

ages before this art was invented, and that it was a long time afterwards before it came into general use. But as it is acknowledged that man had learned first the art of painting, before he attempted to write, it follows that picture-writing is the most ancient. As, for instance, we know that when the Spaniards, under Cortez, first landed on the shores of Mexico, intelligence of the event was communicated to the interior of the country by rough drawings of men, arms, and ships, some specimens of which have been preserved to our own times. The monuments of Egypt supply a history of the successive steps by which mankind arrived at some of the last stages of this important art.

The first and simplest expedient of attempting to convey and perpetuate a knowledge of what had taken place, was probably to form a rude picture of the event itself. This method, however, being found too inconvenient, suggested the practice of reducing the delineation and substituting symbols. These would at first, retain some resemblance to the original figure; but in process of time, as the number of ideas and relations increased, the signs or symbols would more and more assume the character of a conventional mark, expressive of thought as well as of mere existence. The third and most valuable invention in this art, was that which provided a sign for expressing a *sound* instead of indicating a *thing*, and which dissected human speech into letters, instead of stopping at words. The means of accomplishing this object, appear to have been at first very awkward and inconvenient. As for example, to write the name of a thing, the Egyptians arranged, in a given space, a certain number of objects, the initial letters of which, when pronounced, would give the sounds required. At last, there arose from this modified hieroglyphic, a regular alphabet, constructed so as to represent and express the various sounds uttered by the human voice. In Egypt, however, the use of the hieroglyphic was not entirely superseded by the invention of an alphabet. For many purposes, connected with religion and other affairs, of a very serious or solemn nature, the emblematical style of composition was always used. There was also a mixed language, used by the sacerdotal order, partaking at once of hieroglyphics and of alphabetical characters; which in allusion to them by whom it was employed, was denominated hieratic. Thus the Egyptians were in possession of three different modes of communication, as I have elsewhere said; viz. the hieroglyphic, properly so called; the hieratic, and the demotic or common. Thus we see from what Clemens Alexandrinus says, that the educated Egyptians had to learn first of all, the method of writing, called the epistolographic; secondly, the hieratic, which the sacred scribes employed, and lastly, that most mysterious character, the hieroglyphic, of which there are two kinds,—the one denoting objects directly, by means of the initial sounds of words; the other, by symbols. Of the symbolical signs, one class represents objects by exhibiting a likeness or picture; another, by a

metaphorical, or less complete resemblance; and a third, by means of certain allegorical enigmas.

The Greeks attributed to the priests of Egypt, the merit of having first introduced a knowledge of letters as the representatives of vocal sounds; and it is related by Plato, that, during the reign of king Thamus, his secretary Thoth came to lay before that monarch the discoveries he had made, and among which was that of the invention of the alphabet. He asked the king whether it would be expedient to make it publicly known. But the king was opposed to the plan of introducing this invention into general use, for the reason, as he pretended, that this new mode of writing, if it should be divulged, would withdraw the attention of the people from the hieroglyphics, which would then, consequently, be soon forgotten, and thus the new invention would, in its effects, prove one of the greatest obstacles to the advance of knowledge.

Though the exact meaning of these words is obscure, it seems reasonable to infer, that Plato ascribed to the Egyptians the honor of having devised a system of phonetic signs, and that hieroglyphics were not invented after the use of letters had been known, with the view of concealing mysteries from the multitude, but that they were, in fact, the original mode of communication used by the Egyptians, in their first efforts towards the full development of the art of writing. There have been those, who have thought this to have been the case with all ancient nations, before the invention of letters. This, however, appears to me very questionable, notwithstanding the remark of Spineto, in regard to the Egyptians, "that to assert, that they had letters before they had hieroglyphics, is no less absurd, than to affirm that they danced before they could walk;" for though proved true, with reference to the Egyptians, it does not, therefore, certainly follow, that it was impossible to be otherwise.

Astronomy was one of the sciences in which the Egyptians unquestionably had made great progress; though it appears insignificant in comparison with what has been done in modern times; still we must admit that it required a long series of continual observations, before this people, without the assistance of the telescope, could have traced the course of the sun through the signs of the zodiac, arranged the different signs and constellations of the stars in their order, given them the appropriate names, discovered the procession of the equinoxes, and calculated with accuracy the limits of the solar year. When we reflect seriously, how long a time must have elapsed before all these results could have been accomplished, we cannot hesitate to admit, that thousands of years must have passed away before they could possibly have been attained.

The regular inundations of the Nile necessarily taught the Egyptians to have recourse to geometry, and to apply the principles of hydraulics. A knowledge of geometry was indispensable for the determination of the

different boundaries of their estates when the water had retired, and led them to the application of the principles of mechanics—a science in which, also, great progress must have been made before a pyramid or a temple could have been built. It is, however, a curious fact, that the implements of husbandry were very rude and imperfect, as were also the Egyptian ships. This has been accounted for, by alleging that the government was in no degree desirous, either to facilitate the labors of the husbandmen—whom it was attempted to occupy as much as possible—nor to encourage the Egyptians themselves in naval enterprises, so as not to interfere with their navigation by foreign ships. I think, however, that the little advance the Egyptians made in naval architecture, originated in their disinclination to visit foreign countries; preferring to remain at home and live in plenty under a serene sky, rather than face the toils and dangers of the ocean. As to their knowledge of the physical world, their contemporaries gave the Egyptians credit for the surprising power of their magic; and if all be true that is related of the feats said to have been performed by them, they possessed a more intimate knowledge of the laws and powers of nature, than belongs to the most learned men of modern times. That the Egyptian priests took much pains to investigate the secrets of nature, there can be no doubt; and by means of this knowledge, in addition to their other acquirements, they also obtained much insight into the maladies to which the people of Egypt were most liable. I think, however, that there were among the physicians of Egypt as great quacks as some of the most notorious ones of our own day. Still, the sick were, in Egypt, not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physicians, who were obliged to follow certain rules prescribed by old and experienced practitioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success or failure of a remedy; otherwise a miscarriage cost him his life. It must be admitted, that this law was a strong check upon quacks; but that it was also very injurious as preventing the medical art from receiving improvements. Every physician, according to the statement of Herodotus,* confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; thus some attended to disorders of the eyes, others to those of the head, and so on.

Notwithstanding there are now no scientific works of the Egyptians extant, we know with certainty that there once existed a great number of such productions, though they have been lost, or rather destroyed, by man and by time. The wonders of Thebes could not have been created by a nation ignorant of mathematical and chemical science; nor could those stupendous structures, which still strike the eye of the traveller with astonishment and awe, have been built without the agency of such mechanical

* Book 2d, ch. 84.

power as could have been developed only by profound mathematical calculations. I have before mentioned the great number of books which have been ascribed to Thoth, or Hermes; and Manetho informs us that one of the Pharaohs, grandfather of Psammeticus, and the sage Petostris, his contemporary, wrote valuable treatises on astronomy, astrology, and medicine. The last of these works is mentioned even by Galenus and Aëtius, while that on astronomy is alluded to both by Eusebius and Pliny. It is asserted, that the royal author and his philosophical colleague, undertook to explain the creation of the world, as well as the influences exerted by the heavenly bodies upon the human frame: but this account should not be relied on, nor should it induce us to form any hasty opinion of the philosophy of the ancient Egyptian school, as the above works may have been falsified by the sophists of Alexandria, during the time of the Ptolemies.

It is related by Tatian, that the Greeks learned to write history from perusing the Egyptian annals. This may be true, as it is evident that from the most remote times the latter people had adopted the custom of transmitting to posterity the memory of past events. They appear to have written their chronicles originally in verse, and inscribed them on stones in hieroglyphical characters; but though at a later period, after the invention of the alphabet, they began to write in prose and to compose regular books, they still retained the custom of celebrating, in lyric measures, the praises of their gods and heroes. According to the account of the learned Zoega, who has been indefatigable in investigating all the authorities of ancient writers on this subject, it appears that historical treatises were very numerous in Egypt, and that the care of copying them constituted one of the chief duties which devolved upon the sacred scribes. We know from Herodotus himself, that he gathered his principal knowledge of the affairs of Egypt from the priests, who read to him from a book the names of three hundred and thirty kings, who had reigned between Menes and Sesostris. Manetho assures his readers, that he compiled his work from authentic records. Diodorus refers not only to historical books in the Egyptian language, but to commentaries and illustrations, which fact is confirmed by Strabo, who praises the simplicity of their style. It must also be observed, that even when Herodotus visited Egypt, the glory of ancient Egypt had been washed away, by the blood which Cambyzes had caused to flow, and that most of the ancient records had been destroyed by this tyrant. It is, also, no more than reasonable to suppose, that at this time the learning of the priests had declined, though it afterwards revived during the mild sway of the Ptolemies.

Already, before the time of Osymandias, there appears to have existed at Thebes a library, deposited in a large temple, over the gateway of which was inscribed, "The Remedy for the Soul." Over this mouldering doorway, which once led from the hall to the bibliothecal repository, now destroyed, the celebrated M. Champollion, the younger, was the first who

read, in hieroglyphics, over the heads of "Thoth" and "Sakh," the male and female deities of art, science and letters, the very appropriate titles of the "Lady of Letters," and "President of the Library!" There was also at Memphis, in the temple of the god Phtha, a similar institution, from the works of which a certain Naucrates, a man of no authority whatever, accuses Homer of having gleaned much of his Iliad and Odyssey. Though this accusation is probably false, there is much reason to suppose that Homer might have imbibed many of his ideas from what he saw in Egypt, as I will point out in another place. What I have now related proves unquestionably, that the Egyptians had already, long before the Greeks had begun their glorious career in literary pursuits, cultivated the studies of science and literature, and had advanced them to a high degree of proficiency. There are, at the present time, many admirers of the ancient Egyptians, who go somewhat too far in their estimation of the acquirements of this people; asserting that the illustrious men of Greece were principally indebted to the Egyptian scholars of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis for their superior knowledge. True as it is, that the Greeks were indebted to the Egyptians for much valuable information, the disciples, however, greatly surpassed their teachers in fertility of imagination, in brilliancy of ideas, in refinement of taste, and in a keen perceptibility of the harmonious and the beautiful.

The Egyptian method of arithmetical notation, has lately engaged the attention of many of the learned of Europe. We are told by those who have treated on this subject,* that the Egyptian method is neither by letters, like the Grecian and Roman, nor altogether by figures, like the Arabic now in common use, but something intermediate between the two; being constructed upon quite peculiar principles, and expressed by means of certain characters or signs, which, although perfectly distinct from those that are used in the graphic system, are nevertheless framed upon a strict analogy to them, and adapted, with much nicety, to the particular form of composition in which they might be employed. We have before observed, that there were three forms of writing among the ancient Egyptians, and in like manner, there were also three forms of arithmetical notation used by them; one adapted to each of those particular kinds of composition, and now known by the name of the kind of writing to which it belongs. Some of the writers who have examined this subject, have arrived at the conclusion, that our modern symbols have originated from the arithmetical notation of the Egyptians, as several of the numerals which we now call Arabic are distinctly recognised in the hieratic and demotic texts.†

There has been much dispute among the learned, whether Lower or Upper Egypt, was first the seat of learning, and whether Egypt received

* M. Champollion, Dr. Young, M. Jomard, and Dr. Kosegarten.

† See "Remarques sur les Signes Numériques des Anciens Egyptiens, par E. Jomard."

its first germs of knowledge from Mercè in Nubia, or vice versa. The prevailing opinion appears now to be, that Lower Egypt was the birth-place of the civilization which afterwards extended itself over Upper Egypt and Ethiopia. This opinion, it is said, is proved by monuments yet extant. I think, however, that there are many objections which can be reasonably made against it; but as it is not of great consequence which be the case, I will not, at present, enter on any investigation of this subject.

It is principally by the durability and magnitude of their architectural structures, that the ancient Egyptians have attracted the attention of posterity, who have, at last, restored to them that esteem they deserve, in consequence of the civilization and knowledge, which, through their disciples, the Greeks and the Arabs, they have communicated to mankind. Though now admitted that they attained a high degree of civilization, and were in possession of a great deal of useful learning, it has, nevertheless, been brought against them as a reproach, that after the attainment of a certain degree of culture, they had a disposition to stop short and remain stationary. This may be true; still we observe the same disposition in the Hindoos and the Chinese, and, to some degree, in almost every nation on earth. For instance, how unwilling are the English to improve their wretched constitution, held up to them as a work of consummate wisdom, which, nevertheless, makes the many the victims of the few? and do not the civilized nations of the present day retain laws no less repugnant to reason and humanity, than those of Egypt? The truth is, that there are certain limits to the attainments of nations as well as of individuals, and as soon as they have reached the summit prescribed, old age and decay overtakes them. There have been cases of a long duration of national prosperity, and there are also a few individuals, who even in old age, retain their vigor; but exceptions are no rules. Old nations as well as old men, have seldom enlarged the sphere of knowledge, though they are the more familiar with what is already in existence.

The architects of Egypt evidently planned their structures for the longest possible duration, and may also have been stimulated by an ambition to render the fame of their skill immortal; still, it is very probable, as has been asserted, for very good reasons, that the religious tenets of the Egyptians greatly influenced their rulers in raising those stupendous works which strike the traveler in those regions with admiration, and which, for so many centuries, have been the wonder of the world. It must, however, be acknowledged that among all nations who have not attained a refined taste, vastness of size takes precedence of all other qualities in architectural structures. The pyramids themselves sink into insignificance, when compared with the undertaking that Stesicrates proposed to Alexander the Great, and which, according to what Plutarch relates, consisted in converting Mount Athos into a statue of the monarch himself. The left arm was to be the base of a city, containing ten

thousand inhabitants; while the right was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea. But from a work only projected, we will turn our attention to those actually accomplished by the Egyptians; and we will not deny that they deserve our admiration.

Lake Mœris was by Herodotus considered as a work far more wonderful than both the Pyramids and the Labyrinth.* Yet this may be questionable, as there is good reason to think that this lake is more a production of nature than of art. In that writer's time, this vast reservoir of water, as he states, had a circumference of three thousand six hundred stadia, or about four hundred and fifty miles, and its greatest depth was about three hundred feet. Herodotus adds, that it was entirely the product of human skill and industry; as a proof of which, he states that two pyramids stood in its centre, each of which was two hundred cubits above, and as many beneath the water, and that on the summit of both was a colossal statue, placed in a sitting attitude. The waters of this lake, says the same historian, are not supplied by springs, but, on the contrary, its bed is of itself remarkably dry; receiving its supply through an artificial channel communicating with the Nile, during the time of its inundation, and during the remainder of the year emptying its waters back through the same source into the river. "The inhabitants," he continues, "affirm of this lake, that it has a subterraneous passage westward into the Libyan Desert, in the line of the mountain which rises above Memphis. Anxious to know what became of the earth which was dug out of the lake, I made inquiry of those who dwelt on its shores." The answer given was, that the soil was carried to the Nile, and washed down by the current into the sea—which explanation seems to have been accepted as reasonable by "the Father of History."

The main points of this narrative are confirmed by Diodorus Siculus; but Pomponius Mela says, that this lake was only about twenty thousand paces in circumference.† They all agree in representing that it had been constructed for two objects; one to save the country from the effects of an excessive inundation, and the other to serve as a reservoir for irrigating the arid lands in the vicinity, and for supplying the wants of the dry season in the Delta.

The limits of this inland sea have, since the time of the above writers, been greatly diminished, and appear still to be undergoing contraction. Dr. Pococke tells us that Lake Mœris was only about fifty miles long and ten broad. Mr. Browne, however, who visited Egypt later, thought that the length did not exceed thirty or forty miles, and that the greatest breadth was not more than six.

There are several travelers who take it for granted, that "the water

* Herod. book ii., c. 140.

† Mœris aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu potens—Book i.

covered a large portion of the valley of Fayoum, and probably, when the inundation exceeded certain limits, found an outlet from the eastern extremity, along the valley of the Bahr-bela-Majeh; and that the Nile flowed through the valley of the Dry River." As proofs in support of this position, M. Denon cites the physical conformation of the adjoining country—the existence of the bed of a river extending to the sea, but now dry—its depositions and incrustations—the depth of the lake—its extent—its bearing towards the north on a chain of hills which run east and west, and turn off towards the northwest, sloping down to follow the course of the valley of the dry channel—and likewise the Natron Lakes. But still more convincing than these proofs, he considers the form of the chain of mountains on the north side of the pyramid, which closes the entrance of the valley, and seems to have been cut perpendicularly like almost all the mountains, at the foot of which the Nile flows at the present day; offering to the view only a dry channel and its remains.* Belzoni,† also, confirms the opinion, that the river of Egypt penetrated into the Libyan Desert, even to the westward of Fayoum. In his journey to the Oasis of Ammon, he arrived at the Bahr-bela-Majeh. "This place," he says, "is singular, and deserves the attention of the geographer, as it is a *dry river*, and bears all the appearance of having once been flowing with water, its banks and bottom being quite full of stones and sand." After having adduced some proofs that this channel must formerly have contained water, he adds: "The Arabs told me that it ran a great way in both directions, and that it is the same that passes near the Natron Lakes. If this be the case, it must pass before the extremity of the Lake Mœris, at the distance of two or three days' journey in a western direction. This is the place where several petrified stumps of trees are found, and many pebbles with moving or quick water inside."

Lake Mœris is now called by the Arabs the Birkel-el-Karoun, and is also now most generally considered as formed by nature and not by art. It is thought that the details collected by the ancient Greek and Roman writers, ought only to be applied to the works which were necessary, both to unite the Nile with the lake, and to regulate the ebb and flow of the inundation.

In Egypt, as well as in Babylonia, much care was taken to improve

* Denon, vol. I., p. 135. "Les preuves de ce système sont les formes locales, l'existence du lit d'un fleuve prolongé jusqu'à la mer, ses dépositions et ses incrustations, la profondeur du lac, son extension, sa masse appuyée au nord à une chaîne escarpée qui court de l'est à l'ouest, et dérive au nord-ouest pour suivre en s'abaissant jusqu'à la vallée du fleuve sans eau; enfin les lais de nation, et, plus que tout cela, la chaîne au nord de la pyramide qui forme l'entrée de la vallée, coupée à pic, comme presque toutes les montagnes dont le courant du Nil s'approche encore aujourd'hui, offrant aux yeux l'aspect d'un fleuve à sec et de ses destructions."

† See Belzoni's Researches, vol. ii.

agriculture by means of irrigation. Therefore, in the former country, no less than in the latter, there were a great many canals constructed, of which some still remain. The immense excavations which connected Lake Mœris with the Nile were of that kind; and they, together with their mounds, dams, and sluices, are considered as the works which King Mœris constructed; but as his name was given to the lake itself, there has originated the error of considering the latter also as a work of his. This may be the truth, still I think it not yet proved beyond a reasonable doubt. These works now mentioned, had for their object the public good, and deserve therefore unreserved praise. It is gratifying to know, that the really hierarchical, though apparently monarchical, government of Egypt, which was so injurious to the free exercise of man's reasoning faculties, was nevertheless conducive to his physical well-being. Had this not been the case, and had Egypt been inhabited by a starving population, the priests would not have been able to exercise over the people that remarkable influence which they maintained during the lapse of thousands of years. It was by plenty of food that the priests were enabled to keep the people quiet, and willing to accept their fables as divine truths. Were physical comforts the ultimate aim of man's existence, surely there never existed a government more worthy of being imitated than that which the Egyptian priests exercised.

Among the works mentioned by Herodotus as one of the greatest wonders of Egypt, and as one of the most astonishing results of human ingenuity, is the Labyrinth. "It surpasses," says he, "in truth, all that has been related of it; and whoever takes the pains to examine them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures erected by the Greeks; but even these are inferior to the Labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which have roofs; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south: one wall encloses the whole. The apartments are of two kinds; there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath—in all three thousand. *Of the former I can speak from my own knowledge and observation*; of the latter only from the information which I received. The persons who had the charge of the subterraneous apartments, would not permit me to see them, alleging as a reason for their refusal, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who caused the Labyrinth to be built. Of these, consequently, I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments I myself examined, and I declare them to be among the greatest triumphs of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts, awakened my warmest admiration. From spacious halls I passed through smaller chambers, and from them again to large

magnificent courts almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble; the latter richly adorned with the finest sculptures; and around each court are pillars of the same material, the whitest and most polished that I ever saw. At the end of the Labyrinth stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures and animals engraved on the outside, and an entrance to the interior by the subterraneous path."

Herodotus says also, that this astonishing edifice was constructed beyond the lake Mœris, near the City of Crocodiles, known better now as Arsinoe, or Medinet-el-Fayoum. He ascribes the origin of the Labyrinth to a resolution of the twelve kings, who at one time ruled over Egypt, to leave behind them a monument worthy of their memory. Diodorus, on the contrary, says, that it was built as a sepulchre for Mendes; but Strabo again intimates only, that it stood in the vicinity of the tomb of that monarch who erected it. Pomponius Mela alludes to Psammeticus as having constructed it. Be this as it may, it is more worthy of being noticed, because—though no one gives the same minute description as Herodotus of this building—all the ancient writers who treat on this subject, support the main facts contained in his narrative.

The site of this magnificent monument, and the progress the Egyptians made in the art of architecture, is now only a theme of disquisition among the learned, and a subject of investigation for the curious traveler. The Labyrinth has also had to submit to the strong hand of time, and the destructive spirit of barbarians.

Larcher and Gilbert, after a long investigation, tell us, that the situation of the Labyrinth must have been at Senures, while Pococke and Savary, following the ancient historians, place it beyond Arsinoe, in the direction of the Libyan Desert, and on the shore of Lake Mœris. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, that the Pyramid of Hervara marks the site of the Labyrinth, at whose northern extremity it stands. "The remains of this famous building," adds he, "are now in a very dilapidated state, and it is with difficulty that the extent can be traced, much less its plan, though by proper excavation that might possibly be made out. The part now seen is doubtless the upper story, visited by Herodotus, which might be considered the Labyrinth itself; the lower underground chambers being set apart, *"for the sepulchres of the sacred crocodiles, and of the kings who founded the monument."* "The total length of the area it occupied measures 580 feet, and its breadth 271; both taken within the mounds that are now raised around it, and that separate it from the pyramid which is distant about 80 feet, giving a total length of 600 feet."

But though the Labyrinth and innumerable other works of the ancient Egyptians are destroyed, there remain still, as we know, pyramids in

* Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 337. London: John Murray; 1842.

† The word pyramid is said by some to have been derived from the Greek word *pur* or *pyr*—

Egypt, which appear destined to realize the most sanguine hopes of their makers ; as there is every reason to suppose, that they will yet for thousands of years attest—as they perhaps for forty centuries have already done—the architectural skill and the grandeur of the designs of the ancient Egyptians. Alas ! these venerable monuments were dearly bought, if it is true that they were paid for with hundreds of thousands of human lives. No wonder their aspect is gloomy ! they are the children of tyranny or superstition, and the curse of outraged humanity rests upon them. But was it the hypocrisy or the bigotry of priests, or the vanity of kings, that brought them into existence ? or was superstition again the agency of imposing upon a people enormous sufferings ?

Among the Arabs there have been those, who have assigned the building of these stupendous works to Jân-ebn-Jun, universal monarch of the world before Adam ;* thus indicating that they considered the structure of these stupendous works as beyond the power of man to execute. Of the three greatest pyramids, the Copts say, that the eastern is the sepulchre of king *Sauriel*, the western of his brother *Hujib*, and the colored pyramid of Fuz-farinûn, the son of Hûjib ; thus designating one of the causes now generally admitted to have been the true one for the raising of these monuments.

Aristotle makes the kings to have built the pyramids out of mere lust of tyranny,† and Pliny conjectures that they built them partly out of ostentation, and partly from the policy of diverting the people, by this employment from mutinies and rebellions.‡ There are those again who entertain the opinion that the pyramids were used for burial purposes, and were built from religious motives originating in the theology of the Egyptian priests, among the tenets of which were those asserting, not only the resurrection of the dead, but also the co-existence of the soul with the body as long as the latter might endure. Diodorus expressly tells us that Chemnis and Cephren designed the pyramids, built by them, for their sepulchres ; though it happened that neither of them was buried in these. Strabo considers the pyramids of Memphis to have been royal sepulchres ; a view which is in accordance with the writings of the learned Arabs, and is also confirmed by the tomb which still stands in the great pyramid. There is, notwithstanding, much reason to suppose that they were used as temples, and perhaps the first conception of this species of architecture was originated for sacerdotal purposes in India. An English

fire,—and that these structures were so called, from their shape ascending from a broad base, and ending in a point like a flame of fire. Others, again, entertain the opinion, that pyramid is derived from pyros—wheat—as they suppose the pyramids to have been destined for granaries. This opinion is now exploded ; but there are others who derive this word from “Pi-ouro,” which in Coptic signifies “the king,” and “misi,” a “race of generations ;” and they assign as cause why this name was given to the pyramids, that they were erected to preserve the memory of these princes and their families.

* D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient, p. 311.

† Arist. Polit.

‡ Pliny 6. 36, c. 12.

traveler, Mr. Wilford, relates a circumstance which appears to favor these suppositions. Having described the great pyramid to several learned Brahmins, they instantly declared it to have been a temple, and one of them asked him, if it had not a communication with the Nile. When answered that such a passage was supposed to have once existed, and that a well was even now to be seen, they all agreed that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padma Devi, and that the supposed tomb was a trough, which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with sacred water and lotus flowers.*

It is, therefore, very probable that these buildings were destined to combine the double use of the sepulchre and the temple. Dr. Shaw has, accordingly, made the query that, if the great pyramid had been intended only for a tomb, what occasion was there for such a narrow sloping entrance, or for the well, as it is called, at the bottom, or for the lower chamber with a large niche or hole in its eastern wall, or for the long narrow cavities in the sides of the large upper rooms, which likewise is encased all over with the finest granite-marble,—or for the two antechambers and the lofty gallery, with benches on each side, that introduce us into it? As the whole of the Egyptian theology was clothed in mysterious emblems and figures, it seems reasonable to suppose that all these corridors, apartments, and secret chambers were intended for some nobler purpose, than that of mere sepulchres, which were generally plain vaulted chambers hewn out of the natural rock—and that rather the deity, who was typified in the outward form of this pile, was to be worshipped within.†

"The three principal pyramids," says Niebuhr, "can be seen from Cairo, and stand upon the first hill between that city and the western bank of the Nile;" adding that, "these enormous masses are built of soft calcareous stone, of the same nature as the rock on which they stand." Such, also, is the account of later travelers.

The present aspect of the pyramids has, in the opinion of some writers, rendered it doubtful whether they ever were fully completed. But Herodotus states in words not to be mistaken, that after these buildings were raised to their full height, the artisans began to polish and finish them from the top downwards. In the pyramid, which bears the name of Cephrenes, a considerable portion of the original casing still remains; thus confirming the statement of Herodotus, and affording also an explanation of that part of his description, in which he tells us, that a great quantity of the stone was brought from the Arabian side of the Nile and even from the vicinity of the Cataracts. We may hence draw the conclusion that the granite and porphyry which was made use of in casing the exterior as well as in the decorations of the chambers within, are to be identified with

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. iii., p. 439.

† Travels. Vol. ii., p. 201.

the materials described by Halicarnasius, and which are generally designated by Strabo and Pliny as precious stones and marbles.

The number of pyramids scattered over Egypt is very considerable; but the most remarkable are those at Djizeh, in the vicinity of Cairo, and at Sakhara and Dashour. At the first of these places, the three principal pyramids described by Herodotus are still standing, and are considered as the finest monuments of this class existing.

Herodotus says that the greatest of these three pyramids was built by Cheops, called by Diodorus Chemnis, and whom the first mentioned writer describes as a tyrant; adding that "he barred the accesses to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices to the gods; after which he compelled the mass of the people to perform even drudgery. Some he condemned to hew stones out of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were stationed to receive the same in vessels, and transport them to the frontiers of the Libyan desert. In this service a hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were spent in the formation of the road on which these stones were to be drawn—a work, in my estimation, of no less difficulty and toil than the erection of the pyramid itself. This causeway is five stadia in length, forty cubits wide, and its greatest height, thirty-two cubits; the whole being composed of polished marble, adorned with figures of animals. Ten years, as I have observed, were consumed in forming this pavement, in preparing the hill on which the pyramids are raised, and in excavating chambers under the ground. The burial place which he intended for himself, he contrived to insulate within the building, by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid itself, a work of twenty years, is of a square form, every side being eight plethra in length, and as many in height. The stones are very skillfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet."

"The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps and others altars. Having finished the first tier, they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines constructed of short pieces of wood; from the second, by a similar engine, they were raised to the third; and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were courses in the structure of the pyramid—though there might have been only one, which being easily manageable, could be raised from one layer to the next in succession; both modes were mentioned to me, and I know not which of them is most to be credited. The summit of the pyramid was first finished and coated, and the process was continued downward, till the whole was completed. Upon the exterior were recorded, in Egyptian characters, the various sums expended in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and garlic, consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my *interpreter* informed me, amounted to no less than one thousand and six hundred talents. If this be true, how

much more must it have cost for iron tools, food, and clothes for the workmen!—particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed on the building itself, besides what was spent in the quarrying and the transportation of the stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments.”

After having told us that Cheops was succeeded by his brother, Cephrenes, who pursued a similar policy, he says, in regard to the latter, “he also built a pyramid, but it was not so large as that of his brother, for *I measured both*. It has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the water of the Nile, which, in the other pyramid, is made to surround an island where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited. Thus, for the space of one hundred and six years, the Egyptians were exposed to every species of oppression and suffering; not having been allowed, during this long period, to worship in their temples. Their aversion for the memory of these two monarchs is so great, that they have the utmost reluctance to mention even their names. *They call their pyramids by the name of Philitis, who at the epoch in question, fed his cattle in that part of Egypt.*”

These last words have induced several writers to take it for granted, that these pyramids were raised by some of the monarchs, called Shepherd kings. This seems to me to be an opinion founded on good reasons, because it is highly probable that these princes were foreigners, as they were hostile to the religion of the Egyptians, which is evident from the circumstance that they shut up the temples and prohibited sacrifices.

The largest pyramid is said, by M. de Chazelles, to face exactly the four points of the compass; which position, it is reasonably supposed, is owing not to chance, but to the design of the builder. This supposition is corroborated by the fact that the tomb or monument within occupies a similar position; and must, therefore, be considered as a convincing proof of the early progress of the Egyptians in astronomy.*

In regard to the inside of this pyramid, the ancient writers are altogether silent, excepting only, what has been related by Herodotus of the subterraneous vault built within the hill on which the pyramid stands, and except a remark of Strabo, who speaks of an oblique entrance to be seen on removing a stone which covered it.

This pyramid bears evident marks of human violence, because immense heaps of broken stones form a high mound towards the middle of the base. The entrance to this pyramid is on the north side, and at equal distances from each angle; being, at the same time, elevated about thirty feet above the base, probably for the purpose of making it less liable to be discovered and to be blocked up by sand.

The entrance is a narrow orifice, not more than three feet and a half.

* Fontenelle Elog. de M. de Chazelles, p. 91, and Lucas, Tom i., p. 366.

square; "it is lined above and below, and on both sides, with broad flat rocks of red granite, smooth and highly polished. The flags on the bottom of the passage are formed with alternate depressions and elevations, in order to afford a firm footing to the person descending; but this, it is presumed, is a modern innovation, because the depressions are not smooth and polished like the rest of the stones. After advancing nearly a hundred feet into the entrance, which slopes downward at an angle of about twenty-six degrees, the explorer finds an opening on the right hand, which conducts him up an inclined plane to the queen's chamber—as travelers have agreed to call it—an apartment seventeen feet long, fourteen feet wide, and twelve feet high to the point from which the roof is suspended. Ascending a similar passage, but somewhat steeper than the first, he perceives another chamber of larger dimensions, being thirty-seven feet two inches long, seventeen feet two inches wide, and about twenty feet in height. This is denominated the king's chamber." It deserves this distinction in some degree, by its magnificence. It is lined all around with large slabs of highly polished granite, reaching from the floor to the ceiling; this last being formed of nine immense flags which reach from wall to wall. Towards the west end of the room stands the sarcophagus or monument of Cheops, of one piece of red granite, highly polished, but without either sculpture or hieroglyphics. Its length is seven feet six inches, while the depth and width are each three feet three inches. There is no lid, and the first of modern travelers who visited it, found nothing in it except a few fragments of the stone with which the chamber is decorated. A third chamber, still higher in the body of the pyramid, than either of the two just described, was discovered about eighty years ago by Mr. Davison, British Consul in Cairo. This room is four feet longer than the king's chamber, but the breadth is of equal dimensions. The covering of this, as of the other, is of beautiful granite. M. Caviglia, who entered the same room about twenty years ago, remarks that the sides of the chamber were coated with red granite of the most exquisite polish. The same spirited investigator discovered another chamber, by far surpassing the other in size. This chamber is sixty-six feet long, by twenty-seven broad, with a flat roof; and when first entered was found nearly filled with large stones and rubbish, which M. Caviglia, however, caused to be removed. The platform of the floor, which is formed into the rock, is irregular; nearly one-half of the length from the east end being level about fifteen feet from the ceiling, while in the middle it descends five feet lower, having a hollow space that bears all the appearance of the commencement of a well or a shaft. From this point it rises to the western end; so that at the extremity there is scarcely room between the floor and the roof for a man to stand upright; the whole chamber having the appearance of an unfinished excavation. It is evident that the room here spoken of is one of the subterraneous apartments alluded to by Herodotus. Mr. Salt, formerly English Consul at Cairo, thinks that the chamber last spoken

of may once have been highly polished, and used, perhaps, for the performance of solemn and religious mysteries, though now disfigured by the combined effects of time and the hands of man.

In regard to the second pyramid, which bears the name of Cephrenes, Mr. Belzoni had the merit to discover the entrance, which was the more remarkable as this monument was considered to have none, nor to have any apartments either. When Mr. Belzoni had caused the entrance to be opened, it proved to be a passage four feet high and three feet six inches wide, formed of granite, and descending a hundred and four feet towards the centre, at an angle of twenty-six degrees. In the same pyramid Mr. Belzoni also found a chamber, forty-six feet in length, sixteen feet three inches wide, and twenty-three feet six inches high. It is cut out of the solid rock from the floor to the roof, which last is composed of solid slabs of calcareous stone, meeting in an angle corresponding with the pyramid itself. In this chamber stands also a *sarcophagus*, eight feet long, three feet six inches wide, and two feet three inches deep on the inside. It was surrounded by large blocks of granite apparently to prevent its removal, which, in its present situation, would cost a great deal of labor. Mr. Belzoni found its lid turned down on one side; so that the sarcophagus—if it be such a thing, or the fount, or whatever it may be—was half open.* It is made of the finest granite.

In this pyramid, as well as in the larger one, there is a pit or shaft, which descends to a lower part of the building, where Mr. Belzoni also found a chamber of vast dimensions.

Colonel Howard Vyse has lately discovered in the two pyramids which we have now spoken of, and also in a few others in the same vicinity, the names of the kings who caused them to be erected, and which confirms us in the opinion that Herodotus was pretty well informed on the subject. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, that the exact period of their erection cannot possibly be ascertained; but that from all evidences which can be collected, it appears that Suphis and Sersophis (Cheops and Cephrenes) erected them about the year 2100 B. C. Still, I think, that there is more probability that they are of a far elder date.

Dr. Shaw, on the authority of an Arabian writer, mentions, that the great pyramid was entered about a thousand years ago by Almamon, the celebrated Caliph; and that towards the top there was found a chamber with a hollow stone, in which there was a statue like a man, and within it the body of a man, upon which was a breastplate of gold set with jewels. Upon this breastplate there was a sword of inestimable price, and on its head a carbuncle of the bigness of an egg, shining like the light of the

* I should not be surprised, should it be proved by any hieroglyphic inscription, that the chambers in the pyramids were also used as bathing places.

day; and upon the human figure were written characters with a pen, which no man understood.*

The discrepancy we find in the measurements which several persons have made of the pyramids, is remarkable, and the cause of it is very difficult to account for. We find, for instance, in regard to the great pyramid, which is the largest of all, the following discrepancies in the measurement made by the following writers :

<i>Ancient.</i>	<i>Height of the Great Pyramid.</i>						<i>Length of the side.</i>	
	Feet.						Feet.	
Herodotus, - - -	800	-	-	-	-	-	-	800
Strabo, - - -	625	-	-	-	-	-	-	600
Diodorus, - - -	600	-	-	-	-	-	-	700
Pliny, - - -	...	-	-	-	-	-	-	708
<i>Modern.</i>								
Le Brun, - - -	616	-	-	-	-	-	-	704
Thuvonet, - - -	520	-	-	-	-	-	-	612
Niebuhr, - - -	440	-	-	-	-	-	-	710
Lord Charlemont, -	444	-	-	-	-	-	-	...
French Savans, -	440 [470 Eng.]	-	-	-	-	-	-	704
Colonel Vyse - -	450	-	-	-	-	-	-	746

Mr. Belzoni states the dimensions of the second pyramid to be as follows :

	Feet.
The base, - - -	684
Perpendicular height, - - -	456
And coating from the top, - - -	140

It is a coincidence which deserves to be remarked, that in all the pyramids that have been opened, the entrance has always been found near the centre, on the northern face, and the passage as uniformly proceeding downwards from it at an angle which never varies. It has, therefore, with some reason, been conjectured, that this could not have happened by chance, but that it is a work of design, done for some special purpose. Mr. Pauw has therefore suggested the idea, that the pyramids as well as the obelisks were temples, raised to the god of day, as one of their sides is, in all cases, facing the east. There can be no doubt, that the position of the pyramids has reference, as observed before, to the four cardinal points of the compass. It is also to be added, that traces of the delineation of the twelve signs of the zodiac are still visible on the pyramids, at Esneh and Dendera, which tends to convince us, that these buildings were erected at a time when the Egyptians had already made great progress in astronomy.

It is also very probable, as has been by some writers supposed, that "in the construction of these buildings, the priests availed themselves of the

* Shaw's Travels, vol ii. ; and the Pyramidographia, by Mr. Greaves.

means thus offered, for combining their sacred duties with their favorite study, and the sentiments of piety with the sublime conceptions of astronomy."

Among the attempts at demolishing these remarkable structures, it is recorded by Abdollatiph, that the caliph Melee-Alaziz-Othman-ben Yousof permitted himself to be persuaded by some fools among his courtiers, to tear down the pyramids, and that he sent sappers, miners, and quarriers, under the direction of proper officers, with orders to overthrow the red pyramid, that which is ascribed to Mycenius, and which is known to have been coated with highly-colored granite. To execute the instructions with which they were charged, they encamped on the adjoining ground, and collected a great number of laborers whom they maintained at a great expense. There they toiled for eight whole months; but by their most vigorous endeavors, with picks and levers above, and with ropes and cables below, they could not remove more than one or two stones a-day. At length they abandoned the attempt, without being able to demolish this proud monument of Egyptian skill, or even, in the opinion of the historian, without materially reducing its dimensions. The date of this vain project is generally placed about the end of the twelfth century.

The opening of the Great Pyramid has, by many oriental writers, been ascribed to the Caliph, Abdallah Mamour, the son of Haroun Al Raschid, and they relate that he employed for the accomplishment of his object, fire, vinegar, and other chemical solvents. There are, however, those who ascribe the opening of this pyramid to the Caliph Mohdi, whose name was Mohammed.

Having said what I intend at present to do in regard to the pyramids, we will now turn our attention to the Great Sphinx, another of the wonders of Ancient Egypt. Through the persevering zeal of M. Caviglia, this colossal statue, which was mostly buried in sand, was laid wholly open to view. The toil and expense were heavy, but in the eyes of a zealous antiquary, fully rewarded. "The huge paws of the sphinx stretched out fifty feet in advance of the body, which is in a cumbent posture: fragments of an enormous beard were found resting beneath the chin; and there were all the appendages of a temple, granite altar, and tablet, arranged on a regular platform immediately in front. On this pavement, at an equal distance between the paws of the figure, was the large slab of granite just mentioned, being no less than fourteen feet high, seven broad, and two thick. The face of this stone, which fronted the east, was highly embellished with sculptures in bas-relief; the subject representing two sphinxes seated on pedestals, and priests holding out offerings, while there was a long inscription in hieroglyphics, most beautifully executed; the whole design being covered to the top, and protected, as it were, with the sacred globe, the serpent, and the wings. Two altar-tablets of calcareous stone, similarly ornamented, were supposed, together with

that of granite, to have constituted part of a miniature temple, by being placed one on each side of the latter, and at right angles to it. One of them is still remaining in its place; a small lion crouching in front of this edifice, had its eyes directed towards the sphinx. On the left paw of the great sphinx were cut several indistinct legends in Greek characters, addressed to different deities. On the second digit of the same was sculptured, in pretty deep letters, an inscription in Greek verse, of which the learned Dr. Young, after having restored the defects of the original, gave the following translation :—

Thy form stupendous here the gods have placed,
Sparing each spot of harvest-bearing land;
And with this mighty work of art have graced
A rocky isle encumbered once with sand:
Not that fierce Sphinx that Thebes erewhile laid waste,
But great Latona's servant, mild and bland;
Watching that prince beloved, who fills the throne
Of Egypt's plains, and calls the Nile his own.
That heavenly monarch, who his foes defies:
Like Vulcan powerful, and like Pallas wise.

On the digits of the southern paw were only discovered a few of the usual dedicatory phrases in honor of Harpocrates, Mars, and Hermes. One inscription gives, as Mr. Salt reads it, to the Emperor Claudius the appellation of *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, *the good spirit*". The paws of the sphinx are constructed of masonry which is considered to be of ancient workmanship. In regard to the dimensions of the sphinx, Dr. Richardson states, that the back is about a hundred and twenty feet, and the elevation of the head above the sand from thirty to thirty-five.

In the time of the above-mentioned Arabian historian, Abdollaiph, the sphinx was entire, and he describes its appearance as graceful, and its proportions, in the different features of the countenance as admirable; and that it excited his astonishment more than anything else he had seen in Egypt. It is related by Makrisi, that the sphinx was mutilated by the Sheik Mohammed, known also under the name of Fater, denoting his rigid adherence to the tenets of the Mohammedan religion, being, in every respect, a consummate bigot.

There have been many disputes among the learned respecting the design of the sphinxes. Placed, as they generally are, near temples and consecrated buildings, it has been thence inferred that their emblematic form must have stood in some relation to the theological opinions or ceremonies of religion in Egypt. Some writers have thought, that the countenance of a beautiful woman, combined with the body of some animal, intimated the alluring face with which vice first assails the unwary, and the monsters into which she changes those whom she catches in her fangs. There have been others, again, who have regarded these figures as astronomical sym-

bols, indicating the passage of the sun from the sign Leo into that of Virgo, and thereby indicating the happy period when the inundation of the Nile diffuses the blessings of health and abundance throughout the whole land. Lastly, there have been those who have thought the sphinxes to have originated from the idea the philosophers of the East entertained of the origin of the universe, which they viewed as an effect of a certain mysterious generation ; regarding the first cause as combining both sexes, and exercising, in a manner totally incomprehensible to human reason, the male and female energies, and thereby becoming the parent of everything that exists. To the sphinx attributes are ascribed which do not belong to either sex singly, and which cannot be united in the same figure without representing "that imaginary hermaphrodite which the refined speculation of the orientals has enshrined in the darkest recesses of their mystic theology."

The cemeteries of Egypt are described as being generally of an oblong form, and their walls somewhat inclined from the perpendicular inwards—a characteristic peculiar to the ancient Egyptian architecture—flat roofed, with a kind of parapet around the outside formed of stones, rounded at the top, and rising about a foot and a half above the level of the terrace. The walls are constructed of large masses of rock of irregular shape—somewhat similar to those of the Cyclopien structures, as they are called—which are found in various parts of Greece. The first which M. Caviglia examined was found to have the inside walls covered with stucco, and embellished with rude paintings, one of which, though much defaced, evidently represented the sacred boat, while another displayed a procession of figures, each carrying a lotus in his hand. There were also found several mouldering mummies laid one over the other in a recumbent posture ; many of the bones being still entire, and among the rest a scull with part of its cloth-covering inscribed with hieroglyphics. In one of the chambers in another cemetery, M. Caviglia found two pieces of marble composing an entire figure, almost as large as a man, in the act of walking with the legs stretched forward. Mr. Salt is of the opinion that this figure was intended to represent some person among the dead. In a third of these

* See p. 122 of Dr. M. Russell's *Ancient and Modern Egypt*; from which work I have before also made some quotations. In explanation, the following rule is given, from the work of the celebrated Winkelman :—"Les Sphinx des Egyptiens ont les deux sexes, c'est à dire qu'ils sont féelles par devant, ayant une tête de femme—et mâles derrière. . . C'est une remarque que personne n'avait encore faite. Il résulte, de l'inspection de quelques monumens, que les artistes Grecs donnaient aussi des natures composés à ces êtres mixtes, et qu'ils faisaient même des sphinx barbus, comme le prouve un bas-relief en terre cuite conservé à la Farnesina. Lorsque Herodote nomme les sphinx des androsphinges, il a voulu designer par cette expression la duplicété de leur sexe. Les sphinx qui sont aux quatre faces de la pointe de l'obelisque du soleil, sont remarquables par leurs mains d'hommes armées d'angles crochus, comme les griffes des bêtes féroces.

stone edifices was a large boat, sculptured with a square sail, very different from any now employed upon the Nile. In one of the chambers of this cemetery were paintings in bas-relief, of men, deer and birds—the men engaged in planning and preparing certain pieces of furniture, hewing blocks of wood, and pressing out skins either of wine or oil. In this chamber the figures and the hieroglyphics are exceedingly beautiful. There is represented a quarrel between some boatmen, executed with great spirit; and also a number of men engaged in the different pursuits of agriculture—as ploughing, hoeing up the ground, bringing in their corn on asses and storing it in their magazines. There are some vases painted in the most vivid colors: and also a band of musicians playing on the harp, flute, and a species of clarionet, together with a group of dancing women, tinged with a yellow color, as is generally the case in the temples of Upper Egypt. This all seems to indicate that this cemetery was a resting place for the common people. There is one circumstance which deserves notice. In some one chamber of all these edifices there was a deep shaft or well, from the bottom of which a narrow passage conducted to a subterraneous room. One of these shafts was sixty feet deep and in the chamber in the deep was standing a plain but highly finished sarcophagus, without a lid, of the same dimensions nearly as that of the Pyramid of Cheops, though still more exquisitely polished.

Ye monuments of Egypt, glorious testimonies as you are of the creative genius of man, you awaken but admiration and astonishment in the minds of the many, who with their own eyes or in imagination have gazed upon your enormous masses. Yet what solemn reflections you also call up in the thoughts of the few who are capable of appreciating the tales you tell! Enveloped in a mysterious shroud, you nevertheless reveal to philosophic minds lessons of profound wisdom! Ah! fain would I be assured, whether the first idea of your creation was born within the brain of the sons of Egypt's swarthy soil, or whether it came hither wafted over the waves of the Erythrean sea from distant India! A glimpse of hope is enkindled within me, that the veil which hides this most important secret will one day be withdrawn, and that the truth will at last stand triumphant in the broad light of day. Then, at length will the vulgar eye perceive the mighty interests involved in this question, and then falsehood and lies will be hurled down from the usurped throne of holy truth.

Ye monuments of Egypt, surely you hold a more conspicuous place in the history of man's conquests from the dominions of knowledge, than that which the world has hitherto been willing to allow! Ye pyramids, that have defied the destroying influence of thousands of years! none can tell how many centuries are yet to be added to past eternity, ere your proud heads are to bow before the irresistible laws of nature. Yet I dare to predict, that before that time shall arrive, you will have been acknowl-

edged to possess overwhelming evidence in support of the dearest interests of mankind! Farewell, ye works of despotism! If my anticipations shall be realized, you will be made to serve the cause of freedom of thought, and of the final emancipation of the conscience of man!

LETTER XXV.

A SURVEY OF THE PRINCIPAL RUINS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WORKS OF ART.

AFTER having finished our survey of some of the principal monuments of ancient Egypt that were chiefly described by the early writers, we will now visit some of the ruins which remain of works no less glorious, though less known. In this cursory tour we will take for our guides, some of the most zealous and able investigators of Egyptian archæology.

Though not convinced that Lower Egypt was the birth-place of the Egyptian empire, and that Memphis was its most ancient capital, but inclining rather to the belief that this honor belongs to Upper Egypt, or what is called the Thebaïd, and to Thebes its capital, we will, however, in our survey set out from Cairo and ascend the Nile to Nubia.

As there are not now any remains, worthy of mention, of the magnificent city of Memphis, I will here quote from an Arabian historian, a description* of that capital as it appeared in the twelfth century. "Among the monuments of the power and genius of the ancients," says Edresi, the writer now alluded to, "are the remains that still exist in old Misr or Memphis. That city, a little above Fostat, in the province of Djezeh, was inhabited by the Pharaohs, and is the ancient capital of Egypt. Such it continued to be until ruined by Boktansar (Nebuchadnezzar); but many years afterwards, when Alexander had built Iskanderiyeh (Alexandria), this latter place became the metropolis of Egypt, and retained that pre-eminence till the Moslems conquered the country under Amru-ebn-et-Aosi, who transferred the seat of government to Fostat. At last El Moezz came from the west and built El Cahirah (Cairo), which has ever since been the royal place of residence. But let us return to the description of Memf, also called old Misr. Notwithstanding the vast extent of this city, the remote period at which it was founded, the change of dynasties to which it has been subjected, the attempts made by several nations to annihilate even the

* See Abdollatif's abridgment of Edresi, translated by M. Silvestre de Sacy.

vestiges, and to obliterate every trace of it by carrying away the stones and the materials of which it was formed, destroying its buildings and defacing its structures—notwithstanding all this, combined with what more than *four thousand* years must have done toward its ruin, there are yet found in it works so wonderful, that they bewilder even a reflecting mind, and are such as the most eloquent would fail worthily to describe. The more you consider them, the more does your astonishment increase; and the more you look at them, the more pleasure you experience. Every idea which they suggest, immediately gives birth to some other, still more novel and unexpected; and as soon as you imagine that you have got a clear light of all, you find that there is still something more to be sought for.”

Among the works of which this author speaks, is a monolithic* temple, similar to the one mentioned by Herodotus, embellished with curious sculptures. He relates also, that he found idols among the ruins, no less remarkable for the beauty of their forms, and the symmetry of their proportions, and perfect resemblance to nature, than for their really astonishing dimensions; mentioning also, that one which he measured was, without including the pedestal, forty-five feet in height, fifteen feet from side to side, and from back to front in the same proportion; being a single block of red granite, covered with a coating of red varnish, the antiquity of which, appeared only to increase its lustre. Memphis extended even at that time, if this writer is to be relied on, to the distance of a half day's journey in every direction. But still, modern travelers have of late disputed,† where this large city was situated, so rapid has its decay been since the time of Edresi.

In regard to the sepulchral grottoes at Siout, in Upper Egypt, M. Denon‡ says, that it would take months to read all the hieroglyphics with which they are covered, and that it would take years to copy them. “By the little daylight,” he continues, “that enters the first porches, I saw that all the embellishing ornaments which the Greeks have employed in their architecture, all the wavy lines and scrolls and other Greek forms, are here executed with taste and exquisite delicacy. If one of these excavations were a single operation, as the uniform regularity of the plan of each

* The monolithic temples or sanctuaries, hollowed out in a single stone, were very general in Egypt.

† The question, however, seems decided by the investigations of the French. General Dugua says, that at Methraine, one league from Sakhara, he and his companions found so many blocks of granite covered with hieroglyphics and sculptures around and within an esplanade three leagues in circumference, that they became convinced that these must be the ruins of Memphis. “Besides the sight of some fragments,” adds the General, “of one of the Colossus, which Herodotus says were erected by Sesostris would, indeed, have been sufficient to dissipate our doubts had any remained. M. Jacotin has given a plan of the ruins in the Description de l’Egypte.

‡ Denon, vol. i.

would seem to indicate, it must have been an immense labor to construct a tomb. But we may suppose that such an one, when finished, would serve for ever for the sepulchre of a whole family, or even race; and that some religious worship was regularly paid to the dead; else to what use such labored ornaments in the form of inscriptions never to be read, and a ruinous secret, and buried splendor? At different periods, or at unusual festivals, or when some new inhabitant was conducted to the tombs, funeral rites were unquestionably performed, in which the pomp of ceremony might rival the magnificence of the place. This is more probable, as the richness of decoration in the interior forms a most striking contrast with the outer walls, which are only the rough natural rock. I found one of these caves with a single saloon, in which were an innumerable quantity of graves, cut in the rock in regular order: they had been ransacked on purpose to procure mummies, and I found several fragments of their contents, such as linen, hands, feet, and loose bones."

I cannot forbear to remark in this place, how great a consolation the manner in which the Egyptians preserved their dead, must have been, to those who had lost some beloved relative or dear friend. What a balm it must have been to the wounded heart of a wife who dearly loved her husband, or of a daughter, whose only joy on earth departed with a tender mother, always to have had the opportunity of beholding those features, which, in life, had been the constant object of their sweetest emotions! Why not endeavor to soothe, as much as possible, the sufferings of the human heart? It is easy to say that the body is solely a temporary dwelling of our immortal spirit; but it is more difficult to make this truth understood and truly appreciated by him who mourns the loss of a beloved relative or friend.

In ascending the Nile, we arrive at Abydos, the modern Arabat, where we find several remarkable ruins. Here Mr. W. Bankes, in 1818, discovered the hieroglyphical tablet before alluded to, and which contains a long series of names of kings; proved to be the immediate predecessors of Rameses the Great, whom some consider as the Sesostris of Herodotus, the Sesosis of Diodorus, and the Sethos or Sethosis of Manetho. It was this table which chiefly enabled M. Champollion to ascertain with a high degree of probability, the period in which the sixteenth and following dynasties mentioned by Manetho, must have occupied the throne.

We come now to Dendera, generally considered to be identical with the ancient Tentyra. Here we find some remarkable proofs of the magnificence of architecture, which the ancient Egyptians bestowed upon their temples. The gateway which leads to the temple of Isis, has elicited universal admiration. Each front, as well as the interior, is covered with sculptured hieroglyphics, which are executed with a richness, a precision, an elegance of form and variety of ornament, excelling, in some parts, the similar edifices of Thebes and Philæ. The height is forty-two feet, the width

thirty-three, and the depth seventeen. "Advancing along the brick ruins," says Dr. Richardson, "we came to an elegant gateway or propylon, which is also of sandstone, neatly hewn, and completely covered with sculpture or hieroglyphics, remarkably well cut. Immediately over the centre of the doorway is the beautiful Egyptian ornament, usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematical of the glorious sun poised in the airy firmament of heaven, supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of the Deity. The sublime phraseology of Scripture, 'the Sun of Righteousness shall rise with healing on his wings,' could not be more emphatically or more accurately represented to the human eye, than by this elegant device." This temple retains all its original magnificence. It bears few traces of the destroying effects, which it were reasonable to suppose that so many thousands of years that have passed away since it was built, would naturally have had on it. Mr. Hamilton thinks, that this temple displays the highest degree of architectural skill that had ever been attained by the ancient inhabitants of Egypt.

"The portico consists of twenty-four columns in three rows; each above twenty-two feet in circumference, thirty-two feet high, and covered with hieroglyphics on the front; Isis is generally the principal figure to whom offerings are made. On the architrave are represented two processions of men and women bringing to their goddess, and to Osiris, who is sitting behind her, globes encompassed with cow's horns, mitred snakes, lotus flowers, vases, little boats, graduated staffs, and other instruments of their emblematical worship. The interior of the pronaos is adorned with sculpture, most of them preserving part of the paint with which they have been covered. Those on the ceiling are peculiar, rich and varied, all illustrative of the union between the astronomical and religious creeds of the ancient Egyptians.

"The *sekhos*, or interior of the temple, consists of several apartments, all the walls and ceilings of which are covered with religious and astronomical representations. The roofs, as is usual in Egypt, are flat, formed of oblong masses of stone resting on the side-walls; and when the distance between these is too great, one or two rows of columns are carried down to the middle of the apartment, on which the huge flags are supported. The capitals of these columns are very richly ornamented with the budding lotus, the stalks of which, being extended a certain way down the shaft, give it the appearance of being fluted, or rather scalloped. The rooms have been lighted by small perpendicular holes cut in the ceiling, and, where it was possible to introduce them, by oblique ones in the sides. On one corner of the roof there was a chapel, or temple, twenty feet square, consisting of twelve columns, exactly similar in figure and proportions to those of the pronaos.

"Towards the eastern end of the roof are two separate sets of apartments, one on the north and the other on the south side of it. The latter

consists of three rooms, the first of which is remarkable for the representation of a man, with the head and ears of an ass, kneeling on the ground, tied with his hands behind him, to a tree, with two knives driven into his forehead, two in the shoulders, one in his body, and another in the thigh. Five priests, with the heads of dogs and hawks, are in a row behind him, each having a knife in his hand. The deity before whom the mactation is about to be performed, is clothed in a long white garment, and holds in his right hand the crook or crosier, with the flagellum.

"The ceiling of the next room is divided into two compartments by a figure of Isis in very high relief. In one of them is the circular zodiac; in the other a variety of boats with four or five human figures in each; one of whom is in the act of spearing a large egg, while others are stamping with their feet upon the victims of their fury, among which are several human beings. Near this scene, a large lion supported by four dog-headed figures, each carrying a knife, may be regarded as an additional type of the sanguinary purposes* for which the apartment was used. The walls of the third room are covered with the several representations of a person, first at the point of death lying upon a couch; then stretched out lifeless on a bier; and, finally after, being embalmed.

"The western wall of the great temple is particularly interesting for the extreme elegance of the sculpture—for the richness of the dresses in which the priests and deities are arrayed, and even of the chairs in which the latter are seated. Here are frequent representations of men who seem prepared for slaughter, or just going to be put to death. On these occasions one or more appear with their hands or legs tied to the trunk of a tree, in the most painful and distorted attitudes.

"The grand projecting cornice, one of the most imposing features of Egyptian architecture, is continued the whole length of this and the other walls; a moulding separates it from the building, giving to the whole a solid finished appearance, combined with symmetry of parts and chasteness of ornament.

"In a small chapel behind the temple, the cow and the hawk seem to have been particularly worshipped, as priests are frequently seen kneeling before them, presenting sacrifices and offerings. In the centre of the ceiling is the same front face of Isis in high relief, illuminated, as it were, by a body of rays issuing from the mouth of the same long figure which in the other temples, appears to encircle the heavenly bodies."

The enclosure within which all the sacred edifices of Dendera, with the exception of a propylon, not alluded to above, are contained, is a square of about a thousand feet. It is surrounded by a wall which, where best

* But we know from Herodotus that human sacrifices did not profane the religion of the Egyptians, at least in later times, but prisoners appear sometimes to have been cruelly murdered in honor of the gods.

preserved, is thirty-five feet in height, and fifteen feet thick. There have been at certain intervals projections of the wall or towers; but it is hard to decide whether for purposes of defence or strength.*

Dr. Richardson observes, in reference to the sculptures on the temple of Dendera, that "the female figures are so extremely well executed that they do all but speak, and have a mildness of feature and expression that never was surpassed." The temple of Dendera, says this author, is by far the finest in Egypt, the devices have more soul in them; and the execution is of the choicest description.

In regard to the inside of this magnificent building, Dr. Richardson gives the following description: "The first apartment has three columns on each hand, all covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, and surmounted at the top like those already mentioned, with the head of Isis Quadrifrons. The walls behind the columns are equally enriched, so that here is not a spot the eye can rest on but addresses to the mind a tale of interest and wonder; though no man can read or unfold its precise meaning, yet each forms to himself some conjecture of the story, and is pleased with the constant exercise of his mind. Passing on we entered another apartment which has no columns, but the walls are decorated in the same manner: then we moved into a third, which was equally so, and from thence passages go off to small handsome side-chambers, equally ornamented with figures, and stars, and hieroglyphics, and a sort of chain-work along the ceiling, of a blue color. The passage to the right leads to an easy handsome stair by which to ascend to the top of the building; we continued our way, however, straight forward, and entered another chamber, in the centre of which stands the sanctuary, or holiest apartment, all of them rich in sculpture and hieroglyphics. Never did I see a greater field for thought or reflection, and never did I regret more the want of time than in visiting the superb temple of Dendera."†

I cannot forbear to repeat here the eloquent passage in which the celebrated M. Denon gave expression to the enthusiastic feelings of which the survey of this magnificent fane excited within him. "I would fain," exclaims he, "that I could transfer into the soul of my reader the emotions I experienced. I was too much lost in astonishment to be capable of cool judgment: all that I had hitherto seen, had now the effect the more to increase my admiration. This monument appeared to me to have the primitive character of a temple in the highest perfection. I felt that I was in the sanctuary of the arts and the sciences. How many epochs presented themselves to my imagination, at the sight of such an edifice. How many ages of creative genius were requisite to bring a nation to such a degree of perfection and sublimity in the arts; and how many more of oblivion to cause these mighty works to be forgotten, and to bring back

* Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*, p. 196—204.

† *Travels* Vol. i., p. 205.

the human race to the state of nature in which I found them on this spot ! Never existed there a place which concentrated in a narrower compass the clearly marked memorial of a progressive course of ages. What lasting power, what riches, what abundance, what superfluity of means must a government possess that could rear such an edifice and find among the people it ruled, artists capable of conceiving and executing the design of decorating and enriching with every thing that speaks to the eye and to the understanding ! Never did the works of man exhibit to me the human form in so ancient and so grand a point of view. In the ruins of Tentyra, the Egyptians appeared to me giants, and I wished to note down every thing on paper, but I could hardly resolve on daring to undertake the work. I felt that, being unable to raise my powers to the height which was before my admiring eyes, I could only show the imperfection of the imitative art. I was confused by the vast number of objects, astonished by their novelty, and racked by the fear of never seeing them again. On turning my eyes to the ceilings I perceived zodiacs, planetary systems, and celestial hemispheres, represented in a beautiful manner ; I saw that the Supreme Being, the First Cause, was every where depicted by the emblems of his attributes ; and I had but a few hours to examine, to reflect, and to copy what it had been the labor of ages to conceive, to form, and to decorate. With my pencil in hand, I passed from object to object, distracted from one by the inviting appearance of the next, constantly attracted to new subjects, and again torn from them, I wanted eyes, hands, and intelligence vast enough to see, copy, and reduce to some order the multitude of striking images, which presented themselves before me. I felt myself ashamed at representing such sublime objects by such imperfect designs, but I wished to preserve some memorial of the sensations which I here experienced, and I feared that Tentyra would escape me for ever ;* so that my regret equalled my present enjoyment. I had just discovered, in a small apartment, a celestial planisphere, when the last rays of daylight made me perceive that I was here alone, along with the kind and obliging General Belliard, who, after having satisfied his own curiosity, would not leave me unprotected in so deserted a spot.†

* M. Denon returned, however, at a subsequent period, to his interesting scene of antiquities, when he copied the zodiac and the celestial planisphere, which have excited a great deal of discussion among European scholars. He copied also the rest of the ceiling, which is divided in two equal parts by a large figure that seems to be Isis, her feet resting upon earth, her arms extended towards heaven, while she appears to occupy all the space between.

† Voyages dans La Basse et la Haute Egypte, par Vivant Denon. " Je voudrais pouvoir faire passer dans l'âme de mes lecteurs la sensation que j'éprouvai. J'étois trop étonné pour juger ; tout ce que j'avais vu jusqu' alors en architecture ne pouvoit servir à régler ici mon admiration. Ce monument me sembla porter un caractère primitif, avoir par excellence celui d'un temple. Je crus être, j'étois réellement dans le sanctuaire des art et des sciences. Que d'époque se présentèrent à mon imagination, à la vue d'un tel édifice ! que de siècles il

From certain figures which are found in the celestial planisphere to which M. Denon alludes, De La Lande arrived at the conclusion that it must have been constructed at a period when the summer solstice was in the *middle* of the sign Cancer, or, in other words, about three thousand years ago; but by another process of calculation, Mr. Hamilton* infers, that to this astronomical pictures cannot be assigned an antiquity less remote than four thousand five hundred years—the period which must have elapsed during the passage of the sun through the two adjacent signs of Leo and Cancer, according to the annual procession of the equinoxes. The calumny with which these writers have been assailed, by those who were equally ignorant as fanatic, cannot the least invalidate the importance of their scientific conclusions.

From the ruins of Tintyra, we hasten now with M. Denon, to those of

a fallu pour amener une nation créatrice à de pareils résultats, à ce degré de perfection et de sublimité, dans les arts ! combien d'autres siècles pour produire l'oubli de tant de choses, et ramener l'homme sur le même sol à l'état de nature où nous l'avons trouvé ! jamais tant d'espace dans un seul point ; jamais les pas du temps plus prononcés et mieux suivis. Quelle constante puissance, quelle richesse, quelle abondance, quelle superfluité de moyens dans le gouvernement qui peut faire élever un tel édifice, et qui trouve dans la nation des hommes capable de le concevoir, de l'exécuter, de la décorer, de l'enrichir de tout ce qui parle aux yeux et à l'esprit ! jamais d'une manière plus rapprochée le travail des hommes ne me les avoit présentés si anciens et si grands : dans les ruines de Tintyra les Egyptiens me parurent des géants.

"J'ansois voulu tout dessiner, et je n'osois mettre la main à l'œuvre ; je sentois que, ne pouvant m'élever à la hauteur de ce que j'admirois, j'allois rapetisser ce que je voudrois imiter ; j'étois agité de la multiplicité des objets, émerveillé de leur nouveauté, tourmenté de la crainte de ne pas les revoir. J'avois aperçu sur des plafonds des systèmes planétaires, des zodiacs, des planisphères célestes, présentés dans une ordonnance pleine de goût ; j'avois vu—que l'Être suprême, le premier principe, étoit porté représenté par les emblèmes de ses qualités :—et je n'avois que quelques heures pour observer, pour réfléchir, pour dessiner ce qui avoit coûté des siècles à concevoir à construire, à décorer. La croyon à la main, je passois d'objets en objets ; distrait de l'un par l'intérêt de l'autre, toujours attiré, toujours arraché, il me manquoit des yeux, des mains, et une tête assez vaste pour voire dessiner, et mettre quelque ordre à tout ce dont j'étois frappé. J'avois honte des dessins insuffisants que je faisois de choses si sublimes ; mais je voulois des souvenirs des sensations que je venois d'éprouver ; je craignois que Tintyra ne m'échappât pour toujours, et mes regrets égaloient mes jouissances. Je venois de découvrir dans un petit appartement un planisphere céleste, lorsque les derniers royaumes du jour me firent apercevoir que j'étois seul avec le constamment bon et complaisant Général Belliard, qui, après avoir vu pour lui, n'avoit pas voulu m'abandonner dans un lieu si desert." As this is an abbreviation of M. Denon's language, which I have freely translated, I add here a few more words of what he utters on the same occasion. "Quant au caractère de leur figure humaine, n'empruntant rien des autres nations, ils ont copié leur propre nature, qui étoit plus gracieuse que belle. Celles des femmes ressemble encore à la figure des jolies femmes d'aujourd'hui : de la rondeur, de la volapté ; le nez petit ; les yeux longs, peu ouverts, et relevés à l'angle extérieur comme tout les peuples dont cet organe est fatigué par l'ardeur du soleil ou la blancheur de la neige ; les pommettes des joues en peu grosses les lèvres bordées, la bouche grande, mais riante et gracieux, en tout, le caractère Africain, dont le Negro est la charge et peut-être le principe.

* See *Egyptiaca*, p. 215.

Thebes;* and we will listen to the words in which he gives vent to his thoughts, at the first view of the remains of this famous capital:—

At nine o'clock, in making an abrupt turn around a projecting point, we discovered, all at once, the site of ancient Thebes in its whole extent. This city, the size of which Homer has described by the single expression of the *hundred-gated*—a boasting and poetical phrase, which has been repeated with so much confidence for so many centuries;—this city, of which the Egyptian priests gave an oral description to Herodotus, and which he wrote down on a few pages, and which has since been copied by every historian;—this city, celebrated for the number of its kings, whose wisdom had raised them to the rank of gods;—for laws which have been revered without being promulgated;—for science preserved in pompous and enigmatical inscriptions, the first monuments of ancient learning, which are still spared by the hand of time;—this abandoned sanctuary, surrounded with barbarism, and again restored to the desert from which it had been drawn forth, enveloped in the veil of mystery and the obscurity of ages; whereby even its own colossal monuments are magnified to the eye;—still impressed the mind with such gigantic phantoms, that the whole army suddenly, and with one accord, stood amazed at the sight of its scattered ruins; and clapped their hands with delight, as if the end and object of their glorious toils, and the total conquest of Egypt, were accomplished and secured, by taking possession of the remains of this ancient metropolis.†

* "The name of Thebes," says Wilkinson, "is corrupted from the Tápé of the ancient Egyptian language, which, in the Memphis dialect of Coptic, is pronounced Thaba, easily converted into Θάβαι or Thebes. Pliny and Juvenal call it Thebe. In hieroglyphics it is written Ap, Ape, or with the feminine article Tape, the meaning of which appears to be "the head," Thebes being the capital of the country. Thebes was also called Diospolis (Magna), which answers to *Amunet*. "the abode of Amun," the Egyptian Jupiter. The city stood partly on the east, partly on the west of the Nile, though the name Tape (Thebes) was applied to the whole city on either bank. The western division had the distinctive appellation of Pathyris, or, as Ptolemy writes it, Tathyris, being under the peculiar protection of Athor, who is called "President of the West." For though Amun was the chief deity worshipped there, as well as in other quarters of Diospolis, Athor had a peculiar claim over the Necropolis beneath the western mountain, where she was fabulously reported to receive the setting sun into her arms."—P. 137, vol. ii.

† P. 185. "A neuf heures, en détournant la pointe d'une chaîne de montagnes qui forme un promontoire, nous découvrîmes tout-à-coup l'emplacement de l'antique Thebes dans tout son développement; cette ville dont une seule expression d'Homère nous a peint l'étendue, cette Thebes *aux cent portes*; phrase poétique et vaine que l'on répète avec confiance depuis tant de siècles. Décrite dans quelques pages dictées à Hérodote par des prêtres Egyptiens, et copiées depuis par tous les autres historiens; célèbre par ce nombre de rois que leur sagesse a mis au rang des dieux, par des lois que l'on a révérees sans jamais les connaître, par des sciences confiées à de fastueuses et énigmatiques inscriptions, dotées et premières monuments des arts, respectés par le temps; ce sanctuaire abandonné, isolé par la barbarie et rendu au désert sur lequel il avoit été conquis; cette cité enfin toujours enveloppée du voile du mystère par lequel les colosses même sont agrandis; cette cité reléguée, que l'imagination n'entrevoit plus qu'à travers l'obscurité des temps, étoit encore un fantôme si gigantesque

Mr. Wilkinson says, that "the most ancient remains now existing of Thebes are unquestionably, in the great temple of Karnah, the largest and most splendid ruin of which, perhaps, either ancient or modern times can boast; being the work of a number of successive monarchs, each anxious to surpass his predecessor by increasing the dimensions and proportions of the part he added. It is this fact which enables us to account for the diminutive size of the older parts of this extensive building; and to their comparatively limited scale, offering greater facility, as their vicinity to the sanctuary greater temptation, to an invading enemy to destroy them, added to their remote antiquity, are to be attributed their dilapidated state and the total disappearance of the sculptures executed during the reigns of the Pharaohs, who preceded Osortasen the First, and the earliest monarch whose name exists on the monuments of Thebes."

In regard to the effect which a part of the ruins of Thebes had upon Mr. Lushington, this traveler expresses himself in the following words: "While I was leisurely traveling along, thinking only of our arrival at Luxor, one of the party who had preceded us, called to me from a rising ground to turn to the left; and having gone a few yards off the road, I beheld unexpectedly the temple of Karnah. It was long after I had reached my tent ere I recovered from the bewilderment into which the view of those stupendous ruins had thrown me. No one who has not seen them can understand the awe and admiration they excite even in unscientific beholders. When I compare the descriptions of Denon and Hamilton, I find them essentially correct, yet without giving any adequate idea of the glorious reality. They fail in describing what has never been, and which, I think, never can be described. No words can impart a perception of the profusion of pillars, standing prostrate, inclining against each other, broken and whole. Stone of gigantic size, propped up by pillars, and pillars again resting upon stones which appear ready to crush the gazer under their sudden fall; yet, on a second view, he is convinced that nothing but an earthquake could move them; all these pillars, covered with sculpture, perhaps three thousand years old, though fresh as if finished yesterday,—not of grotesque and hideous objects, such as we are accustomed to associate with ideas of Egyptian mythology, but many of the figures of gods, warriors and horses, much larger than life, yet exhibiting surpassing beauty and grace.*

Hamilton and Wilkinson agree, that there are no ruins at Thebes corresponding with the description which Hecateus and Diodorus have given of the tomb of Osymandias; but still I can scarcely think that Diodorus would have been imposed upon so far as to confirm a description of a structure which had no existence in reality.

pour notre imagination, que l'armée, à l'aspect de ses ruines éparses, s'arrêta d'elle-même, et par un mouvement spontané, battit des mains, comme si l'occupation des restes de cette capitale eût été le but de ses glorieux travaux eût complété la conquête de l'Égypte.

* Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe, by Charles Lushington, p. 61.

When approaching from the north the temple of Luxor,* the first object which presents itself to the eye is a magnificent gateway, which is two hundred feet in length, and the top of it fifty-seven feet above the present level of the soil. In front of the entrance there are two of the most perfect obelisks in the world, each consisting of a single block of granite. They are between seven and eight feet square at the base and more than eighty feet high; many of the hieroglyphical figures, with which they are covered being an inch and three-quarters deep, cut with the greatest nicety and precision. Between these obelisks and the propylon or gateway, are two colossal statues, also of red granite; they are nearly of equal size, but from the difference of the dress, it is inferred that the one is a male and the other a female figure.

The attention of the traveler is soon attracted to the sculptures which are on the eastern wing of the north front of the propylon, and which give a very animated description of some remarkable event in the campaign of some one of the Egyptian kings. The disposition of the figures and the execution of the whole picture are equally admirable, and much surpass all ideas that have ever been formed of the state of the arts in Egypt at the period to which they must be attributed. The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon their stronghold, and the Egyptians in the full career of victory are about to become masters of the citadel.

The conqueror, behind whom is carried aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than all the other warriors, standing erect in a car drawn by two horses. His helmet is adorned with a globe and has a serpent on each side. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched; around him are quivers, and at his feet a lion in the act of rushing forward. There is much life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop—feathers waving over their heads, and the reins fastened round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car, and under the hoofs and bellies of the horses, are crowds of the dead and wounded warriors. On the side of the enemy, horses are seen in full speed with empty cars; others heedless of the rein; and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice into a broad and deep river which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good. Nowhere has the artist shown more skill than in two particular groups; in one of which the horses arrived at the verge of the precipice, one instantly plunged headlong, while the driver, clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, and his whole body trembling with despair, is about to be hurled over the backs of his steeds. In the other the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill, and are

* The ancient Thebes forms now four small towns—Luxor, Karnah, Gourinou, and Medinet Abou.

hurrying forward the charioteers to inevitable destruction. Immediately in front of the conqueror are several cars in full speed for the walls of the tower; but even in these the charioteers and men of war are not safe from the arrows shot from his never-erring bow; and when wounded they look back on their pursuer as they fall. Farther on, more fortunate fugitives are passing the river; in which are mingled horses, chariots, arms and men, expressed in the most faithful manner, floating or sunk. Some have already reached the opposite bank, where their friends, who are drawn up in order of battle, but venture not to go out to the fight, drag them to the shore; others having escaped by another road, are entering the gates of the town amid the shrieks and lamentations of those within. Towers, ramparts, and battlements are crowded with inhabitants, who are chiefly bearded old men and women. A party of the former are seen sallying forth, headed by a youth whose peculiar dress and high turban mark him out as some distinguished chieftain. On each side of the town are large bodies of infantry and a great force of chariots issuing out of the gates, and advancing apparently by different routes to attack the besiegers.

The impetuosity with which the hero of the picture is advancing has already carried him far beyond the main body of his own army, and he is there alone, among the slain and wounded who have sunk under the strokes of his powerful arm. Behind this scene the two lines of the enemy join their forces, and attack in a body the army of the invaders, who move on to meet them. Besides the peculiarity of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture, there may be traced an evident distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians and the long robes of their oriental enemies. The different forms of the car or chariot—the Egyptian containing two warriors, the foreign vehicle being loaded with three; and above all, the difference of their arms,—the soldiers of the Egyptian king having a bow and arrows, while their adversaries vibrate spears or brandish short javelins.*

At one extremity of the western wing or the propylon, the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy, and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing, the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and enjoying the cruel spectacle of eleven of the principal chieftains among his captives, lashed together in a row with a rope about their necks; the foremost stretches out his hand for mercy, and in

* The number of human figures in this battle scene is not less than fifteen hundred, five hundred of which are on foot, the rest in chariots.

† Cruelty has always been among the Asiatic nations the criterion of courage; and the Egyptians appear not to have lacked the same appreciation of this quality; thus confirming a remark of Mr. Gibbon that "conquerors and poets of every age have felt the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror."—Vol. ii., c. 64.

vain implores for a reprieve from the fate of his companions: close to him is the twelfth on his knees, just going to be put to death by the hands of two executioners. Above them is the captive sovereign, with his hands behind him tied to a car, to which two horses are harnessed; these are held by an attendant, from rushing onward, till the monarch shall mount and drag behind him the unfortunate victim of his triumph. Behind the throne different captives are suffering death in various ways: some the executioner, like Briareus, holds by the hair of the head; others are dragged by chariots, or slain by arrows, or by the scimitar. Next appears in view the conqueror's camp, around which are placed his treasures, and where his servants are preparing a feast to celebrate the victory."

"It is impossible," says Mr. Hamilton, "to view and to reflect upon a picture so copious and so detailed as this I have just described, without fancying that I saw here the original of many of Homer's battles, the portrait of some of the historical narratives of Herodotus, and one of the principal groundworks of the descriptions of Diodorus: and to complete the gratification, we felt that had the artist been better acquainted with the rules and use of perspective, the performance might have done credit to the genius of a Michael Angelo, or a Julio Romano. To add to the effect, in front of this wall had been erected a row of colossal statues of granite; fragments of some of them still there sufficiently attest their size, their character, and the exquisite polish of the stone."

Thus the Egyptians have, in this sculpture, lavished on a gateway, given a no less animated description of one of their great victories than what the pens of many celebrated historians have furnished us with of battles, which by their pens have become famous. It must be admitted, that no people has ever evinced, in a higher degree than did the Egyptians, the laudable desire to hand down to posterity, the memory not only of certain great events, but also of their religious culture, of their amusements, and even of their daily occupations. Thus, though their historical records are lost, their history is partly preserved in the monuments and the works of sculpture yet extant.

Passing through the gateway above described, we enter a ruined portico of very large dimensions; and from this a double row of seven columns, with lotus capitals, and twenty-two feet in circumference, conduct us into a court one hundred and sixty feet long and one hundred and forty wide, terminated on each side by a row of columns; beyond which is another portico of thirty-two columns, opening into the adytum or the interior building. It is conjectured by some travelers, that this is the edifice to which the description of Diodorus applies, as the palace or tomb of the great Osymondias; in which description, however, the historian is supposed to have introduced some of the more striking features that distinguish the largest buildings of Thebes.

We return now to the temple of Karnah, of which we have already

spoken, and which, in respect to its magnitude and the beauty of its several parts, has been deemed by many to stand unrivalled in the world. This edifice has twelve principal entrances, each of which is composed of several propyla and colossal gateways, besides other buildings attached to them, that in themselves are larger than most other temples. The sides of some of these are equal to the bases of the greater number of pyramids in Middle Egypt, and are built in the rustic style, each layer of stone projecting a little beyond that which is above it. One of the propyla is entirely of granite, decorated with the most finished hieroglyphics. On the sides of many of them, have been erected colossal statues of basalt and granite, from twenty to thirty feet in height, some in the attitude of sitting, and others standing erect. The avenues of sphinxes that lead in several directions to the propyla—one of which was continued the whole way across the plain to the temple of Luxor, nearly two miles distant—correspond to the magnificence of the principal structure. And the body of the temple—which is preceded by a large court, at whose sides are colonnades of thirty columns in length, and through the middle of which are two rows not less than fifty feet high—consists, first of a prodigious hall or portico, the roof sustained by one hundred and thirty-four pillars, some of which are twenty-six feet in circumference, and others thirty-four. Next we meet with four beautiful obelisks, marking the entrance to the adytum, near which the monarch is represented as embraced by the arms of Isis. This sanctuary consists of three apartments, entirely of granite. The principal room is in the centre: it is twenty feet long, sixteen wide, and thirteen feet high. Three blocks of granite form the roof, which is painted with clusters of stars on a blue ground. The walls are also adorned with painted sculptures, of a character admirably suited to the mysterious purposes to which the chamber was sometimes devoted.* Further on there are other porticos and galleries, distant about two thousand feet from that of the western extremity of the temple.

Denon says, at the end of the description which he has given, that "one becomes fatigued with writing and with reading, and is overwhelmed with the thought of such a conception. It is almost impossible to believe, after having seen it, in the reality of the existence of so many buildings collected on a single point, in their dimensions, in the firm perseverance which their construction required, and in the immense expense of so much magnificence. On examining these ruins, the imagination is wearied with the idea of describing them. Of the hundred columns of the porticos alone of this temple, the smallest are seven feet and a half in diameter, and the largest twelve. The space occupied by this circumvallation contains lakes and mountains. In short, to be able to form a competent idea of so much magnificence, it is necessary that the reader should fancy what is before

* See Herodotus, book i., p. 182.

him to be a dream, as he who views the objects themselves occasionally yields to the doubt whether he be perfectly awake."

The dimensions of the great temple of Karnak, are about twelve hundred feet in length, and four hundred and twenty in width. This building is supposed by some to be that which Diodorus Siculus has described as the most wonderful and the most ancient of the four temples of Thebes, remarkable for their magnificence and beauty. In enumerating its colossal dimensions, he says, that it was thirteen stadia—a mile and a half—in circumference, forty-five cubits high, and the walls twenty-four feet thick; adding, that the ornaments, riches, and workmanship which were united in embellishing it, corresponded to its vast extent. Great, however, as the dimensions mentioned by Diodorus are, they nevertheless, in some instances, fall short of the truth.

According to Dr. Richardson, this temple, grand and imposing as it is, still loses much of its effect, when compared with the number and extent of buildings which surround it—the prodigious gateways of polished granite, covered with sculpture and adorned with colossal statues—the subordinate temples which anywhere else would be esteemed magnificent piles—and the avenues which lead to it from almost every point of the compass, miles in length, and guarded by rows of sphynxes of vast size, cut out of single blocks of syenite granite. The field of ruins at Karnak occupies an area of about a mile in diameter, and probably the whole of this space was, in the proud day of Thebes, consecrated solely to religious purposes.

Luxor and Karnak represent only one-half of ancient Thebes. On the other side of the Nile, at Dair and Medinet Abou, we find also ruins of magnificent temples. The propylon of the latter is about one hundred and seventy-five feet long, and the temple itself is in length more than five hundred feet, while the cella is nearly one hundred and fifty broad without the walls. Still more remarkable are the ruins of the Memnonium, which give celebrity to the northern Dair. This is fronted by a stupendous propylon, of which two hundred and thirty-four feet in length are still remaining. The main edifice has been about two hundred feet wide, and six hundred feet long; containing six courts and chambers, passing from side to side, with about one hundred and sixty columns thirty feet high.

Dr. Richardson mentions a circumstance which is important, so far as to attest the grandeur of ancient Thebes. The temple at Medinet Abou was so placed as to be exactly opposite to that of Luxor, on the other side of the Nile; while the superb structure at Karnak was fronted by the Memnonium or temple at Dair; and hence all these grand objects formed so many prominent points in the religious processions of the priests. The tabernacle of Jupiter, which generally dwelt at Karnak, the proper Diospolis, was nevertheless carried over the river every year, and remained a few days in Libya; and it is found from a general estimate, that there was

a space of between nine and ten miles over which they might exhibit the pomp and parade of their religious worship both in going and returning. Almost all this whole road was lined with sphynxes, statues, propyla, and other objects calculated to fire the ardor of devotion. In all the imposing ceremonies of pagan idolatry, it is impossible to conceive anything more imposing than the view which must have burst upon the eyes of the enraptured votaries, when at the close of the solemnity their god was brought back, and they entered the stupendous temple of Karnak to replace him in his shrine, with harps and cymbals and songs of rejoicing.

In the Memnonium the statue of Osymandias or Sesostris is still to be seen. It is said to be by far the most admirable relic of art which the place contains, and to have been once its brightest ornament; but it has been thrown down from its pedestal, laid prostrate on the ground, and shattered into a thousand pieces. It measures about twenty-six feet between the shoulders, fifty-four feet round the chest, and thirteen feet from the shoulder to the elbow. There are on the back and both arms hieroglyphic inscriptions, beautifully done, which identify the prodigious statue with the hero, whose achievements are engrafted upon the walls of the temple.

There have been those who have confounded this statue with that which bears the name of Memnon, and which has long been famous for its vocal qualities. This last, however, is one of the two which stand at a little distance from Medinet Abou towards the Nile. We are told that these are nearly equal in magnitude, being about fifty-two feet in height. The thrones on which they respectively rest, are thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and between seven and eight feet high. They are placed about forty feet asunder, stand in line with each other, and face the east directly opposite to the temple of Luxor. The southern one appears to be somewhat smaller in size, and to be of one entire block of stone. The face, arms, and front of the body have been so roughly handled, that not a feature of the countenance remains. The head-dress is charmingly wrought, as also the shoulders, which, together with the back, continue quite uninjured. The massy hair projects from behind the ears like that of the sphynx. The sides of the throne are highly ornamented with the elegant device of two bearded figures tying the stem of the flexible lotus around the ligula. The colossus is in a sitting posture, with its hands resting upon its knees, and on the outside of each of its limbs there is a small statue, with spiked crowns on their heads, and their arms hanging by their side. They stand up in front of the throne, and reach nearly to the knees of the great statue whose legs are divided, and between whose feet there is another diminutive figure, with its head not rising higher than the two just described.

The other colossus has been the wonder of the ancients, and the subject of some controversy among modern writers; "nor were the numerous descriptions," says Wilkinson, "which decide it to have been the Memnon

of the Romans, sufficient to convince every one, that this was the statue reported by ancient writers to utter a sound. Strabo, who visited it with *Ælius Gallas*, the governor of Egypt, confesses that he heard a sound, but could not affirm whether it proceeded from the pedestal or from the statue itself, or even from some of those who stood near its base, and independent of his total disbelief that it was uttered by the stone itself, he does not hint that the name of *Memnon* had as yet been given to it. The superstition, however, of the Roman visitors shortly after, ascribed it to the son of *Tithonus*, and a multitude of inscriptions testified his miraculous powers, and the credulity of the writers."

Previous to Strabo's time, the "upper part of this statue above the throne had been broken and hurled down," as he was told, "by an earthquake;" nor do the repairs it has subsequently received appear to date anterior to the time of *Juvenal*, since he thus refers to its fractured condition.

"*Dimidiæ magicæ resonant ubi Memnonæ chordæ.*"*

The sound uttered was said to resemble the breaking of a harp-string, or—as a witness whose authority seems preferable—"a metallic ring." "The memory of its daily performance," says *Mr. Wilkinson*, "about the first or second hour after sunrise, is still retained in the traditional appellation of *Salumat*—salutations—by the modern inhabitants of Thebes. The priests, who, no doubt, contrived the sound of the statue, were artful enough to allow the supposed deity to fail occasionally in his accustomed habit, and some were consequently disappointed on their first visit, and obliged to return another morning to satisfy their curiosity." The deity was, on the contrary, polite enough to salute the emperor *Adrian* and his queen *Sabina* thrice.†

In the lap of the statue is a stone, which on being struck emits a metallic sound, that might still be made use of to deceive a visitor who was predisposed to believe its powers; and from its position and the squared space cut in the block behind, as if to admit a person who might thus lie concealed from the most scrutinizing observer in the plain below, it seems to have been used after the restoration of the statue; and another similar recess exists beneath the present site of this stone, which might have been intended for the same purpose, when the statue was in its mutilated state. "Mr. Burton and myself," says the same writer, "first remarked the metallic sound of this stone in 1824, and conjectured that it might have been used to deceive the Roman visitors; but the nature of the sound, which did not agree with the accounts given by ancient authors, seemed to present an insuperable objection. During a subsequent visit to

* *Juv. Sat. xv.*

† "*χαίρων καὶ τρίτον αὖρον ἐν,*" rejoicing (at the presence of the emperor,) it uttered a sound the third time.

Thebes, 1880, on again examining the statue and its inscriptions, I found that one Bollilla had compared it to the striking of brass; and feeling convinced that this authority was more decisive than the vague accounts of those writers who had never heard it, I determined on posting some peasants below, and ascending myself to the lap of the statue, with a view of hearing from them the impression made by the sound. Having struck the sonorous block with a small hammer, I inquired what they had heard, and their answer "Ente betlidrob enákás" (you are striking brass,) convinced me, that the sound was the same that deceived the Romans, and led Strabo to observe, that it appeared to him as the effect of a *blow*. The learned Letronne seems to think, that this way of accounting for the sound is not admissible."

"The form of these colossi," says Mr. Wilkinson, also "resembles that mentioned by Diodorus in the tomb of Osymandias."

The temple, whose approach they were appointed to guard, was caused to be uncovered by Mr. Salt, who at the same time brought to light a number of sphynxes, with the lion's head on the body of a woman, and who traced the foundation and columns of a magnificent building, which has since proved to have been a palace of Amunoph the 3d.

Not far from Thebes we find the Necropolis or "the City of the Dead." Entertaining the belief that man for a short period only, sojourns among the living, and that the tomb is his lasting dwelling-place, the inhabitants of Thebes lavished a great deal of wealth and taste on the embellishments of their sepulchres. The mountainous or the western side of this superb metropolis have been almost entirely excavated in order to supply tombs for the mass of its population; while a valley in its vicinity, remarkable for its solitary and gloomy aspect, seems to have been selected by the higher classes as the receptacle of their perishable remains.

One of these immense vaults was discovered and is described by Mr. Belzoni. After a great deal of labor, he reached the entrance of a spacious and magnificent tomb, twenty-seven feet long and twenty-five broad; the roof being supported by pillars fully four feet square. At its opposite end is a large door which opens into another chamber twenty-eight feet by twenty-five; the walls being covered with figures, which, though only drawn in outlines, are so perfectly preserved, that one would think that they had been finished only the day before. Returning into the entrance hall, there is seen a large staircase descending into a passage. It is thirteen feet long, seven and a half in width, and has eighteen steps, leading at the bottom to a beautiful corridor of large dimensions. The paintings become more perfect the farther one advances into the interior preserving their gloss or a kind of varnish laid over the colors, which had a beautiful effect; being usually executed on a white ground. At the end of this passage one descends by ten steps into another apartment or tomb equally splendid, from which one enters into a chamber twenty-four feet by thirteen and so

beautifully adorned with sculptures and paintings that Mr. Belzoni called it the room of beauty. When standing in this apartment the visitor is surrounded by an assembly of Egyptian gods and goddesses, whose presence might have been regarded as hallowing or perhaps protecting the remains of the dead.

Proceeding farther, one enters a very large hall, in which are two rows of square pillars, three on each side of the entrance, forming a line with the corridors. At either side of this hall, called by the same traveler "Hall of Pillars," is a small chamber, in one of which, there is a figure of a cow; and in the other, many emblematical drawings. There is another apartment facing the "Hall of Pillars," which is forty-three feet long by seventeen broad, and adorned with a variety of columns. It is covered with white plaster where the rocks were not cut smoothly: in this room Belzoni discovered the carcass of a bull embalmed with asphaltum, and therefore he called this chamber the room of Apis. "But," says Mr. Belzoni, "the description of what we found in the centre of the saloon, and which I have reserved till this place as deserving the most particular attention, as not having its equal in the world and being such as we could not imagine any thing of the like to exist. It is a sarcophagus of the finest oriental alabaster, nine feet five inches long and three feet seven inches wide; its thickness being only two inches, it is transparent when a light is placed within the inside of it. It is minutely sculptured within and without with several hundred figures, which do not exceed two inches in height, and represent, as I suppose, the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies relating to the deceased. I cannot give an adequate idea of this beautiful and invaluable piece of antiquity, and can only say that nothing has been brought into Europe from Egypt that can be compared with it. The cover was not there: it had been taken out and broken into several pieces, which we found in digging before the first entrance."*

The sarcophagus was placed over a staircase in the centre of the saloon, communicating with a subterraneous passage three hundred feet in length, which seemed to proceed from the very heart of the mountain. It is evident that great pains have been taken to conceal the apartment in which this sarcophagus stands. The walls of nearly all the apartments are embellished with splendid paintings and sculptures, among which there is one piece representing a military procession, consisting of many figures, all looking towards a man who is much superior to them in size. At the close of this pageantry there are three different varieties of people, from as many nations; evidently Jews, Ethiopians and Asiatics. Behind them are some Egyptians without their military costumes, as if they were captives rescued and returning to their own country, followed by a hawk-headed

* Dr. Clarke pronounced the stone of which the sarcophagus is composed to be of a rarer and more precious species than alabaster.

figure, presumed to be the protecting deity. As the names of Necho and Psammis have been discovered in hieroglyphics on this tomb, and as we know that Pharaoh Necho conquered Jerusalem and made a victorious invasion of Assyria, though at last conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and as his son Psammis, or Psammuthis, made war on the Ethiopians—we can easily explain the piece of sculpture just alluded to.

We now bid farewell to

The world's great empress on the Egyptian plains,
That spread her conquest o'er a thousand states,
And poured her heroes through a hundred gates;
Two hundred horsemen and two hundred cars
From each wide portal issued to the wars."

LETTER XXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE SURVEY OF THE RUINS OF THE WORKS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

IN ascending farther up the Nile we notice the grottoes of Eliathies, which are very interesting as representing, in the paintings that adorn the walls, many of the pursuits and habits which illustrate the private life of the ancient Egyptians. In the largest of these grottoes one side of the wall is occupied with the picture of a feast, at which the master and the mistress are seated together on a chair richly dressed, while a favorite monkey at their feet is regaling itself on a basket of grapes. A servant, part of whose livery is the skin of a leopard, appears to introduce the guests who are sitting in rows; the men and women each with a lotus in their hands. To some of these the attendants present bowls and dishes, according to the usage which still prevails in many parts of the East. Behind the visitors are tables covered with sundry kinds of food, while the banquet is enlivened by the presence of a band of musicians and dancers. One woman there is playing on a harp; another on a double flute; three others are dancing in the style of those females known at Cairo under the name of Almei; and a small figure apart, is performing similar motions with the sword in each hand. The master is then represented walking—attended by his servants, who, among other things, are carrying a chair, a water-jar, and a mat—to visit his laborers while at work; and accordingly the artist has depicted the mode of hoeing, plowing, rowing and rolling, of reaping the corn and gathering it in, of winnowing the grain, and the transportation of

it to the granary, and, finally, the embarkation of bread or biscuit on board the Djerms. The farm-yard is next seen crowded with oxen, cows, sheep, asses, mules, goats, and other animals. There is also represented the vintage and the process of making wine, as well as the mode of catching and salting fish and water-fowls. At last fruits are seen presented to the master and his friends, and offerings of gratitude made to the gods.

In another part of the scene the flax-harvest is represented. The whole process of pulling the crop up by the roots, of carrying it away in small bundles and combing it, is depicted in a very ingenious and vivid manner. The complexion of the men is red and of the women yellow; the laborers are dressed in a sort of scull-cap, and in short close drawers, having very little hair on their heads, while those who appear to be the superintendents wear bushy locks swelling out on the temples.

The manner of fowling on the lotus plantations is sketched in connexion with the above picture. The moment of action which the artist has chosen is that when one of the men, set to watch the birds, gives the signal to his companions that the nets are full, while they seem to be on the point of being quickly closed.*

"The following are the principal features," says Hamilton, "in the representation of the funeral procession in the largest of these sepulchral chambers. The first part of it has arrived at the temple; the latter part appears just setting out. To begin with the last group, which is on the upper line of figures:—Four men and two oxen are drawing a kind of boat-sledge, in which is a sarcophagus placed on a bier, towards the gate of the house or city. The embalmed body of the deceased rests on the bier. Behind it are three men with cylindrical rolls in their hands, probably the will or last judgment of the deceased. The coffin is surrounded by women wringing their hands in affliction and men with torches, others with lifted hands. In the second line another boat or sledge is drawn by two men, in which two mummies are placed upright, according to the custom of the Egyptians to introduce their embalmed ancestors into their most solemn rites. Without the gate men and boys are dancing; before them is carried a chest, containing perhaps spices and gums to be thrown over the body at the time of interment, or the small deities which were placed alongside of it; another boat on the water, worked by a kind of paddle at the stern, in which are three figures, one of them wringing her hands. In another boat is a man kneeling and presenting a water-jar and basin to a fox; and within a narrow building, in the same boat, are a lighted torch, and a woman kneeling with a child in her arms. There are then two or three men drawing a sledge with a kind of bundle upon it, preceded by two others, each carrying a lotus in his hand.

"At the beginning of the fourth line, the body—having now passed the

* Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*, p. 92—100.

water—appears to be placed within the sarcophagus instead of upon it, and together with the spices and Penotes it is drawn on a boat-sledge towards the door of some sacred building, where the priest receives it, holding a palm-branch in his hand. Behind the building are several trees, to represent the sacred groves which surrounded the Egyptian temples. Within are ten niches, three of which are open, and contain each a deity with the human body and the head of an animal. In the next line, men and women* are presenting offerings to the presiding Deities of the place; these chiefly consist of flowers and fruits, among which the lotus is most conspicuous; and the whole is closed by a large figure of Osiris, armed with the crook and flagellum.

“Around all these sculptures, at the top and bottom of the walls are regular rows of hieroglyphic writing, serving as their border and cornice, and at the same time explanatory of the scenes contained within them.”

Leaving the grottoes of Eliathies and proceeding to Edfou, the Apollinopolis Magna of the Greeks, we find there two temples in a state of great preservation: one of them consisting of high pyramidal propyla, a pronaos, portico, and sekos, the form most generally used in Egypt; the other is periptoral, and is at the same time distinguished by displaying, on its several columns, the appalling figure of Typhon—the emblem of the Evil Principle.

The pyramidal propylon which forms the principal entrance to the greater temple, is one of the most imposing monuments extant of Egyptian architecture. Each of the sides is a hundred feet in length, thirty wide, and a hundred high. Many of the figures sculptured on it are thirty feet in height, and are executed in a masterly and animated style, adding thus much to the grand effect of the building itself. In each division there is a staircase of one hundred and fifty or more steps, which conduct the visitor into spacious apartments at different elevations. In no part of Egypt are more colossal sculptures to be seen than on the larger temple of Edfou, which is said to be extremely well executed, and in some cases retaining their colors still completely unchanged. Priests are seen paying divine honors to the Scarabæus, or beetle, placed upon the altar. This insect is said to have been typical of the sun, either because it changes its appearance and place of abode every six months, or because it is wonderfully productive.

Before we take leave of the wonderful ruins of Egypt—those unquestionable evidences of the remarkable activity and skill of the ancient inhabit-

* This custom of women making offerings to the Divinity was an abomination in which the Jewish women were prohibited from indulging. Isaiah introduces them exclaiming against this rigid law, and asserting that God had continued his favors even while they had made offerings to the queen of heaven, in conjunction with their husbands, even as they had done in the land of Egypt.

ants of that country, we will visit the island of Philæ,* which, together with the cataracts, is, as of old, the boundary of Egypt and Nubia.

The first object which at Philæ attracts our notice is the Grand Temple, which travelers have looked on with wonder and amazement. It has two colossal pyramidal propyla, one between the dromos and pranaos, another between the pranaos and the portico, and a smaller one leading into the sekos or adytum.

It is said that no part of any existing monuments of Egypt is so well calculated to give a traveler an adequate idea of their magnitude, as the portico of this temple, which consists of twelve columns, four in front and three deep. The capitals represent varied forms and compositions of the palm-branch, the domm-leaf, and the lotus. These, as well as the sculptures on the columns, the ceiling, and the walls, have been painted in the most vivid colors, still glowing almost in their original perfection.

"It is impossible," says Mr. Hamilton, "to conceive a more magnificent scene than that which the whole assemblage of these painted sculptures, combined with the grand effect of the architecture, must have produced when perfect. It was in temples of this description that the Egyptian priests lavished their treasures, and that the Jews first learned to make the likeness of everything that was in heaven and earth, or in the waters under the earth; that they learned to bow down and worship their gods of silver and their gods of gold, which they could not help sighing after, even amidst the horrors of the desert. It was a recollection of this sensual, fascinating worship, that made all the people, at the command of Aaron, tear the ear-rings from their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, with which he was to make the golden calf; and the impressions made by a residence of above four hundred years, were too strong ever to be entirely forgotten, as long as they existed as a nation."

The most remarkable sculptures on the ceiling of this portico, are: a

* This island is known to the neighboring people by the names of Anaselwaguid and Gizret el Birbe el Ghûsir (the island of the ruined temple). Its greatest length is about one thousand feet, and its greatest breadth four hundred. The French savans that accompanied Bonaparte's expedition into Egypt, make the remark, that the Egyptians appear to have studied to collect at Philæ every picturesque and striking beauty of which their architecture was susceptible. "It was the spot," says Mr. Hamilton, "where we may suppose Egyptians and Ethiopians endeavored for ages to outvie each other in taste, magnificence, and expensive ornaments, for the honor of the religion they professed in common, and of the gods, whose equal and impartial favors were the objects of their prayers. Philæ was likewise the emporium of commerce between Meroë and Memphis. The island of Delos in the *Ægean* Sea seems to have performed the same office, as a point of religious and commercial communication between the Asiatic barbarians and the Greeks. The same views annually summon the pilgrims and merchants from India and Morocco to meet at Mecca, the centre of the Mohammedan world; and the riches and sanctity of Philæ, Delos, and Mecca, have attested the advantages of their situation, and the devotion of their votaries." Thus, we here again see cupidity and superstition as the motives of human action.

human figure, with a mitre on his head and a serpent in his hand, standing opposite to one with the body of a bird, the feet of a lion, and the head of a dog; the whole group being surrounded with a cluster of stars. Then follow three long female figures, the arms and legs of which are extended at right angles to the body, one within the other; also encircled by stars. Next are two canoes with paddles, and two winged globes, then a flying beetle with hands; a green canoe with a red globe within it, and in the globe the figure of Osiris, his sceptre in one hand and a round shield in the other; two birds flying with palm-branches in their claws, whose plumage is so beautifully variegated, as to lead one to the conjecture that they are the representations of the fabulous Phoenix. In four different parts of this temple is one man represented piercing with his lance another, whom he is trampling beneath his feet, or who is on his knees, with his hands tied behind him, before Isis and Osiris. The victim is invariably represented as of a smaller size than his murderer.

There are also in several places representations of the destruction of the Briareus. The human figures lie prostrate under the many-headed monster, or raise their arms and legs against him in the agonies of death. A hawk is flying over the destroyer, who is grasping in one hand the hair of each head of the Briareus, and is about to decapitate him with a falchion in the other.

"This temple," says Wilkinson, "was dedicated to Isis, who, as well as Osiris, and her son Horus, were principally worshipped here."

There is also a small peripteral temple about fifty feet square, two opposite sides of which are formed by five columns each, and the others by two pilastres, between which are the entrances. The capitals of these columns and pilastres are extremely rich, and the cornice above them beautiful and simple. The intercolumniations are built up to nearly two-thirds of the height, to make amends for which the plinths are raised to a disproportionate thickness.

This temple is considered never to have been finished, as there are no remains of the cella, nor any appearance of an interior cornice, which must have been added to complete the temple if there was to be no cella. It is admitted, however, to have unquestionable claims to a character very sparingly bestowed on Egyptian structures, that of elegance and lightness. If the date of this, too, can justly be referred to the ages anterior to Grecian civilization, it is acknowledged that, after they had seen and studied this building, the Greeks had little to add in order to produce the finest models of architecture.*

* "Here they saw," says Mr. Hamilton, "simplicity and elegance combined with massiveness and solidity, and the art already brought to the very verge of perfection; all that was wanting to them was *harmony* and *symmetry*, and these they were fortunate to attain, and thus at once they may have constructed their unrivalled monuments. At the same time we must allow, that the Greeks were not outdone by their predecessors in the massiveness of

We are told that a peculiar veneration was entertained for the island of Philæ, under the impression that Osiris was buried there.*

Though only having surveyed a part of the vast number of magnificent edifices which formerly embellished Egypt, I however feel assured that what has already claimed our attention is sufficient to convince you of the great ingenuity and admirable skill, the unceasing industry, the mighty energy and the vast conceptions of the ancient Egyptians. You cannot, therefore, fail to pay a willing tribute of admiration to this extraordinary people, nor to applaud their ardent desire to immortalize their name by so many and such magnificent monuments of the peaceful arts. But acknowledging as we do, their eminent qualities and their praiseworthy efforts, we cannot conceive that even with the firmest will they could have executed, except during a very long series of years, all those admirable works, the ruins of which we have surveyed and those still more numerous ones, whose remains we have passed without notice or of which no traces are any more to be found.

The works of the Egyptian people are, therefore, the surest evidence of their great antiquity. What a long series of successive inventions must have first taken place, before these astonishing temples could have been reared and their walls adorned with such extraordinary sculptures! How many generations must have passed away ere the Egyptians could have attained the skill to execute those wonderful monuments of art, which must have existed long before the Greeks had entered on their glorious career! Can we, after mature reflection, deny the antiquity claimed for the Egyptian people? or are we to disregard all evidence and accept of the preposterous opinion entertained by Mr. William Osburnet and some others, that God himself was obliged by direct interposition to teach mankind their first knowledge of the arts?

Let us not for a moment be led astray by such shallow reasoners from what reason and experience tell us to be unquestionably true! Let us not be deluded by those who, from bigotry or any other motive whatever, attempt to impose on us doctrines unworthy of God and contrary to reason! It is in vain they tell us that such blasphemous opinions are supported by the authority of the Bible.

We know that man by virtue of the faculties with which his Creator has endowed him, foretells the eclipses of the sun, traces the comet's path, measures the distances of the stars and explores the ocean of space; that

their buildings. Agrigentum, Pesidonium, Selinus, and Athens, are sufficient testimonies of the great mechanic powers with which they were acquainted, and still may show columns and temples nearly as colossal as those of Egypt."

* This honor was also claimed by Abydos, Memphis, Busiris and Tephosiris.

† This writer, bigoted as he is in many respects, puts no confidence in Usher's computation, but freely admits it is not to be relied on.

he has invented the art of printing, and compelled the secret powers of nature to do his bidding—should we then dare to deny, in face of such proofs of his capacities, that he was able to invent the primitive arts, without the miraculous interposition of the Deity?

The truth unquestionably is, that a long time elapsed before man was able to conceive and execute such works as those which the Egyptians constructed; and that from the beginning of his existence he was endowed by the Creator with all those faculties which, from a state of infancy and ignorance, enabled him to rise to the attainment of the knowledge and skill required for the erection of such works. The ancient nations attributed the invention of almost every art to some of their divinities, and this idea seems to hang so heavenly on many minds even of the present time, that they are unable to raise themselves to a true conception of the divine nature. They confess themselves Christians, but they have not made themselves acquainted with the sublime truths of the doctrines of Christ. They appear to understand very little of that spiritual God, whom Christ taught man to worship. God is to them the Jehovah of the Jewish multitude, who could never be brought to acknowledge the incomprehensibility of His nature.

LETTER XXVII.

THE MANNERS AND THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

It can be justly said, that the customs of the Egyptians were greatly influenced by the religion, and that there has, perhaps, never existed a more religious people. But it is not always that religion is an index of morality. Still the ancient people of Egypt possessed the traits of a high moral character; but as principles of conduct often depend upon certain ideas of virtue and vice, which are sometimes very different among different nations, the morality of the Egyptians can, in some respects, be said to have been peculiarly their own.

The priesthood were not only the ministers of the religious rites, but they were also the instructors of the people in virtue and morality; the consequence of which was, that much was proclaimed to be moral and

virtuous which tended to benefit the interests of this privileged class, which otherwise would surely not have been accounted among the virtues of man.

The necessary expenses of living among the Egyptians were remarkably small, and the food of the poorer classes was of the cheapest and simplest kind. Owing to the warmth of the climate they required few clothes, and young children were usually permitted to remain almost in a state of nudity. The expense of bringing up a child was so trifling, that Diodorus* asserts, that it never need cost a parent more than twenty drachmas, or about three dollars and twelve cents American money, until arrived at the age of manhood. It has therefore justly been observed, that it was the love of luxury and the increase of artificial wants, which were the principal causes of the ruin that was brought on a vast number of Egyptians.

Luxury, at length, overcame the temperate and frugal habits of the ancient Egyptians, and though the priests preached abstinence, and also partially practised the rules they prescribed, there can scarcely be any doubt that the wealth of the clergy irresistibly tempted many of them to taste of the voluptuous enjoyments of life.

We know that in the large cities of Egypt, a fondness for the display of wealth prevailed, and that considerable sums were expended in furnishing houses and in purchasing jewels and costly works of art. The inhabitants of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, and of many other places, were very fond of splendid equipages, elegant and commodious boats, numerous attendants, fine horses, dogs, and other requisites of the chase. Their villas and gardens cost them immense sums. But while the income from extensive farms, and the abundant produce of a fertile soil enabled the rich to indulge in extravagant and expensive habits, many of the less wealthy, prompted by vanity to rival those they envied, were led to pursue a career of results the most deplorable to themselves. Sesostris, therefore, found so many persons imprisoned for debt, that he thought it necessary to interpose his authority in their behalf. It is to be observed, that this was before the time Boccharis had introduced the law prohibiting imprisonment for debt. I cannot forbear to mention here, that Boccharis, finding that in many cases of debt, causes of dispute had arisen between the debtor and creditor in regard to the justice of the claim, and that instances of great oppression against the former were of frequent occurrence, enacted that no agreement should be binding unless it was acknowledged by a written contract; and if any one took oath that he did not owe the debt claimed, it should not be recognized, and the right of the prosecuting party to sue should immediately cease.†

Diodorus says that the Egyptians paid, however, less attention to the

* Book i., c. 80.

† Diod., book i.

splendor of their houses than to the embellishment of their tombs ; while Wilkinson observes " that the plans of many houses that remain, and the extent of the villas represented in the sculptures, plainly show, that no precepts can oblige man to renounce the luxuries of life." " The priests," he adds, " may have taught them that their stay in this world was of short duration, that their present abodes were only inns at which they reposed during their earthly pilgrimage, and that their tombs alone could be considered as everlasting habitations, which it was a religious duty to adorn. It was the interest of the priests to inculcate similar notions, and the persons employed in making and decorating the tombs were of the sacerdotal order ; and the splendor of funeral obsequies tended to their emoluments. They induced them to expend considerable sums on the celebration of these rites ; and many who had barely sufficient to obtain the necessities of life, were anxious to save something for the expense of their death. For besides the embalming process, which sometimes cost a talent of silver, or about twelve hundred dollars, the tomb itself was purchased at an immense sum, and numerous demands were afterwards made upon the estate of the deceased for the celebration of prayers and other services for the soul." Mr. Wilkinson has good authority in Diodorus for what he has said, and his work surely cannot be read by any person of a reflecting mind, without arriving at the conviction that mankind have always been imposed upon by a set of interested men. Though luxurious as the priesthood may have been, it cannot be denied that we have to thank them for the most we know of the ancient people of that country, and that it is principally in consequence of the admirable works reared, probably, by their influence, that posterity has been constrained to admit that the ancient Egyptians were a great and glorious nation.

Though, as I have in another place spoken of the frugal diet which for the kings was prescribed by law, there is no reason to suppose that the sensual pleasures or enjoyments of the wealthy classes were restrained by any rigid enactments ; but that all rich persons, including even the priests themselves, could freely participate in the comforts and luxuries of life.

Mr. Wilkinson makes the sarcastic remark, that " though the priests may have kept up an external appearance of self-denial, and avoided all unnecessary display of wealth, it is natural, that they should welcome the blessings of this life, provided they did not interfere with the practice of virtue ; and if they taught others to avoid ostentation, if they themselves submitted on some occasions, to severe abstinence, and encouraged morality by their own example, we must allow that they were deserving of esteem ; and little cause for censure can be found, except in the exclusiveness which degraded the lower classes of their countrymen, and in the disproportionate extent of their possessions, compared with those of the other Egyptians." Yes, by practising hypocrisy and inculcating the most abject superstitions in the minds of the vulgar, though also, by some praise-

worthy means, the priesthood had made themselves the real rulers of Egypt and the owners of a third of all its land. I will in another place recur to this subject.

Among the usages of the Egyptians there was a very singular one in respect to burglary and theft. Those who followed the *profession* of thief gave in their names to the chief of the robbers, and agreed that he should be informed of everything they might thenceforward steal, the moment it was in their possession. In consequence of this the owner of the lost goods always applied by letter to the chief for their recovery; and having stated their quality and quantity, the day and hour when they were stolen, and other requisite particulars, the goods were identified and on a payment of one quarter of their value, were restored to their just owner, in the same state as when taken from him. The impracticability of putting an entire check to robbery, either by the dread of punishment, or by any method that could be invented by the most vigilant police, being acknowledged, it was considered more advantageous to the community at large that this sacrifice of a part should be made in order to secure the restitution of the remainder of the property, than that the law, by attempting entire and absolute protection through the discovery and punishment of the criminal, should become the indirect cause of a greater loss. "The salary of the chief," says Mr. Wilkinson, "was not merely derived from his own demands upon the goods stolen, or from any voluntary contribution of the robbers themselves, but was probably a fixed remuneration granted by the government as one of the chiefs of the police; nor is it to be imagined that he was any other than a respectable citizen—as the Sheikh of the robbers in Cairo at the present day—and a man of the greatest integrity and honor."

As illustrative of the domestic life of the Egyptians I will here give a summary description, which I have taken from Mr. Wilkinson* of the houses in the cities and towns of Egypt.

Varying as these houses materially did in size as well as in plan, judging from the ruins that remain, the streets were laid out regularly, nor does there appear to have been the constant mixture of large houses and low hovels now so frequently met with in the towns of the East. As is usually the case in hot climates, many of the streets were narrow, and few except the principal ones were large enough to allow the passage of a chariot. In Thebes, however, it is probable they were on a somewhat larger scale, and proportionate to the increased size of the houses, some of which, even in the early age of its founder, are said to have been four or five stories in height.

The use of crude bricks, baked in the sun, was universal in Upper

* See *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* by Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. II., p. 95.

† Diodorus.

and Lower Egypt both for public and private buildings, and the brick-fields gave abundant occupation to numerous laborers throughout the country. These simple materials were found to be peculiarly suited to the climate ; and the ease, rapidity, and cheapness with which they were made, offered additional recommendations.

The houses of the rich citizens frequently covered a considerable space ; and presented to the street either the side of the house or the walls of the court attached to it. Their plans were regular ; the rooms being usually arranged around an open area, or on either side of a long passage to which an entrance court led from the street. The court was an open space, considerably larger than the Roman *impluvium*, probably paved with stone or containing a few trees, a small tank, or a fountain, in its centre, and sometimes, though rarely, a flight of steps led to the main entrance from without. A court was frequently common to several houses ; and again, some of the large mansions stood detached, and had the advantage of several doors of entrance, on two or three different sides. They had a portico, or porch, before the front door supported on two columns, below whose capitals were attached ribbons or banners ; the name of the person who lived there being occasionally painted within on the lintel or imposts of the door ; and sometimes the portico consisted of a double row of columns between which stood colossal statues of the king.

A line of trees ran parallel with the front of the house.

In the distribution of the apartments numerous and different modes were adopted, according to circumstances.

Egyptian doorways were generally surmounted by the usual cornice, but many were decorated according to the taste of the person of the house.

The floors were sometimes of stone, or a composition made of lime and other materials, and the roofs of the rooms were supported by rafters of the date trees arranged close together, or more generally, at intervals, with transverse layers of palm-branches, or planks. Many roofs were vaulted, and built, like the rest of the house, of crude bricks ; and there is reason to believe that some of the chambers in the pavilion of Rameses 3d, at Medinet Haboo were arched with stone, since the devices on the upper part of their walls show that the fallen roofs had this form.

Mr. Wilkinson adds, that at Saqqara a stone-arch still exists from the time of the second Psameticus, from or about six hundred years before our era, and that this vault proves that the art must long before have been carried to some perfection. It has, however, generally been considered, that the Egyptians before the reign of the Ptolemies were unacquainted with this art, and I think that had it been generally practised ruins of some ancient bridges would have been found in Egypt.

As bricks were the material of all private and many public buildings, their manufacture was found to be a very fruitful source of profit, and was therefore, almost entirely monopolized by the government, which, by em-

playing slaves and captives, could produce them at less cost than what individuals might incur. From the fact that all bricks found in ancient buildings have a mark on them, it has with good reason been inferred that there must have existed a law which required they should be stamped with the seal of the king or of some privileged person.

The ancient houses appear from the sculptures not to have been very high; seldom more than three stories. On the top of the houses, there was generally a terrace which served both for a place of repose and for exercise during the warm season; as they were covered with a roof supported by columns, the hot rays of the sun were excluded, while the terrace was fanned by a refreshing breeze. It was here too, that the Egyptians slept at night in the summer, as the modern inhabitants of the country are said to do at the present day. Herodotus tells us that in his time the Egyptians protected themselves from the gnats by a fishing net, which must have been made in a different manner from those we now use, or else they would have been obliged to trust to the current of air, that passed over this elevated space, to protect themselves from the visits of these troublesome insects.

The walls and ceilings are said to have been richly painted, and frequently with much taste; but of their effect we have no means of judging except from those of the tombs, where they are preserved far more perfectly than in the dwellings, few of which retain any vestiges of the stucco, or of the colored devices that once adorned them. The favorite designs of these paintings were the lotus, the square, the diamond and the circle; but those in most use were a succession of scrolls, and square within square, usually called Tuscan borders, both of which are of frequent occurrence on Greek and Etruscan as well as Egyptian vases. Mr. Wilkinson gives fac-similes of some of these designs from a tomb of E'Siout, painted upon a black or dark bronze ground, which, though of an age prior to the sixteenth century before our era, are very elegant and bear the nearest resemblance to the Greek style. The same writer justly observes, that the fact that the Greek and Romans far surpassed the Egyptians in taste and in the numerous combinations with which they adorned their rooms, was a natural result of the encouragement given by these nations to inventions, while the artists of Egypt restrained by regulations and prejudices, were withheld from a development of the true principles of taste and beauty: but he also adds, "though the laqueata tecta of the Romans surpassed in richness and beauty the effect of the ceilings of the Egyptian houses—which were divided into numerous compartments, presenting cornices, mouldings and embossed fret-work, painted, gilt, and even inlaid with ivory"—still in the general mode of

* Pliny xxxiii—3 and xxxv—40. Virg. *Æn.* 1., 172.

decoration they, like the stuccoed walls, bore a striking analogy to those in the mansions of Thebes, and other cities on the Nile.

Beside their houses in the towns, the Egyptian grandees had extensive villas, which, with a very commodious mansion, contained spacious gardens watered by canals communicating with the Nile. They had also tanks of water, in different parts of the garden, which served for ornament as well as for irrigation, when the Nile was low; and on these the master of the house, together with his family and friends, used to amuse themselves by occasional excursions in a pleasure boat kept for that purpose.

The entrances of large villas were generally through folding gates, standing between lofty towers as in the propylea of temples, with a small door at each side; but others had merely folding gates with imposts surmounted by a cornice. A circuitous wall surrounded the premises; but the courts of the house, the garden, the offices, and all the other parts of the villa, had each their separate enclosure.

The superintendence of the house and grounds was entrusted to stewards, who regulated the tillage of the land, received whatever was received from the sale of the produce, overlooked the returns of the quantity of cattle and stock upon the estate, settled the accounts, and often condemned the delinquent peasants to the bastinado or other punishments sanctioned by custom.

The mills of the ancient Egyptians appear to have been of a very simple and rude construction. They are said to have consisted of two circular stones, nearly flat, the lower one stationary, while the other turned on a pivot or shaft, rising from the centre of that beneath it; and the grain descending through an aperture in the upper stone, immediately over the pivot, gradually underwent the process of grinding as it passed. They were turned by a woman, seated and holding a handle, fixed perpendicularly near the edge. Mr. Wilkinson adds, that the hand-mills adopted by the modern Egyptian peasants were probably borrowed from, and are similar to those of their predecessors.

The wealthier classes are said to have kept a baker in the house; but in establishments of a smaller scale, and in families of limited means, women performed that office.*

The mode of irrigating their pleasure-grounds adopted by the ancient Egyptians was exceedingly simple, and in many instances men were employed to water the beds with pails, suspended by a wooden yoke, borne upon their shoulders. The same yoke was employed for carrying other things, or whatever was taken to market, and every trade appears to have made use of it for this purpose from the potter to the carpenter and shipwright.

* Pliny says: There were no bakers in Rome till after 580 years from the building of that city, but the Roman women made the bread at home.

The implements of husbandry and many other instruments of the most frequent daily use were very imperfect and clumsy; but this originated from the little encouragement which was held out to inventions designed to alleviate the toils of the working classes. The Egyptian grandees, as well as the Roman and those of modern times, were more ready to patronize those persons who devised some novelty that might add to the splendor of a house, a chamber or a dress, than to encourage those who would have undertaken to invent a plow or any other instrument in daily use among the laboring classes. Besides it must be admitted that husbandmen and mechanics are in general adverse to innovations, and that it is often a hard task to persuade them to adopt instruments which they are not accustomed to handle, though tending to diminish their labor or improve their works. Consequently all that was intended for external show or was exposed to view was exquisitely finished; "but the keys," says Mr. Wilkinson, "and locks of that door, whose panels, handles, and other external parts, evinced no ordinary skill, were rude and imperfect; the former if they simply answered the purpose, satisfied; the latter failed to please, unless they promised to flatter the pride of their possessor by commanding admiration."

Gardens are said frequently to be represented on the tombs of Thebes and of other places in Egypt, many of which appear to have been of remarkable extent.

So fond were the Egyptians of trees and flowers, and of ornamenting their gardens with a multitude and variety of plants, that they even exacted a contribution of rare productions from the nations which were tributary to them, and foreigners are represented bringing plants among their presents to the Egyptian kings.

There is much probability that the Egyptians spent a great deal of the warmer season in the cool and shady retirement of their gardens; where, like the Romans they entertained their friends in the summer; and from the size of some of the kiosks, which occur in the paintings it has been inferred that they were rather intended for this purpose than for the sole use of the master of the villa. It is, however, admitted that the gardens were originally laid out, with a view to utility, and were principally stocked with vegetables for the consumption of the family; but as riches and luxury increased, to the simple beds of herbs were added avenues of shady trees, and the usual variety of aromatic plants and ornamental flowers. It then became divided into different parts, distinguished by separate names, according to the purposes for which they were intended; and the vineyard, orchard, kitchen and flower garden, had each its own determinate limits, in accordance with the means or taste of its owner. Some of the more wealthy, extending still farther the range of their villas added a park—*παράδεισος**—which, independent of its fish-ponds and "preserves

* Conf. Ercolano stone: "απε τε ἀρχιτεχνίτης γης καὶ των παραδείσων,"—line 15.

for game," contained many different sections, as the gallinarium for hens, the chenoboscium for geese, the stalls for fattening cattle and for keeping the wild goats and other animals originally from the desert,* whose meat was reckoned among the dainties of the table.†

Fowling and fishing on their own grounds seem to have occupied many of the leisure hours of the wealthy Egyptians; and there many a youth, and sometimes even a damsel, was wont to practice with the bow by shooting at a target.

In the apartments appropriated to the reception of their friends, the party, usually among the rich, sat on elegant chairs and fauteuilles, each of which was designed for one person. Sometimes they also used stools and low seats, raised very little above the ground, and some sat cross-legged, on one knee, upon mats or carpets; but men and women were generally separated though apparently in the same room.

Many of the fauteuilles are of the most elegant form, and were made of ebony and other rare kinds of wood, inlaid with ivory, and covered with rich stuffs; and they are said to have been very similar to some now used in Europe.

The seat was frequently of leather, painted with flowers and fancy devices; and the figure of a captive, or a conquered foe, was frequently represented at the side, or among the ornaments of the chair. Sometimes the seat was formed of an interlaced work of cords, carefully and neatly arranged, which, like the Indian cane chairs in use among ourselves, appear to have been particularly suitable for use in a hot climate; but over this, they even occasionally placed a leather cushion, painted in the manner already mentioned.‡

The stools used in the saloon were of the same style and elegance as the chairs, and frequently differed from them only in the absence of a back; those of more delicate workmanship being made of ebony and inlaid, as before stated, with ivory or some rare kind of wood.

The ottomans used among the Egyptians were simply square sofas, without backs, raised from the ground nearly to the same level as the chairs. The upper part was of leather, or of cotton stuff, richly colored, like the cushions of the fauteuilles; and the base was of wood, painted with various devices, and ornamented with the figures of captives, who were supposed to be degraded by holding so humiliating a position.

Footstools, also, constituted part of the furniture of the sitting room. Mats were commonly used in their sitting room, as at the present day, and they are not only to be seen represented in the sculptures, but monuments of them have also been found in the Theban tombs.

* The Egyptians also tamed wild animals for various purposes, as the lion, gazelle, leopard, baboons and crocodiles, and Mr. Wilkinson says, that in the Inisma country, which lies to the south of Abyssinia, monkeys are even at the present day taught several useful works.

† Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 187.

‡ Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 194.

Their couches evinced no less taste than the fauteuilles. They were of wood, with one end raised and receding in a graceful curve; and the feet, as in many of the chaires, were fashioned to resemble those of some wild animal. The couches appear also to have been intended as bedsteads; and they might, perhaps, have been used to sleep upon at night, and in the day time, a rich covering being substituted for the beddings, they were readily transformed into an ornamental piece of furniture. "The presence of the head pillow," says Mr. Wilkinson, "placed upon it, and the steps at the side for ascending it, argue strongly in favor of this supposition; nor is it contrary to the custom in the East at the present day."

The Egyptian tables were round, square or oblong; the first were generally used during their repasts, and consisted of a circular flat summit, supported on a single shaft or leg in the centre, or by the figure of a man intended to represent a captive. Large tables had generally three or four legs, but some were made with solid sides; and, though most usually of wood, many were of metal or stone; they varied in size, according to the purposes for which they were used.*

Common people either sat cross-legged, as the modern Asiatics, or crouched on the ground, in which last attitude are formed many Egyptian statues and painted figures.

In their entertainments, the Egyptians appear to have done everything which could promote festivity and amusement among the guests. Music, song, dancing, buffoonery, feats of agility, or games of chance, were generally introduced, and were accompanied with all the luxuries which the cellar and the table could afford. The party when invited to dinner, met about mid-day. As they, like the Greeks, considered it a want of good breeding to sit down to table immediately on the arrival of the guests, the latter were for awhile first entertained with music. Immediately before dinner the guests washed their hands; the water being brought in the same manner as is practised at the present day in Egypt; and ewers, not unlike those which are said to be used by the modern Egyptians are represented with the basins belonging to them in the paintings of a Theban tomb. It is certain that basins were kept for the purpose of washing the hands and feet of the guests, and Herodotus mentions especially a golden basin belonging to Amasis, which he and the guests who dined with him used for washing their feet. It was customary for a servant to attend any guest, as he seated himself, and to anoint his head as one of the principal tokens of welcome.† Wine was afterwards offered. It was usually brought to the ladies by a servant in a small vase, which, when emptied into the drinking cup, was handed to an under servant, or slave, that followed after; but to the men it was frequently presented in a one-handle

* Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii., p. 202.

† See Athenæus, xv., 13.

goblet, without being poured into any cup, though sometimes it was poured into a small vase of gold, silver, brass, bronze, or even glass.

In spite of all the exhortations or injunctions of the priesthood in behalf of temperance, the Egyptians are described by some ancient writer, to have been much addicted to intoxication, and this reproach is said to be confirmed by the sculptures, which represent both men and women, at least of the working classes, as having taken too heavy draughts of the brimmed cup. Men unable to walk from their feasts are seen borne home by the servants, or indulging in extravagant buffoonery, dancing in a ludicrous manner, standing on their heads, and joining in amusements that terminate in serious disputes.

At the tables of the rich, stimulants were sometimes used to excite the palate before drinking, and cabbage is mentioned as one of the vegetables which served the Egyptians for this purpose; from which circumstance, as also from the authority of Dion, Athenæus has drawn the conclusion that they were a people systematically addicted to intemperance. This opinion is, however, not so far confirmed that we can admit it to be fully proved, though it is strong evidence that the Egyptians were generally amenable to this reproach.

Besides wine, partly produced and partly imported, the Egyptians used also beer, called *zythus*, which Diodorus, though unaccustomed to it, and a native of a country producing fine wine, praises as excellent, and affirms that it was scarcely inferior to the juice of the grape. It was made from barley, but as hop was unknown to them, they had recourse to other plants in order to impart to it a delicate flavor; and the lupin, the skirret* and the root of the Assyrian plant were, therefore, used for that purpose; as we so learn from Columella in the following verses:†

"Iam siser, Assyrioque venit quas semine radix
Sectaue præbetur madido satiata lupino
Ut Pelusiaci proritet pocula zythi."

The vicinity of Pelusium appears to have been most noted for its beer and the Pelusiatic *zythus* is mentioned by several authors. Athenæus describes the Egyptian beer as very strong, and that it had so exhilarating an effect, that those who had drunk of it, danced, sang and committed the same excesses as those who were intoxicated with the strongest wine.

The Egyptians had also an artificial kind of wine or cider, which Pliny† tells us was extracted from various kinds of fruit.

Among the various fruit trees which the ancient Egyptians cultivated, palms held the first rank, as well from their abundance as from their great

* Siser; the *sium sisarum* of Linnæus.

† Pliny, xiv.—16. "De vinis factitiis."

† Book x—114.

utility. The fruit constituted a chief part of their food, both in the month of August, when it was gathered fresh from the tree, and at other seasons of the year, when it was used in a preserved state. They had two different modes of keeping the dates; one was by the simple process of drying them, the other was by making them into a conserve which was eaten either cooked or as a simple sweetmeat. Mr. Wilkinson adds, that he found some such cakes, one of which is now in the English Museum—as well as the dried dates in the sepulchres of Thebes.

Dates were also given to camels and animals, as is still the custom of the East.

In Upper Egypt another tree which was called the Theban palm,* was also much cultivated. The fruit is a large rounded nut with a fibrous exterior envelope which has a sweet flavor, very similar to gingerbread. Besides these trees bearing fruits, there were many others, as fig, pomegranate, olive, peach, almond, and the locust. Thus the Egyptians were in no want of fruits delicate to the palate.

Surrounded by luxuries of every kind, it is no wonder that they sometimes gave way to indulgence of the sensual appetites of man's nature; still they appear not to have been so much addicted to the enjoyments of the table as the Assyrians, and some other of the Asiatic nations, and even the Romans since their manners had been corrupted. I think that no little credit is due to the exertions of the priests to keep the people of Egypt, within at least some bounds of restraint in this respect.

The Egyptians appear to have been very fond of music and of dancing, and there are many proofs of their having made considerable attainments in the former art.

The distinguished traveler Bruce,—once so long considered as a narrator of falsehoods, but whose fair fame is now restored through the investigations made in the course of this century—in noticing the harps sculptured on one of the tombs of Thebes, says, "they overturn all the accounts hitherto given of the earliest state of music and musical instruments in the East; and are altogether in their form, ornaments and compass, an incontestible proof, stronger than a thousand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics and music, were at the greatest perfection when this instrument was made, and that the period from which we date the invention of these arts, was only the beginning of the era of their restoration." But this remark, says Mr. Wilkinson, can be applied with still greater force to the three-stringed guitar used among the ancient Egyptians.

Though I cannot admit that from the construction of these instruments, we are altogether justified in drawing the conclusions which Mr. Bruce did, yet it cannot be denied, they exhibit undoubted evidence that, in addition to their attainments in music, the Egyptians had made great advances in the

* The *Cucifera Thebaica*—See Pliny *xiii.*, 4 and 9.

sciences and other arts. The Greek writers tell us even, that the ancient Egyptians had from the remotest time diligently and successfully cultivated the art of music, and that they had committed to writing its principles, which were both subtle and intricate. Strangers visited Egypt, therefore, on purpose to acquire a knowledge of this enchanting art.

We are informed by later travelers, that the paintings on the tombs strongly confirm this account, as among the many scenes of ordinary life with which their walls are decorated, no subject is more general than that of groups of musicians playing upon stringed instruments or pipes, singing in chorus or beating tamborines or drums.

It has generally been assumed, that in regard to stringed instruments, the progress of their invention has been very gradual, and that this graduation has been marked by successive additions to the number of strings employed. As Plutarch relates that the Egyptians attributed to Thoth the invention of the lyre with three strings, it has generally been presumed that it had originally one string, and the addition of more strings was the work of many ages. This conclusion, perhaps, falls short of the truth, as it is very possible that such an instrument with three or more strings could have been invented at once; but as harps of two strings, and of thirteen, and of nearly every number intermediate between these two, are found painted on most ancient Egyptian tombs, it is not more certain that the conclusion of Mr. Osborne,* is well founded—who, from this fact, has inferred that the age of all these different harps is the same, and that the one was not used anterior to the other. Be this, however, as it may, I will not dispute with Mr. Osborne on that point, but finding him inclined to deny that these instruments are invented by man, and advancing the opinion that they are an invention of God, who he says taught mankind to make them, I must not only refer the reader to what I have before said on this subject, but also declare that such doctrines are unworthy of God and degrading to the nature of man. I am not among those who estimate too highly the capacity of man, but surely the All-Wise Being who brought man into existence, endowed him with all qualities necessary to enable him to invent every art necessary to his sustenance, to his comfort and to his enjoyments. What an imperfect idea of God have they, who attempt to impose upon us the belief, that he sent out his children on their wandering through the course of time, without having provided them beforehand with the means to fulfil their pilgrimage!

We are told that the most ancient tomb of Ghizeh represents three persons playing and singing in concert; and Mr. Osborne† says, that the forms of their instruments are different; that thence it is obvious that they do not strike the same note at the same time, and that the science of

* See *Ancient Egypt* by William Osborne, junior; London Edition, 1846.

† *Ancient Egypt*, p. 222.

harmony must have been known among the Egyptians at this very remote period. He also relates, that the original of the Grecian lyre is frequently represented in the tombs of Egypt, though this instrument had not more than four strings; there are, however, among the representations alluded to found one which had five and another nine strings; hence Mr. Osborne infers that the attempts which were made by certain musicians, recorded in Grecian history, to add to the strings of the lyre, for which they were denounced and proscribed by their contemporaries, might really be no more than efforts to restore this instrument to its original state.

Representations of singers and dancers are also very numerous on the Egyptian tombs. All this goes far to prove, that this nation was much addicted to social enjoyments, and that the priests, if they burdened them with tiresome religious ceremonies, did not generally oblige them to wear a serious countenance, as though ever in apprehension of some dreadful infliction from the wrath of an angry Deity. How can the sunny smiles of innocent joys be displeasing to a benevolent Being?

No nation ever held death so constantly before its eyes as the Egyptians; to them life was death and death was life. We have seen the magnificent sculptures which were raised not only to be occupied by the corpses of the Egyptian grandees, but also by those of all classes of the people. Yet in spite of their religious ideas in regard to the nature of death and the care which was taken to preserve the bodies of the dead from corruption, it was natural that the departure of beloved friends should be felt with regret. It was among the Egyptians, as among other civilized nations, considered decent to manifest by some exterior signs the feelings of the heart, and consequently, even among the former, it was the custom to put on mourning on the loss of a friend or relative.

When any member of a family died, all his kindred and friends quitted their usual habits, put on mourning, and abstained from baths, wine and dainties of every kind, as I have before related was the custom on the death of a king.*

In embalming the body, Diodorus* relates, that many persons were employed. Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone sharp as a razor; after which, the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation could not be done without some dissections which appeared in some measure cruel and inhuman, the persons who had performed them had to run away as soon as the operation was over, or they were pursued with stones. Those again, who were employed in embalming the body were honorably treated. The body was filled with myrrh, cinnamon and many different kinds of spices, varying according to the

rank and wealth of the deceased. After a certain time the corpse was swathed in lawn fillets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted over with the most exquisite perfumes, if such could be afforded. By this means, we are told, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and the hair even on the eye-lids and brows, were preserved in their natural state. When the body was embalmed, it was delivered to the relatives, who placed it in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corpse, and set upright against the wall, either in sepulchres, or for want of them, in their own houses.

But before a corpse could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, a public trial was held whether this honor could be granted or not. If it was proved that the deceased had led an unworthy or criminal life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of a solemn burial. But if it was acknowledged that his life had in general been virtuous, the body was admitted into the sacred tombs.

When a favorable judgment was pronounced, the ceremonies of interment were celebrated. In the panegyric, no mention was made of the birth of the deceased, because every Egyptian was considered noble. No praises were thought to be just or merited, but such as related to the personal deserts of the deceased. He might, therefore, be applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more mature age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards his fellow-men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and gratitude towards those who had done him any service. It is to be observed that gratitude was the virtue held in the highest esteem among the Egyptians. At last, all present raised shouts of applause and lavished every term of eulogy on the deceased, as one who would be received for ever among the virtuous dead.

It was a custom among the Egyptians during or, as Herodotus states, after their repasts, to introduce a wooden image of Osiris in the form of a human mummy, standing erect as Plutarch* informs us, in a case, or lying on a bier, and to represent it to each of the guests for the purpose of reminding them of their mortality and the instability of all human enjoyments.

Women in Egypt as well as in Rome, were allowed to mingle in the society of men even when they were strangers, but as this was not the custom in Athens, some writers have awarded a superiority to the former in the customs of social life. I think that we might have some reason to question the justice of this judgment. It is surely far more agreeable and certainly tending more to refine the manners of men, and to improve the mental acquirements of women, when both sexes enjoy each others' conversation in refined society. Yet, I cannot at the same time, but think that women lose much of their charms by being too frequently in the society of men;

* De Isid.

I think that in no place where such a custom prevails, women will long preserve that total ignorance of all sensuality, which is not only the strongest palladium of their virtue, but also of that purity and tranquillity of the heart which is so necessary to prevent it from becoming in undue time a smouldering volcano. I wish, above all, to find in women that nicety of feeling, that downcast eye and that enchanting blush which are no products of coquetry, but of the secret voice of sleeping nature. I may admire that heroine who can boast of a hundred victories over the seductive smiles of tempting Amour ; but I would not wish to deem her capable of passionate love.

From the ladies we pass to those who wielded the weapons of war in their defence.

The Egyptian army was composed of infantry, charioteers and horsemen. Its strength appears to have consisted in archers, whose skill probably contributed chiefly to the success of the Egyptian arms. They fought either on foot or in chariots, and may, therefore, be classed under the separate heads of a mounted and unmounted corps. There is much reason to presume that they constituted the chief parts of both wings of an army drawn up in order of battle. Several bodies of heavy infantry divided into regiments, each distinguished by its peculiar arms, formed the centre ; and the cavalry which, according to the historical accounts were numerous, covered and supported the foot.

There are, curiously enough, no representations of Egyptian horsemen in the sculptures, but we find them so frequently mentioned by the historians, that we cannot doubt that they were well acquainted with the proper mode of using this force. It is also to be observed, that the horses of Egypt were much celebrated. In the battle scenes of the temples in Upper Egypt, we meet with several instances of men fighting on horseback, but they are part of the enemy's troops ; yet, no Egyptian horsemen are there represented ; the cause of which was, I suppose, that the Egyptians gained the battle by their foot soldiers after their own horsemen had been put to flight.

The Egyptian infantry were divided into regiments very similar, as Plutarch observes to the *λοχοι* and *ταξεις* of the Greeks, and these were formed and distinguished according to the arms they bore. They consisted of bowmen, spearmen, swordsmen, clubmen, and slingers, disciplined according to the rules of tactics as existing among that people. Masses of heavy infantry, armed with spears and shields, and a falchion or other weapon, moved sometimes in close array in the form of an impregnable phalanx ; sometimes they deployed and formed into long columns or small distinct bodies, and the bowmen as well as the light infantry were taught either to act in time or to adopt more open movements according to the different nature of the ground, or to the order of the enemy's line of battle.

Each battalion, or rather each company, had its particular standard,

which represented a sacred subject—a king's name, a sacred boat, an animal or some emblematic device, and the soldiers either followed or preceded it, according to the service on which they were employed, or as circumstances dictated. The objects chosen for their standards were by degrees regarded with superstitious feelings of regard, and hence I think it most probable, that the worship of animals among the Egyptians originated. It appears to me very probable that the priesthood, in order to induce the soldiers the more bravely to defend their standards, invented the doctrine that these standards were images of divinities,* whose favor was to be courted by worshipping them, and that their wrath would fall upon those soldiers who left their images in the hands of the enemies. Hence it would be natural that the use of these standards must have greatly contributed to the success of the Egyptian arms, since every soldier was ready to stand by and defend what prejudice as well as duty forbade him to abandon.

"Being raised," says Diodorus, "on a spear (or staff) which an officer bore aloft, each standard served to show the soldiers their respective regiments, made it more easy for them to preserve their ranks, encouraged them to the charge, and offered a conspicuous rallying point in the confusion of battle."

The post of standard-bearer was at all times one of the greatest importance. He was an officer and a man who had signalized himself by deeds of valor, and sometimes he was distinguished by a peculiar badge, suspended from his neck, which consisted of two lions, the emblems of courage.

The offensive weapons of the Egyptian soldiers were the bow, the spear, two species of javelin, a sling, a short and straight sword, dagger, knife, falchion or *ensis falcatus*—axe or hatchet, battle-axe, pole-axe, mace or club, and a curved stick. Their arms of defence were a helmet of metal, or a quilted head-piece, a cuirass, a coat of armour made of metal plates, or quilted with metal bands, and an ample shield. The only coverings to the arms were a part of the cuirass, forming a short sleeve, and extending about half way to the elbow.

The principal defensive arm of the soldier was his shield, which in length was equal to about half his height, and generally double its own breadth. It was most commonly covered with bull's hide, having the hair outward like the *λαίσθη* of the Greeks; sometimes strengthened with nails or metal pins, the inner part of which is supposed to have been wicker-work or a wooden frame.

Each of their war-chariots contained generally, two persons like the *διππος*:

* Plutarch says even, that the worship of animals originated in the emblems chosen by Osiris to designate the different bodies of troops into which he divided his army. This at least refers the use of standards to a very remote period of Egyptian history, and is in confirmation of my opinion.

of the Greeks. But sometimes it carried three men, the charioteer, or driver, and two warriors.

In the battle scenes the king is, however, represented alone, unattended by any charioteer ; having the reins fastened round his body while engaged in bending his bow against the enemy.

The troops were summoned by the sound of trumpets, and these instruments as well as the long drum, were in use among the Egyptians at the earliest period to which the history of that people can be traced in the sculptures upon the walls of the tombs ; trumpeters being often represented in the battle scenes of Thebes, sometimes standing still and summoning the troops to form, and at others in the act of leading them to rapid charge.

As I have before observed, we are informed by the sculptures, of many customs of the Egyptians, and through these means, this people has preserved to posterity a great part of their history. But it is a remarkable fact, as Mr. Wilkinson justly remarks, that the first glimpse we obtain of the history and manners of the Egyptians indicates a nation already advanced in all the arts of civilized life, and the same customs and inventions that prevailed at the time of Augustus among that people are found in the eighteenth century before our era, and even at an earlier period.

The Egyptians had thus, already, at so remote a time, arrived at the age of maturity ; a circumstance which strongly corroborates their claim to great antiquity, because it must necessarily have taken a long time ere they could have run through the ages of infancy and youth, and attained that high degree of civilization of which already, eighteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, they were in full possession.

The stationary state of their civilization, attributable as it is to the advanced age of the nation, was also a consequence of the veneration for ancient customs, which was one of the characteristics of the Egyptians, and of the regulations of the priesthood which prohibited introductions of improvements. This is made very evident in their drawings and paintings. The same formal outlines, the same attitudes and gestures of the body, the same conventional mode of representing the different parts were adhered to, at the latest as well as at the earliest periods ; no improvements, resulting from experience and observation were allowed in the mode of drawing the figure ; no attempt was suffered to be made to copy nature or to give proper action to the limbs. Certain rules and certain models had been established by law, and the erroneous conceptions of the earliest times were copied and handed down by every succeeding generation of artists. These rules were particularly to be observed in subjects connected with religion. We are informed by ancient writers that Egyptian sculptors were not allowed to infringe on the regulations laid down regarding the forms of the statues of the gods ; they were expressly forbidden to introduce any change, or to invent new subjects or new attitudes. The art, and the rules which fettered it, must consequently remain the same.

LETTER XXVIII.

THE RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

"THE theologian," says Mr. Gibbon, "may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed upon the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of men." Yes, the most sacred feelings in the human breast have been made subservient to the interests of cunning and designing men, pretending to be the delegates of higher powers and to enjoy familiar intercourse with the dispensers of human destiny. An order of men, already in the infancy of the world, stood forth as teachers of the duties men owed towards the invisible beings, whom they assumed to be causes of the phenomena of nature. Instead of following the impulse of their hearts and adoring these powers without knowing or attempting to know their mysterious nature, mankind were early taught by the pretended servants of the gods what they should do to gain the favor, or avert the wrath of the deities. Religion, instead of being the natural growth of the inward feelings of man, became, in the very earliest time, a compound of deception and superstition. Of all known religions that of the Egyptians surpassed all others in these constituent elements, and no other has ever so fully accomplished its purpose of subduing the reason of man. If we are allowed to estimate the abilities of the artists by their works, we must award to the Egyptian priests the honor of being unequalled as masters of deception, and of those arts of superstition that degrade the soul of man.

It is, indeed, much to be regretted, that we have so scanty information of the Egyptian mythology, and the marvellous machinery by which this preposterous fabric was reared and preserved for thousands of years. But from what we know there can be no doubt, that the religious tenets sincerely entertained by the priests, were generally far purer than those which were taught to the people.

Herodotus who sought for information on this subject from the priests, was probably much misled by them; besides, what he learned must either have been of little consequence, or if it were important, he refused as he alleges, for some motive unexplained, to reveal it. He frequently cuts short his narrative, from an apparent apprehension of betraying to the profane some hidden mysteries, but on these occasions, the reader is left to conjecture, whether this religious delicacy originates in scruples of con-

science or in his ignorance. Strabo seems to have paid very little attention to this subject. Plutarch has, however, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, left us many valuable elucidations; but it is in vain to endeavor to search out the most plausible among the various expositions he proposes. Even Ptolemy furnishes us but scanty information on this subject. In very recent times, however, some of the disciples of Champollion have taken much pains to bring forth into light the mysteries of the Egyptian religion.

Though Diodorus Siculus does not say that the account of the origin of the world given by him, is the cosmogony of the Egyptians, it is, nevertheless, by many considered to be the same in substance, and I will, therefore, as connected with the religious tenets, here repeat it: When the Universe first coalesced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but in the course of time the bodies separated, the world assumed the appearance it now bears, and the air began to have a constant motion; upon which, fiery parts ascended to the upper regions, being naturally carried upwards by their own levity, and hence produced the rapid circular motion of the sun and the stars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid, subsided into one mass, by its own weight, and being agitated with continual internal volutions, the sea was formed of the watery parts, and of the more solid, the earth, which was slimy and very soft at first, but stiffening under the rays of the sun, the surface began to foment, by reason of the heat; and some of the humid parts swelled and rose by degrees into putrid pustules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter being thus fecundated by the genial heat, the night received nutriment from the mist falling from the ambient air, and during the day grew more and more solid through the action of the sun's rays, till at length the enclosed brood, having arrived at perfect maturity, and the membranes parched and burst, all kinds of creatures were produced; of which those that had been subjected to the greater degrees of heat, became volatile and flew upwards; those in which the earthy concreation prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles and other terrestrial animals; those other creatures, which chiefly consisted of a watery nature, repaired to a congenial element and became the animals called fishes. At length the earth continually hardening more and more by the heat of the sun and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their several species by generation.

There is also another account given of the cosmogony in a book attributed to Hermes and entitled "Divine Sermons," but considered as spurious and of no authority or credit.

Eusebius made it an imputation against the Egyptians, that they acknowledged no Deity as the first cause of the world, but that they thought that the Universe had originated in matter itself. To confirm this opinion he cites a passage of Porphyry, who, in his epistle to Anebo on

Egyptian priests, writes that Chæremon and others were of the opinion that there existed nothing previous to the visible worlds, and that the Egyptian gods were no others than the planets and stars which fill the zodiac, or those which rise with them ; for the very persons, who made the sun the Demiurgus or the architect of the world, interpreted all the stories of Isis and Osiris, and the rest of their sacred fables as applying to the stars and planets, and the river Nile ; and explained all things in the Universe as natural or inanimate—and nothing as incorporeal and living substances. From whence Eusebius draws the conclusion, that even the theology of the priests deified no other than the stars and the planets, and acknowledged no spiritual or incorporeal principle of the Universe, nor any Demiurgic reason, God, or gods, or intelligent and invisible powers, but the visible sun only, referring the production of all things to the material, senseless and perishable elements.* This opinion is also confirmed in the concise account of the Egyptian Philosophy given us by Diogenes Laertius, from Hecataeus, and Manetho ; that matter was the principle, from which the four elements originated and all kinds of animals perfectly formed ; and that the gods of the Egyptians were the sun and the moon ; the former being called Osiris and the latter Isis.

There are, however, several able advocates who have defended the Egyptians from the imputation of considering matter as the first cause of everything that exists. The above opinion of Eusebius appears also of very little weight, as he plainly contradicts it in another place, by confessing that the Egyptians professed a belief in an intelligent Architect of the world, whom, on authority of the same Porphyry, he informs us was called by them Cneph and symbolically represented in the shape of a man of a dark blue complexion, holding a girdle and a sceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thrusting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named Phtha and the Greek Vulcan. The explanation of this representation is as follows : this intellectual being is difficult to be traced, he is hidden and invisible ; because he is the giver of life and king of all things, and because he is moved in an intellectual manner, which is signified by the feathers on his head. The egg proceeding from the mouth of this god denotes that he is the origin of the world.

In regard to the passage in Porphyry's epistle concerning Chæremon, where he only propounds doubts to Anebo from a desire for farther information from him concerning them, Jamblichus has given an answer to it, under the person of Abammo, another Egyptian priest, who says, that Chæremon, and those others who pretend to write of the first causes of the Universe, declare only the last and lowest principles, as they also do who treat of the planets, zodiac and other astronomical matters ; for the

* Euseb. de Praep. Ev. book iii., c. 4

Egyptians did not resolve all things into nature, but made a distinction between the life of the soul and the intellectual life from that of nature, not in the world alone, but in man also; acknowledging the intellectual mind of reason first to have existed of itself, and so the whole world to have been brought into existence.

From this testimony of Jamblichus, who lived but little anterior to Porphyry, and who was contemporary with Eusebius and who had made it his particular business to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the Egyptian theology, it seems evident that at least not all Egyptians supposed—as Chæremon pretended some of them did—a senseless and inanimate nature to have been the origin of everything, but that in the world as well as in man, they acknowledged soul superior to matter, and mind or intellect superior to soul, this being the cause of the world.*

It is also to be observed, that Simplicius, a zealous advocate of the eternity of the world, asserts the Mosaic history of the creation of the Universe by God, to have been nothing else but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from Egyptian fables. Besides, it was thought anciently to be a notorious fact, that the Egyptians held the world not only to have had a beginning, but also to have been created by intelligent and superior beings.

It has also been observed, that these different authorities may easily be reconciled by distinguishing between the religion of Lower Egypt, whose inhabitants were addicted to a gross idolatry, and that of Upper Egypt or Thebaid, where the worship of Cneph, the immortal and supreme God, so generally prevailed that the inhabitants of that part of Egypt contributed nothing to the maintenance of the sacred animals.

In regard to the earth the Egyptian priests taught that it had certain periods or revolutions, being destroyed alternately by water and fire and renewed again.

I will now mention the principal of the Egyptian deities, and allude to some of the ceremonies with which they were worshipped.

The Egyptians boasted of having been the first who erected altars and temples to the gods, instituted festivals and ceremonies in their honor, and formed images of them. If this claim may be contested, still it must be admitted that no other nation ever peopled the world with so great a number of gods. In the Egyptian mythology Osiris and Isis take the most

* See Dr. Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.* p. 318.

† The symbolic fable of the reign of Osiris and Isis is as follows: Osiris was born in the Arabian city of Nysa. He married his sister Isis. When he ascended the throne of Egypt, his first care was to civilize the hitherto barbarous Egyptians. For this purpose he introduced a religious worship, erected several temples, and abrogated the custom of eating human flesh by teaching the people to cultivate the earth and the vine, while Isis instructed them how to make a proper use of the fruits thus produced. Osiris, seeing how improved and happy the condition of the Egyptians had become, resolved to make other people partake of the blessings of civilization, and for this reason he undertook a distant expedition.

conspicuous place, and it is generally considered that under these names the sun and the moon are typified. These divinities were worshipped over all Egypt with uniform veneration, while other divinities received no such general worship; the respect paid to the latter being mostly confined to certain localities.

The sun and moon are said to have been considered by the Egyptians as the great causes of nutrition and generation, and as the sources whence came the other parts of nature, which they also looked upon as gods, and to which they gave distinct names. These were Jupiter or spirit—the *vis vivifica* of living creatures; Hephaestos, the spirit of fire—Phtha, the spirit of the earth; Oceanos, by which the Egyptians meant the Nile, or moisture; and Minerva, called also by that people Neith, or air.

Besides these celestial and eternal gods, the Egyptians had also invented a vast number of terrestrial and mortal deities, which were considered to have deserved the honors paid to them for the benefits conferred on man-

During his absence Isis was to conduct the government, and was to be assisted by Osiris' most intimate friend, Hermes (Mercury). Hercules was to command the troops left in Egypt, and three governors, among whom was Prometheus, were to administer all civil affairs.

Having made these regulations for the security of Egypt, Osiris set out, accompanied by a numerous army. He directed his course first toward Ethiopia, where he built several canals and erected some embankments in order to regulate the inundations of the Nile; but the results were contrary to his expectation as the Nile caused great injuries in Egypt, breaking through the embankments there; and particularly devastating the province of Prometheus, who from that reason fell into despair and was about to deprive himself of life, when Hercules, however, succeeded in erecting a barrier against the Nile and thus dissipated the sorrows that preyed on the heart of Prometheus.

Osiris having erected many cities and towns in Ethiopia, and instructed the inhabitants in agriculture, crossed the Arabian Gulf, and proceeded to Arabia, and even to remote India. In the latter country he founded a city, which, in honor of his birth-place he called Nym, and taught also this people the culture of the earth and the vine; but as the latter would not flourish there, he instructed them how to make beer from corn. At last Osiris returned from his glorious expedition to Egypt, carrying with him a rich collection of the most precious plants of every kind from those countries through which he had marched.

But his brother Typhon had scarcely got information of his return ere he resolved his death. For this purpose he entered into an alliance with queen Aso of Ethiopia, and seventy-two Egyptians, who contrived a trap to catch Osiris. After having procured, for himself the measure of the length and other dimensions of the body of Osiris, Typhon caused a precious coffer, or coffin to be made, and to be carried to his house, whither he had invited Osiris and his friends to a feast. When all the guests were in high spirits and expressed their admiration of the coffin, Typhon declared that it should belong to him whose body it fitted. Many attempted in vain to place themselves in the coffin, but at last Osiris succeeded. Yet scarcely was he laid there when Typhon and the other conspirators covered the coffin with the lid, and laid the whole coffin over with lead, and threw it into one of the mouths of the Nile, the current of which carried it out into the sea.

After a long and fruitless search Isis had, however, the fortune to find the coffin of her husband; and at last took ample vengeance on his murderer. She continued afterwards, while a widow, to rule over the people of Egypt for a long time with great glory.

kind in their life-time ; several of them having been kings of Egypt ; some of these bore the same names with the celestial gods and others had proper names of their own. Such were the Sun, Cronus or Saturn, Jupiter, called by them Amoun, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, Hermes or Mercury, Orus, Venus, Pan, Arueno, Nephthys Harpocrates and others ;* Serapis is said to have been an upstart deity introduced by one of the Ptolemies of Alexandria, but others have supposed him to be only another name of Osiris who was also called Bacchus. As Osiris was considered of a beneficent nature, so his brother Typhon was regarded as the very reverse, and held in general detestation, as the spirit of evil. He had also other names as Seth, and Smy.

Though the bodies of these mortal deities remained in the sepulchres on earth, yet the Egyptians believed their souls to be present in the stars of the heavens ; the soul of Isis in particular in the day-star, called by them Sothis—the soul of Orus in Orion ; and that of Typhon in the bear.

The Egyptians, notwithstanding their polytheism, are said by some in reality to have acknowledged one Supreme God, the creator and the governor of the Universe, whom they sometimes denoted as Osiris, and sometimes as Isis, and oftentimes as Neith, on whose temple at Sais, Plutarch tells us was the following inscription : “ I am all that has been, is, and shall be ; and my veil no mortal has yet uncovered.” There still remains also an inscription to Isis as follows : “ To thee who, being one, art all things, the goddess Isis.”

The inhabitants of the Thebaid are, as I have before said, represented to have worshipped only the immortal and unbegotten God, called by them Cneph or Emeph. From this God Cneph, they are also said to have supposed a secondary God to have proceeded, representing either the world or only the earth, and called Phtha, which word is said now to be used among the Copts to signify the Divine Being.

The custom of idolatrous worship, which probably prevailed only in some parts of Egypt, appears at length to have overrun the whole country. But not stopping with their adoration of the heavenly bodies, the Egyptians were also induced to pay divine honors to several animals and, if we were to believe Juvenal, even to vegetables themselves ; as for example, to leeks and onions, though this imputation was, however, most probably an invention of the satirist. As the worship of these several animals, divided the people into several sects, each worshipping some particular animal—the origin of this preposterous worship was probably, as I have said before, but to which opinion among others, Mr. Wilkinson is opposed, the mode of using the images of animals as standards of different bodies of the Egyptian troops. Be this as it may, the intolerance of the worshippers of the

* See Diod. Sic. C. 1.

† See Plutarch de Isid at Osir.

respective animals went so far as to kindle, not only warm quarrels but also bloody contests between the different sects.

There have been those, who have thought that the kings themselves, out of policy, first caused or rather encouraged and fomented those quarrels, with a view to prevent the Egyptians from attempting anything against the government; and Diodorus Siculus relates that one of their most ancient and prudent kings, finding the people of Egypt very prone to seditions, enjoined on the inhabitants of each province the worship of different animals, and likewise the use of a different diet. The Egyptians, thus divided into so many distinct societies, prejudiced against each other in religious matters, continually in quarrels with each other on that account as well as from their different customs in other respects—there was less cause to fear that they would join with each other in seditious movements. But the fact here related by Diodorus seems to me more properly to bear the interpretation, that all the inhabitants of each province were induced, by the priests, and their own proneness to superstitions to worship the animals of which the image were carried on the standards of the soldiers of the respective provinces; thus, though the result being the same, the account of the origin of the worship of animals is more reasonable. I will here observe that it is well known that soldiers of our time, cherish the greatest attachment to their colors, and that it is not only duty and the sentiment of honor, and fear of punishment which induce them to make the most heroic efforts to preserve their standards, but it is also often a species of love. A close observer of human nature cannot but admit that the innate disposition of man to love something, is sometimes extended even to inanimate objects. When due consideration is, therefore, paid to all these circumstances we cannot be so much surprised to learn that the Egyptian priests, without whose consent this worship was not introduced, could soon persuade the people to pay divine honors to those animals, the images of which were carried on the standards of the soldiers, particularly by pretending that the aid of these divinities, thus acquired, would make the Egyptian arms more victorious. Considering as we cannot but do, the worship of animals as a stain upon human nature, we ought at least to attempt to account for it by some probable reasons, and not blindly judge so wise a people as the Egyptians in other respects were, as quite downright fools in their religious ideas and customs. Count Volney's opinion on this subject, which I will soon state, may perhaps be the most correct.

The Egyptians represented their divinities under different symbols, as for instance Osiris, being variously represented, sometimes, by a sceptre and eye to express his power and providence, sometimes by the image of a hawk, because of its sharp sight, swiftness and other qualities, and in later times in human form, in a posture not very decent, signifying his generative faculty. But the greatest adoration was paid to his living image, the bull.

There were two of that kind kept in Egypt, to which the people paid

divine honors ; one at Memphis, called Apis, or by the Greeks Epophus, and the other at Heliopolis called Menvis ; the honors paid to the last were inferior to those of Apis.

Apis must be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwise to be impregnated, as the priests taught and the people believed, than by thunder. Several marks distinguished him from all other beasts : his body was to be black, except a white spot in the form of a crescent, upon his forehead ; he ought to have the figure of an eagle on his back and that of a beetle under his tongue, and a double list of hair on his tail.* Ælian tells us that no less than twenty marks distinguished him. The Egyptians sacrificed bulls to Apis, but were so particular in their choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them to be unclean. This search was made by the priests with the utmost precaution. When the beast was found without a blemish, the priest tied a label about his horns, and sealing it with a signet, ordered him to be taken away and secured ; for the punishment was death to sacrifice any beast of this kind that was not marked with such a seal.

When the Apis died, and his funeral celebrated, the priests who had this office sought out for another with the same marks, and when they had found one, the lamentations in consequence of the death of the former ceased, and the priests led the calf first into the city of the Nile, where he was fed for forty days ; from thence, he was transported in a vessel with a gilded cabin to Memphis as their god, and turned into the grove of Vulcan. For the above mentioned forty days women only were admitted into his presence, who stood before him holding up their coats, after which time they were not allowed more to see the new god. We are told that the reason the Egyptians gave for the worship of Apis was, because the soul of Osiris, as they pretended, migrated into a bull of that sort, and by a successive transmigration passed from one to another, as often as one died and another was found. Others, however, say that it was because when Typhon had killed Osiris, and Isis had found the corpse of the latter she laid the limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, whence the city of Busiris got its name.

The image of Isis was usually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head, representing the appearance of the moon in the increase and decrease, and holding the Sistrum, a kind of symbol, in her right hand and a pitcher in her left, the former signifying the continual motion existing in nature, and the fecundity of the Nile. But sometimes she was represented as *Cybele*, having her body full of breast, to express her nourishing all things.

The festival of Isis was celebrated with the greatest pomp. On the vigil thereof they fasted, and having prayed, sacrificed a bullock ; while

* Pliny B. 8, c. 46. Herod B. 2.

the flesh lay on the fire they beat themselves, and when the sacrifice was done, they feasted on the remainder. The offerings of this kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemished males; for the females being sacred to Isis could not be offered.

Jupiter or Amun was by the Egyptians represented by an image with the head of a ram; the reason of which, they said, was this—Hercules wishing much to see Jupiter, had the utmost difficulty to get his request granted, but at length Jupiter yielded to his eager prayers and having separated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcass, he put on the skin with the wool, and in that form showed himself to Hercules.

In offerings to the Egyptian deities wine frequently occurs, and many different kinds are noticed in the sacred sculptures. But in the temple of Heliopolis, Plutarch tells us that wine was totally forbidden in libation, and when used by the priests, in other places for this purpose, the same writer says, that "they poured it on the altars of the gods as the blood of those enemies who had formerly fought against them." According to what Herodotus relates, their sacrifices commenced with this ceremony, and some was also sprinkled on the ground where the victim lay; but what is related above, in regard to the custom at Heliopolis on the authority of Plutarch, was probably an exception from the general rule. The same author tells us also, that the priests were strictly prohibited from the use of wine during their more solemn purifications and in times of abstinence.

"Among the offerings," says Mr. Wilkinson, "presented to the gods, both in the tombs and temples, onions are introduced, and a priest is frequently holding them in his hand, or covering an altar with a bundle of their leaves and roots." Though the priests were prohibited to eat onions, this was probably not the case with the people in general, and we know that the Israelites when in the desert, regretted among other things, even the onions of Egypt.

Herodotus tells us* that no Egyptian would taste the head of any species of animal in consequence of certain imprecations having been uttered upon it at the time it was sacrificed, "but," says Mr. Wilkinson, "as he is speaking of heifers slaughtered for the service of the gods, we may conclude that the prohibition did not extend to those killed for the table," which even seems to me very true, "nor even to all those offered for sacrifice in the temples."

"The mode of imprecation," he continues, "was probably very similar with the Jews and the Egyptians:" as Herodotus in regard to the latter says that they prayed their gods, "that was any misfortune about to happen to those who offered, or to the other inhabitants of Egypt, it might fall upon that head;" speaking here of the head of the animal which was about to be sacrificed; and as with the Jews it was customary for the

* Book 2d, c. 39.

priest to take two goats and cast lots upon them, "one lot for the Lord and the other for the scapegoat," which was preserved alive, "to make atonement" for the people. The priest was then required to "lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness." Mr. Wilkinson thinks, that the remark of Herodotus, should be confined solely to the head, on which the imprecations of the Egyptians were pronounced; and being looked upon by every person of that people as an abomination, it may have been taken to the market and sold; as we are told, to foreigners, or if no foreigner happened to be there, thrown into the river according as Herodotus states, or as Ælian says of the Amorites, when they had offered any animal, given to the crocodiles.

Swine were offered to the moon and to Bacchus.

There is some reason to suppose that the Egyptians sometimes offered human sacrifices to their gods, but this must have been very seldom, or in the earlier period of their history; and we find some ancient writers vehemently assailing the statement that such sacrifices were ever customary in Egypt.

The sacred animals, of which I have before spoken, were kept in consecrated enclosures, and well attended by men of high rank, who, at great expense, provided for them food, consisting of dainties, such as the finest flour boiled in milk, cakes of several sorts made with honey, flesh of geese, boiled and roasted; and those which fed on raw meat, were supplied with different kinds of birds. They were washed in hot baths, anointed with the most precious ointments, and perfumed with the most odoriferous scents; they rested on the richest carpets and other costly furniture; and that they might want nothing to make their life as agreeable as possible, they had for their companions the most beautiful female animals of their several kinds, called by them concubines, on which the most extravagant attendance and expenditure were bestowed: when they died, there was a general lamentation in the town or village where they were kept, and the inhabitants manifested the same signs of sorrow, as though every one among them had lost some beloved relative.

In regard to this preposterous worship of animals, I cannot forbear to quote in this place the observations of two ancient writers on this subject; and first, the following verses of Juvenal:

"Who has not heard, where Egypt's realms are nam'd,
What monster gods her frantic sons have fram'd.
Here Ibis, gorged with well-grown serpents, there
The Crocodile commands religious fear:
Where Memnon's statue magic strains inspire
With vocal sounds that emulate the lyre:

And Thebes, such Fate, are thy disastrous turns,
 Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourns.
 A monkey-god, prodigious to be told !
 Strikes the beholder's eye with burnished gold :
 To godships here blue Triton's scaly herd,
 The river progeny is there preferred.
 Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
 Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise :
 And should you leeks or onions eat, no time
 Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.
 Religious nation's sure and blest abodes,
 Where every orchard is o'errun with gods.*"

"You enter," says Lucian, "into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat ; a just emblem of too many palaces, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them."

There has been much doubt whether the Egyptians really believed all the animals they worshipped to have been the depositories of divine spirits,—as we know that they did in regard to the bull Apis—or whether they only viewed them as representing in some way or other the qualities belonging to the divine nature, or, finally, whether they considered these animals as real divinities.

The theology of the Egyptians is enveloped in so much darkness, that it is scarcely possible to decide upon any part of it with certainty ; but there is every probability that its secret spirit—if I may so express myself—was in no wise unworthy of man ; though the priests chose to hide the more rational ideas from the knowledge of the people, whom they deemed it for their interests to keep in ignorance and superstition. "It clearly results," says Plutarch, "from the verses of Orpheus, and the sacred books of the Egyptians and Phrygians, that the ancient theology, not only of the Greeks, but of all nations, was nothing but a system of physics, a picture of the operations of nature, wrapped up in mysterious allegories and enigmatical symbols, so that the ignorant multitude attended rather to their apparent than to their hidden meaning, and even in what they understood of the latter, supposed something more deep than what they perceived."

* Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
 Egyptus portenta colat ? Crocodilon adorat
 Pars hæc : illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
 Effigies sacri nitet auræ Cereopithecæ,
 Dimidio magicæ resonant, ubi Memnone chordæ
 Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
 Illic cæreos, hic pisces flaminis, illic
 Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam,
 Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
 O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
 Numina !—Juvenal, Satir. xv.

Much truth undoubtedly lies in these words of Plutarch, but nevertheless all religions, except the true one, are the offsprings of deception, and have fed on the credulity of mankind. Still it must be admitted that it was the physical powers of the universe that influenced man to seek for the Deity, who was sometimes considered as only one being, in consequence of the near connexion of the different parts of the universe, and sometimes as a plurality of gods, by reason of the manifold phenomena in nature. Thus it has happened that sometimes intelligence or matter has been considered as the Deity: and sometimes that wind, fire, water, or the sun, the stars and the planets, have been viewed as separate divinities. Man in the infancy of his reason, was soon led to endow the great agents of nature with his own mental qualities and passions, and was child enough to think by offerings and prayers to direct the attention of these agents to his own wants, or to avert their displeasure, in moments when they assumed an unusual appearance, as for instance at the eclipse of the sun, or when, showing themselves in an angry mood, winds and hurricanes rose, or the thunder deafened the ears.

It must also be observed that by a close observation of the relation which the several parts of nature have to each other, men were easily inclined to assume that some parts exercised a kind of superior influence over others. So, for instance, seeing that the rise, growth and decline of each plant kept pace with the appearance, elevation and declination of the same star, or group of stars; or that the activity or sleep of vegetation seemed to depend on the influence of the celestial bodies, man drew the conclusion that these orbs exercised some secret power over what took place on earth—and the sun, the moon and the stars became gods, authors of good and evil. Among these close observers of nature were men, who knew how to convert their knowledge into a means of ruling over their fellow-men; and soon constituted, in all countries, a separate class for themselves, pretending to stand in a nearer connexion with the celestial powers, and to be the interpreters between the gods and their fellow-men, they soon imposed upon an ignorant and credulous multitude whatever doctrines they pleased to promulgate.

This, in few words, is the probable origin of the priesthood, if not among all, at least among several of the ancient nations; and there can be no doubt that it was by their superior knowledge of nature, and the unscrupulous use they made of this knowledge, that at least the Egyptian priesthood had acquired and maintained for so many centuries their marvellous influence over their fellow-beings. With a view to strengthen their power, they appear to have had no hesitation in resorting to any means whatever, however iniquitous they might be. We must therefore consider the superstitions of the Egyptian people to have been chiefly bred by the priests, and to have been as so many barriers erected by them for protection against any attacks on their authority.

But deserving, as the Egyptian priests undoubtedly are, of our indignation in this regard, they, however, in many respects, merit praise and even admiration. The progress which Egypt made in the sciences, and also in the arts, was effected principally through their care and labor: many of the most admirable works of Egypt they caused to be raised; and they took also much care of the well-being of the people. Thus to promote this laudable aim, they circulated the doctrine that all possible precautions for the preservation of one's health was the indispensable duty of every Egyptian, and an act of piety due to the gods. They appear to have taken more pains to teach, that the mortification of men's appetites was meritorious in the eyes of their deities, than to inculcate the duty of subduing their passions; therefore they laid no impediments in the way of sensual pleasures, and do not appear to have made vain attempts to condemn those enjoyments that sweeten the ills of life, without corrupting the nobler part of our nature.

"Religion," says Plutarch, "is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man and to the Deity; I mean impiety and superstition. The one, from an affectation of freethinking, believes nothing, and the other, from blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods, while superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but the protectors and models of crimes."

Much truth is unquestionably found in these words. Wickedness and superstition are the eternal enemies of true religion. Man does not wish to know the Deity; he rather denies his existence, or endows him with the qualities which predominate in his own imperfect nature. The Creator of the world has therefore been viewed as the possessor of human passions and human frailties, or has sometimes been considered as synonymous with matter itself. He has been represented either as a changeable being, who could be induced to alter the laws which he had once prescribed for nature, for the sake of realizing the wishes of man, or as a being who cared not for the world he had created; or sometimes as the involuntary origin of everything that exists. The cause of all these fatal errors is not to be sought for only in our incapacity to understand the Divine nature, but in the impositions which artful, or deceiving, and self-deceived men have, in all ages, practised on the credulity and weakness of mankind.

Count Volney has in a masterly manner accounted for the origin of the worship of animals, and though I have already assigned to it another cause, I am willing to admit that there is much reason to suppose that the cause given by Volney may also have contributed to the adoption of this worship among the Egyptians: I will therefore give the views of this celebrated writer on this subject, though not precisely in his own words.

'As soon as an agricultural people began to observe the stars with attention, they found it necessary to individualize, or group them, and to assign

to each a proper name, in order to understand each other in their designation. But to this there was a great obstacle; for on the one hand, the heavenly bodies similar in form, offered no distinguishing characteristics by which to denominate them, and, on the other, language, in its infancy and purity, had no expressions for so many new and metaphysical ideas. Necessity, the usual stimulus of genius, surmounted everything. Having remarked that in the annual revolution, the renewed and periodical appearance of terrestrial productions were constantly associated with the rising and setting of certain stars, and to their position as relative to the sun, the fundamental term of all comparisons, the mind, by a natural operation, connected in thought these terrestrial and celestial objects, which were connected in fact, and applying to them a common sign, it gave to the stars and their groups the names of the terrestrial objects to which they answered.*

Thus the Ethiopians of Thebes named stars of inundation, or aquarius, those under which the Nile began to overflow; stars of the ox or bull, those under which they began to plough; stars of the lion, those under which that animal, driven from the desert by thirst, appeared on the banks of the Nile; stars of the sheaf, or of the harvest virgin, those of the reaping season; stars of the lambs, stars of the kids, those under which these precious animals were brought forth; and thus the first part of the difficulty was resolved.

Moreover, man having remarked, in the beings which surrounded him, certain qualities distinctive and peculiar to each species, and having thence derived a name by which to designate them, he found in the same source an ingenious mode of generalizing his ideas, and transferring the name already invented to everything which bore any resemblance or analogy, he enriched his language with a perpetual round of metaphors.

Thus the same Ethiopians, having observed that the return of the inundation always corresponded with the rising of a beautiful star which appeared toward the supposed source of the Nile, and seemed to warn the husbandman against the coming waters, they compared this action to that of the animal who, by his barking, gives notice of danger, and they called this star the dog, the barker, Sirius. In the same manner they named the

* "The Ancients," says Maimonides, "directing all their attention to agriculture, gave to the stars names derived from their occupation during the year."

† We have many reasons for supposing that by the word Ethiopians ancient writers sometimes meant to designate the Thebaid or Upper Egypt. The expression of Pliny, "Æthiopia, was evidently renowned and powerful, even in the time of the Trojan war, and extended its empire over Syria," although as Mr. Wilkinson justly observes, he is speaking of Ethiopia Proper, can only have been borrowed from a tradition relating to the Thebaid, since the monarch of Thebes really ruled and received tribute from Ethiopia, and actually did extend their dominion over Syria: which there is no probability that the real Ethiopians could have done at that time, when the Pharaohs were in the zenith of their power, and through the country of whom the Ethiopians had to march ere reaching Syria.

stars of the crab, those where the sun, having arrived at the tropic, retreated by a slow retrograde motion like the crab or cancer. They named stars of the wild goat, or capricorn, those where the sun, having reached the highest point in his annuary track, rests at the summit of the hoary gnomon, and imitates the goat, who delights to climb the summit of the rocks. They named stars of the balance or libra, those where the days and nights, being equal, seemed in equilibrium like that instrument; and stars of the scorpion, those where certain periodical winds bring vapors, burning like the venom of that animal. In the same manner they called by the name of rings and serpents, the figured traces of the orbits of the stars and planets; and such was the general mode of naming all the stars, and even the planets, taken by groups or as individuals, according to their relations with husbandry and terrestrial objects, and according to the analogies which each nation found between them and the objects of its particular soil and climate.

From this, it appeared that abject and terrestrial beings became associated with the superior and powerful inhabitants of heaven, and this association became stronger every day by the mechanism of language, and the constitution of the human mind. Men would say, by a natural metaphor, "The bull spreads over the earth the germs of fecundity (in spring)—he restores vegetation and plenty; the ram delivers the skies from the malevolent genii of winter; he saves the world from the serpent (emblem of the humid seasons,) and restores the empire of goodness, (summer, joyful season). The scorpion pours out his poison on earth, and scatters diseases and deaths," &c.; the same of all similar effects.

This language, understood by every one, was attended at first with no inconvenience; but in the course of time, when the calendar had been regulated, the people, who had no longer any need of observing the heavens, lost sight of the original meaning of these expressions, and the allegories remaining in common use became a fatal stumbling-block to the understanding and the reason. Habituated to associate to the symbols the ideas of their archetypes, the mind at last confounded them: then the same animals whom fancy had transported to the skies, turned again to the earth; but being thus returned, clothed in the livery of the stars, they claimed the stellary attributes, and imposed on their own authors. Then it was that the people believing that they saw their gods among themselves could pray to them with more convenience; they demanded from the ram of their flock the influences which might be expected from the heavenly ram; they prayed the scorpion not to pour out his venom upon nature; they revered the crab of the sea, the scarab of the mire, the fish of the river; and by a series of corrupt but inseparable analogies, they lost themselves in a labyrinth of well-connected absurdities.

"Such," says Volney, "was the origin of that ancient whimsical worship of the animals; such is the train of ideas, by which the character of

the divinity became common to the vilest of the brutes, and by which was formed that theological system, extremely comprehensive, complicated and learned; which, rising on the borders of the Nile,* propagated from country to country by commerce, war and conquest, overspread the whole of the ancient world, and which, modified by time, circumstances and prejudices, is still seen entire among a hundred nations, and remains as the essential and secret basis of the theology of those even who despise and reject it."

Volney therefore intimates, that the ancestors of these nations of Africa, who adore fetiches, plants, animals, pebbles, pieces of wood, would not have committed the folly to bow before such divinities, had they not seen in them talismans endowed with the virtue of the stars;† that thus is to be explained the origin of the marmosets of the nations of Tartary and of all that train of animals with which the chamans of these people ornament their magical robes; that hence was the origin of those figures of snakes and of birds which savage nations imprint upon their skins with sacred and mysterious ceremonies; that the hawk of the Indian god Vichenon is but one of the many emblems of the sun,‡ in Egypt; that the incarnation of this god in the fish, the boar, the lion, the tortoise, &c., are only metamorphoses of the sun, which, passing through the signs of the twelve animals, was supposed to assume their figures, and perform their astronomical functions;§ that the bull of the Japaneses, which breaks the mundane egg, is only the bull of the zodiac, which in former times opened the seasons, the age of creation, the vernal equinox; and is the same bull as the Egyptian Apis, and which the Jews worshipped in the golden calf.¶

There can be no doubt, I think, that this reasoning is in its main part true, and is indeed a reasonable explanation of the worship paid to ani-

* I think that there may be reasonable doubt, whether this kind of worship originated first in Egypt or in India.

† The ancient astrologers, says the learned Jew, Maimonides, having consecrated to each planet a color, an animal, a tree, a metal, a fruit, a plant, formed from them all a figure or representation of the star; taking care to select for the purpose a proper moment, a fortunate day, such as the conjunction, or some other favorable aspect. They conceived that by their magic ceremonies, they could introduce into these figures or idols the influences of the superior beings after which they were modeled. These were the idols that the Chaldean Sabians adored; and in the performance of their worship they were obliged to be dressed in proper color. . . . Thus the astrologers, by their practices, introduced idolatry, desirous of being regarded as the dispensers of the favors of Heaven; and as agriculture was the sole employment of the ancients, they succeeded in persuading them that the rain and other blessings of the seasons were at their disposal. Thus the whole art of agriculture was exercised by rules of astrology, and the priests made talismans or charms which were to drive away locusts, flies, &c. (See Maimonides. *Mere Nebuchim* pars. 3d, c. 9.)

‡ The hawk was among the Egyptians an emblem of the sun and light, on account of his rapid flight, and his soaring into the higher regions of the air nearer to the source of light.

§ These are the very words of Jamblicus, *de Symbolis Egyptiorum*, c. 2/ sect. 7.

¶ See Volney's *Buins*—Worship of Symbols or Idolatry.

mals, and tends also to show that mankind has not been left quite without the guidance of reason even during its greatest follies.*

I cannot forbear to give in this place the following views advanced by Plutarch, in his treatise on the pretensions of Isis and Osiris. Philosophers honor the image of God wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, though chiefly in those which have life. We are not therefore to commend those who worship animals, but those who by their means, ascend to the Deity; they are to be considered as so many mirrors, which nature herself holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being displays himself in a wonderful manner; as so many instruments, which he makes use of to manifest outwardly his incomprehensible wisdom. Should men, therefore, for the embellishing of statues, collect together all the gold and precious stone that exist, the worship must not be referred to the statues; for the Deity does not exist in colors artfully displayed, nor in perishable materials destitute of sense and motion. He adds further, in another place, that as the sun and moon, the heavens and earth, and the sea are common to all men, but have different names—according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one God, and one Providence, which governs the universe, and which has several subaltern ministers under him, men give to the Deity, which is the same, different names, and pay to him different honors, according to the laws and customs of the different countries.

This is one of the many examples which can be adduced of the enlightened views some of the ancient philosophers entertained in regard to these subjects, and I think that there can be no reasonable doubt that at least the most learned of the Egyptian priests held an opinion equally rational in regard to this subject. It is generally admitted that an invisible God was worshipped at Thebes, and that the religion taught by the priests of that capital in the more ancient times was free from those gross superstitions that afterwards were propagated. The purity of the ancient Egyptian religion, is also attested by the following words from the book of Hermes or Thoth, and which I give as I find them translated by Mr. Gliddon from the French of Champollion the elder.

“O Egypt, Egypt! a time shall come, when in lieu of a pure religion and of a pure belief, thou wilt possess naught but ridiculous fables, incredible

* I will here observe that Count Volney, who was a professed infidel, in the continuation of the above reasoning, accuses even the Christians for having accepted as realities some of the Egyptian symbols. In order that none of those who have read “His Ruins” may think that I decline following out his reasoning on this subject, lest I should produce anything of his writing that would injure the Christian religion, I here promise that I will, in its proper place, mention what Volney says on this subject, and attempt to prove that his accusation—even if valid—would be not at all detrimental to Christianity, which is founded upon something more lasting than what its enemies have acknowledged and some of its zealous friends appear to have understood.

to posterity ; and nothing will remain to thee, but *words engraven on stones*—the only monuments that will attest thy piety.*

The following interpreted hieroglyphic : "*May thy soul attain to Khnum, the creator of all mankind,*" is considered by Mr. Gliddont as a proof of the primitive Egyptian creed of one God—the Creator. Though I cannot admit this conclusion to be quite correct, I think that this hieroglyphic goes far to prove that at least some of the Egyptians at one period entertained this belief.

We know also, that the Egyptian priests taught the rational doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and that among them originated, or at least was entertained, the belief of the resurrection of the dead.

The Egyptian religion resembles a wise man who has accounted himself in the costume of a harlequin. Its kernel consisted undoubtedly of many sublime truths, yet enveloped in the most abject and loathsome superstitions. It opened to man a view of eternity and assured him of the aid of the gods. Yet it degraded him to the condition of a mere tool of deception. Interesting it would have been to have listened to the Egyptian priests, when it might have so happened that one dared to unbosom his secret thoughts to another of the brotherhood, or when with hypocritical mien, repressing the laugh that struggled to burst forth, they attempted to impose on each other, the idea that they themselves believed in the divinity of a cat or a crocodile. Undoubtedly did the priests of Egypt bequeath to mankind many great truths ; and honor to them for the good they wrought ; but eternal shame to them for the superstitions they forged and promulgated, some of which still keep the human reason in chains ! By them men were induced to believe that periodical abstinence, and the denial of particular kinds of food were in the eyes of the Deity meritorious acts ; that the observance of certain ceremonies was virtue ; that offerings were pleasing to the gods and of higher merit than the practice of justice and love towards their fellow-men ; that the celestial beings used to appear in mortal shapes, and hold colloquial intercourse with certain favorites among the children of earth, and reveal to them the things that were to come. The priests of Egypt were at once the benefactors of mankind and the most subtle inventors of the means most suitable to impose on the credulity and weakness of men. The religion they nurtured was a compound of a few eternal truths and of innumerable falsities. The results of their labors have been in some instances useful, but in general truly deplorable. They did not fetter the body with iron chains, but they bound the soul with the adamantine fetters of abject superstition. They did not so much rule the people by fear of the rod as they made them tremble at the wrath of imagi-

* "O Ægypte, Ægypte solae supererant fabulae, et aequae incredibiles posteris . . . solae supererant verba lapideis incisa."

† See Ancient Egypt, by G. R. Gliddont in "The New World," for April, 1843, p. 29.

hary deities. They made the rules of men, but not that sentiment of right and wrong which God has given to man as his guardian angel, the guide of his actions. That despotism they so well knew how to acquire over their countrymen was the more lasting, as it was cloaked under the pretence that it was the will of the gods. Artful men among other nations found it therefore well adapted to promote their own interests, and hence adopted it in the pursuit of their own ambitious projects for subjecting their fellow-men to their own sway. Thus the hierarchical power—which if not indigenous to Egypt, at least found there the most fertile soil and its most skilful cultivators—was thence propagated to many other nations and handed down to our time, retaining still, in most countries both the beneficial and terrible influence which it first possessed. Never did deception raise a more lasting structure, and never did it have abler servants than the Egyptian priests. But for the victory it then gained, truth would long ago have deprived it of the sceptre it still wields; yet now as I write, hope whispers in my ears that the day is fast approaching when its hideous spectre will be chased away from the crazed vision of deluded man.

I will observe, that diverse as the nations,—that divide mankind,—have been in their opinions in other respects, they have, however, all united with scarcely any exceptions in the point of worshipping certain beings, whom they have viewed as rulers of their destinies and superior to man in power. Everywhere, among all nations that have risen to any degree of civilization, we find priests, altars, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to the worship of the Deity in unity or in plurality. All people have manifested their love and fear of the Divinity, and have endeavored, by offering or prayer, to gain his favor or avert his wrath. In all their undertakings, private or public, they have considered it necessary to invoke his aid. To him they have looked for the reward of their virtuous deeds, and into his hands they have, by imprecations, committed the revenge they found themselves incapable of inflicting upon their enemies. When about to slaughter each other, they have prayed for the blessings of the Deity, and when victorious they have hastened to thank him for the aid he had lent them in murdering their brethren. They have been inexhaustible in means to assure themselves of his favor, and to bribe his justice. Everywhere the Deity has had his servants and particular favorites to whom, in familiar discourses, he has made his will known. Everywhere the people have believed that though invisible to the vulgar, the Deity has condescended to appear under one or another form before certain mortals, and to reveal to them the secrets of futurity. Have the people been fond of wars, their god has been a formidable warrior whose heart gladdened at the sound of the trumpet of battle. Have they cultivated the vine, he has been represented as pleased with the ravings of drunkards; have flocks of goats and sheep been their wealth, he has been said to be fond of licentious pleasures. Sometimes the Deity has been a mysterious being, envel-

oped in darkness; and sometimes he has been described with the greatest minuteness.

All have united in worshipping his power, and all have formed to themselves a god of their own choice and after their own desires. Yielding to the illusions of their fancy, they have seldom listened to the voice of reason; they have represented the form and described the qualities of Him whom human thought attempts in vain to fathom. But what the sublime genius of Plato could not accomplish, and what Confucius so justly deemed beyond the power of man, that deception has induced mankind to think as a task easily accomplished by dolts and knaves.

What have the false gods before whom men have bowed their knees been, but the invention of deceiving priests and cunning impostors or blind fanatics? and what is the cause of the division of mankind into a thousand different religious sects which look down upon each other with pity and contempt, other than the deception that preys upon the credulity of men, and feeds their passions to enslave their minds? Let mankind shake off the dishonorable yoke under which they are groaning, and all religions will be embodied in these beautiful words: **LOVE THY GOD WITH ALL THY HEART, AND THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.** This is the true religion and in all ages there have existed a few who have felt its truth in their hearts. Thus for example, though in more copious phrase Cicero says, "That men ought above everything else to be convinced that there exists a Superior Power, who rules over all the events that happen, and disposes of them as sovereign Lord and Arbiter; that it is to him the human race are indebted for all the good they enjoy; that he penetrates into, and is conscious of whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts; that he treats the just and unjust according to their deserts; that the true means of gaining his favor and of doing what is acceptable to him, does not consist in a pompous worship, but in presenting to him a heart, pure and blameless, and by adoring him with sincere love.*"

Sublime sentiments worthy of man to entertain of the Supreme Being who has endowed him with the light of reason! Sure we may be that though hidden from the sight of the vulgar, its radiant rays lighted up the darkness of the Egyptian temples.

* Sit hoc jam principio persuasum civibus; dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quae gerunter eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem. Ad divos adiendo caste. Pietatem adhibendo, opes amovendo.—Cic. de Leg. l. 2d.

LETTER XXVIX.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

THERE have been attempts to prove that the Egyptians were descended from Mizraim the son of Ham or Cham, but the evidence in support of this opinion appears to me not altogether satisfactory. It is in reality only a conjecture which does not bear close investigation, still it may be true. The first settlers in Egypt lived undoubtedly anterior to the time of which we have any authentic history.

There has also been much labor wasted in proving that the Egyptians were not the same race as the Negroes, but that they were of Asiatic origin, as though this were not the case with the Negroes and all other races that are said to have sprung from Adam, who, it is universally admitted, lived in Asia. There have been too many who have wasted their talents and learning in vain endeavors to reconcile impossibilities. There are but two alternatives; either mankind was from the beginning divided into several races—and as I have elsewhere said, there is much evidence in support of this hypothesis—or the Egyptians, the negroes, and other people are all of the same race, but have, through the influence of climate and food, been made distinct in outward appearance. Thus so far the Asiatic and the Negroes were certainly of different races; and though the Egyptians were not black, and may have in their forms borne more resemblance to the Asiatic nations, I think there can be but little doubt that the blood flowing in their veins was mixed with that of the Negroes. Neighboring nations as they were, and having much intercourse with each other, and being each in their turn the master, the one of the other, there can be no doubt that intermarriages must have taken place between these two people.

The Egyptians considered themselves as the most ancient of the human family, which as well as animals generally, they thought had originally been produced in their country, in consequence of its benign temperature, the natural fecundity of the Nile, and its spontaneous production of several kinds of vegetables suitable for the food of the newly created races. And in support of this opinion they adduced the fact, that a great number of mice were every year bred out of the mud left by the Nile on its retreat, some of them, as they said, appearing alive and formed so far as the fore

part of the body only ; the other part being inanimate and without motion, as having not quite put off the nature of earth.*

The Egyptians have surely not supported, by any acceptable evidence, their claim of being the most ancient inhabitants of the earth, yet they have left evidence enough to compel us to yield to them a very high antiquity, and far higher than what any other people, to the west of the river Indus, except the Assyrians, can justly claim. We know also by the unanimous testimony of the ancients, and by the sculptures on the walls of the tombs, that the Egyptians have been from a very remote age a flourishing and polished nation, possessing a vast amount of knowledge in several sciences and arts. The works of ruins we have surveyed, prove beyond a shadow of doubt, that a very long series of years must have passed away before this people could have attained to the knowledge these works attest. The veracity of their native historian in the chief points of his statements has been fully established by the deciphered hieroglyphics on the walls as well as on the papyri. It is therefore now in vain to attempt to deny an antiquity supported by such overwhelming evidence.

I have before mentioned that Dr. Bunsen, after a close investigation of this subject, has arrived at the conclusion—which has been approved by the highest authorities of Europe—that an antiquity of upwards of four thousand years before the Christian era, must be admitted to belong to the Egyptian people, and that the reign of Menes, their first known king, took place at least three thousand six hundred and forty years before the birth of Christ.† Though convinced that Baron Bunsen's computation is a nearer approximation to the truth than any other, I will consider it nevertheless as somewhat questionable, and view it only as an established fact, that the reign of Menes did not take place at a time less remote than at least two thousand seven hundred and seventy years before the Christian era, as proved by the computations of Rossellini and Freret,‡ and now amply confirmed by the computation of Baron Bunsen.

It has been the opinion of many learned men, that the Egyptians got their first germs of civilization from the Ethiopians, who, in the most ancient traditions were celebrated as the justest people, and as particular favorites of the gods. But this may refer to the inhabitants of the Thebaid, as in some instances they were sometimes called Ethiopians. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson and Mr. Gliddon, together with some other modern writers, are totally opposed to the opinion that the real Ethiopians were the teachers of

* Diodorus Liv. b. 1.

† Though this would carry back the reign of Menes too near to the time of the deluge, even as computed by Johannes Von Muller, I will observe that there are those who have computed the latter event to have taken place even some hundred years anterior to the time given by this learned historian.

‡ In accordance with the computation of Rossellini, the reign of Menes took place, B. C., 3776 : in accordance with that of Freret, B. C., 2782.

the people of Egypt. "This notion," says Wilkinson, "appears from modern investigation to be totally at variance with fact; and the specimens of art that remain in Ethiopia, are not only inferior in conception to those of the Egyptian school, but are deficient in that character which evinces originality." Neither of these arguments appear to me quite convincing, as it was quite natural that the art of architecture should be less advanced in a more remote age, and there is no originality necessary to be claimed for the Ethiopians, as the Hindoos might well have been their teachers. Mr. Wilkinson admits in another place, that it is very probable that civilization advanced northwards from the Thebaid to Lower Egypt, and adds that the custom of giving precedence to the title of "Upper Country," in the hieroglyphic legends, may be adduced as an argument in favor of this opinion. Why then is it impossible that civilization—coming across the Erythræan sea, and first planted among those Ethiopians that lived in the vicinity of Meroe—was thence propagated to the people of the Thebaid? It seems to me the more probable, as I feel myself for many reasons inclined to think, that India was inhabited by a civilized people, anterior even to Assyria and Egypt. We have seen that there was much analogy between the religion of India and of Egypt, and also between the customs of these two nations, as will appear still more evident when we come to treat of the history of the Hindoos. and this view does not conflict with the asserted superior antiquity of India.

Egypt was in the most remote time undoubtedly divided between several people, who formed for themselves separate states, and Menes ought therefore to be viewed not as the first king in Egypt, but as the king who first united these separate people under a single ruler. Still Egypt remained afterwards not always united, but was subsequent to the reign of this king often divided into separate states. In regard to the form of government which the Egyptians first instituted, it has been much doubted whether it was hierarchical or monarchical, and I think that this question is equally distant as ever from the possibility of a satisfactory decision. But considering the preponderating influence of the priests, it seems to me most probable that the hierarchical was the first form of government which existed among the Egyptians, though misfortunes in war might have induced them, at a later period, to exalt a warrior to the throne, subject, however, generally to the control of the priesthood.

We have seen that gods and demigods are mentioned as the first rulers of Egypt. In regard to Hæphæstus—the god of fire—the creator—his reign means evidently past eternity, before the existence of the world. By the reign of Helius—the sun—the Egyptian philosophers might have meant the time which they supposed to have elapsed between the creation of the universe and that of the first man. Cronus and his twelve divine successors might have some allusion to antediluvian rulers, and the reign of the demigods, to the reign of the priests after the deluge, and before the

time of Menes. These hypothesis are scarcely more than mere conjectures, though founded upon the mythological traditions of the Egyptians, and the evident power of the priesthood.

As I intend to attach Chronological Tables to the end of the Ancient History, I will here only mention those of the Egyptian kings, who in some way signalised themselves. Disagreeing, as those who have written on Egyptian History do, in so many other points, they all mention Menes, or Menas as the first man that reigned over Egypt; still they differ much in regard to what this king accomplished during his reign. The time when this king lived, as I have before mentioned, is shown by Dr. Bunsen, on strong evidence, to have been anterior to the birth of Christ, about 3640 years. We will here however only assign to his reign some indefinite period more remote than 2770 years before the Christian Era, without presuming any precise time to have been proved as the date of his reign.

Menes anterior to the birth of Christ more than 2770 years.

When Menes became the king of the people that inhabited the country which is now called Egypt, the whole of it, except the Thebaid, is said to have been a morass, and to have possessed no cultivated land between the lake now bearing the name of Moeris and the Mediterranean sea; an area whose length along the river extended seven days' journey. We are also told that Menes diverted the course of the Nile, which was wont to wash the base of the sandy mountain towards Libya; that he built the city of Memphis within the ancient bed of the river; and that on the north and west side of it, without the walls, he made a lake which received its waters from the Nile, then flowing along on the east side of the town. In the city itself he raised the famous temple of Vulcan.*

"Menes, the Thinite," says Manetho, "carried the arms of Egypt into foreign countries, and rendered his name illustrious. He received from a hippopotamus a wound, which proved mortal, about the sixty-second year of his reign."

Menes, says Diodorus, was the first who instructed the Egyptians in religion, who introduced magnificence and luxury among them and instituted the pomps of feasts.†

The name of Menes‡ is also found in hieroglyphics as the earliest ancestor of Ramses III., in the procession sculptured on the walls of the Theban palace, now known as the Ramsessium, but formerly called the Memnonium, though as recent investigation has proved erroneously.

Herodotus relates that the Egyptian priests read to him from books the names of three hundred and thirty kings, who had reigned in Egypt from

* See Herodotus, b. 2d.

† Diodorus Sic. b. 1.

‡ I think that we will not be much mistaken in presuming that Menes was the chief of the Military caste, and that he abrogated the hierarchical form of government to which Egypt probably was subjected before his time.

the time of Menes to that of Sesostriis, and that Moeris was the last of these kings; but that, with the exception of this king and an Ethiopian queen called Nitokris, there was none of the other of these monarchs who had accomplished anything worthy of notice. Diodorus states, in regard to the successors of Menes, that the family of this king enjoyed the possession of the throne of Egypt to the fifty-second descent, and that their several reigns occupied one thousand and four hundred years.

But as we know some particulars of a few of these kings, we will not pass all of them over in complete silence.

Manetho and Eratosthenes tell us that Menes was succeeded by his son Athothis. He is said to have built the great palace of Memphis, and to have written a treatise on anatomy, being a physician as well as a king. The correctness of these statements might, however, be reasonably questioned.

During *Boethos*, the first king of Manetho's second dynasty, an earthquake took place at Bubastis by which many persons were killed.

During the reign of *Kaiechos*, the successor of Boethos, the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the goat of Mendes were appointed gods. We may smile, yet we ought not to forget that millions still believe in gods created by the fancy of men.

Binothris, the third king of this dynasty, enacted—as I have before mentioned—the law that women might hold the reins of government.

Tosorthos, the second king of the third dynasty, was also called Asclepius by the Egyptians, from his medical skill. He is said to have introduced the mode of building with hewn stone, and to have patronized literature.

Souphis or *Cheops*,* as he is called by Herodotus, the second king of Manetho's fourth dynasty, was, as before mentioned, the king who caused the building of the Pyramid. He is represented as a despot, and a hater of the religion of Egypt; shutting up the temples, and forbidding the offerings of sacrifice under the severest penalties. The great expense, and immense loss of human lives which the erections of the works he undertook cost, together with his disregard of the Egyptian religion, and probably of the priesthood, too, made his memory and name detested by the Egyptians. His reign is said to have lasted fifty, or, according to Manetho, sixty-three years.

* In the year 1837, Colonel Howard Vyse found the name of Soopho in the quarrier's marks in the new chamber of the great pyramid, scored in red ochre, in hieroglyphics on the rough stones; Soopho's name is also found in the Thebaid, as the date of a tomb at Chenoboscion. In the peninsula of Mount Sinai, says Mr. Gliddon, his name and tablets show that the copper mines of the Arabian district were reached by him. The same writer says, also, that above his name stand the titles "pure King and sacred Priest," and that the sepulchres of the Memphite Necropolis, informs us, that Memphis once held a palace called "the abode of Soopho."—See *Ancient Egypt*, by Gliddon, p. 56.

Souphis II., or *Cephren*, his brother, succeeded him. Pursuing the same policy, he oppressed the people by building a new pyramid, and prohibiting them from frequenting the temples. His memory was therefore held in equal detestation as that of his brother. His reign lasted fifty-six, or, in accordance with *Manetho*, sixty-six years.

From the hatred these princes evidently displayed against the Egyptian religion,* and from the hard labors to which they subjected the people, there is much reason—as I have elsewhere said—to presume that they were foreign conquerors and not native kings.

Myncheres,† or according to *Herodotus*, *Mycerinuss*, was the successor of *Cephren*, and is said to have been the son of *Cheops*, but of a character very different from that of his father, if we are allowed to judge from the different policy he is said to have pursued. He again repaired the temples, restored the ancient modes of sacrifice, and made himself at least deserving of the approbation of the priests, and was consequently represented by them as a just and pious king.

He had, however, soon to suffer from the loss of his only daughter, the darling of his heart. The honors which he ordered to be paid to her memory, were still continued in the time of *Herodotus*, who informs us that in the city of *Sais*, exquisite odours were burnt by day, at the tomb of this princess, and that by night it was illuminated with a lamp.

He is said to have been told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. Complaining of this to the gods, and inquiring the reason why so long and prosperous a reign had been allowed to his father and uncle, who both were equally cruel and impious, while his own, which he had endeavored by every means to render equitable and mild, should be so short and unhappy, he received the answer, that his equity and mildness were the very causes of it, as it was the will of the gods to oppress and afflict Egypt during the space of one hundred and fifty years, as a punishment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was appointed to last about the same time as those of the preceding monarchs, was to be shortened on account of his too great lenity. He is, however, said by *Manetho* to have reigned sixty-three years. *Herodotus* tells us that he built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his father; which statement we have seen proved to be correct.

Hence we see that the age of the three largest pyramids of *Djizeh*, or *Gheizeh*, is identical with the time of the reign of these three kings.

* It is, however to be observed, that arrogant as *Souphis* is said to have been toward the gods he wrote sacred books which were regarded by the Egyptians as works of great importance.

† The fragment of the royal mummy case, now in the British Museum, which the Arabs, in forcing a passage into the third pyramid, about 655 years ago, had thrown aside on a heap of rubbish after destroying the mummy, presented to the researches of *Col. Vyse*, in 1837, is hieroglyphics, the name of *Menkare*, or *Menkeura*, who is no doubt the *Mencheres* of *Manetho*.

There are, as we know, many reasons to suppose that these kings were of a foreign race, and as there are those—and among others, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson—who think that the immigration of the conquerors known to us under the name of Shepherds or Pastors, took place anterior to the erection of any buildings now extant in Egypt, I will here give the opinion of different writers, in regard to whom these shepherds were, and whence they came.

“It happened,” says Manetho, “in the reign of Timaus, that the gods, being displeased with the Egyptians, upon what account I do not know, suffered a great calamity to fall upon them; for a multitude of men, of ignoble race and strange manners, took courage, and passing from the East entered into Egypt and made war upon the inhabitants, who submitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced our princes, they inhumanly burnt our cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and treated in the most cruel and insulting manner the ancient inhabitants, putting them to death, carrying away their wives and children into captivity. At length, they made one of their own numbers king, whose name was Salatis; he usually resided at Memphis, and rendered both the Upper and Lower regions of Egypt tributary, and stationed garrisons in places which were best adapted for the purpose. But he directed his attention principally to the security of the eastern frontier, fearing an invasion of the Assyrians, who were at that time most powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the Saitic nome, which was seated on the eastern bank of the Bubastile channel, and from some ancient theological reference was called Avaris, he rebuilt it, and surrounded it with a very strong wall, and kept a garrison of two hundred and forty thousand (24,000?) soldiers therein. To this city Salatis repaired in summer time to collect his tribute, and to pay and drill his troops, that they might be ready for action, and thus hold in terror those who might be willing to attempt an invasion.

Salatis was on his death succeeded by five successive kings, who did their utmost, as well as their predecessor, to root out the whole nation of the native Egyptians. All this people were called *Hycsos*, or King Shepherds; *hyc*, in the sacred dialect signifying a king, and *sos*, in the common dialect, signifying a pastor or shepherd. Some say they were Arabians. These people, who were thus denominated the shepherd-kings, and their descendants, retained possession of Egypt during the period of five hundred and eleven years.”

There have been those who have thought these shepherd-kings to have been the ancestors of the Philistines, who afterwards occupied the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and in support of this opinion it has been adduced, that in the language of a great part of Asia, the term *pali*, denotes shepherds, and *stan* or *sthan*, means land; and consequently the compound word *Pali-stan* literally signifies shepherd-land, or the country of shepherds.

In one of the sacred books of the Hindoos, quoted by Captain Wilford, are some circumstances related which are very remarkable, and which not only appear to sustain the above opinion, but also to prove the influence India in ancient times exercised upon Egypt. One of the circumstances here alluded to is the mentioning of two migrations from the East in remote times; first of the Yadavas, "sacerdotal order," or "sacred caste," and afterwards of Pali or Shepherds. These last are said to have been a very powerful tribe, who in ancient times ruled over the whole country from the Ganges to the Indus, and are called Pali-pubas in the annals of Hindostan, and Pali-bothis, by Pliny. They are said to have been a very enterprising and roving people, who by conquest and colonization gradually spread themselves over a great part of Asia, Africa and Europe, and who, crossing from the shores of the Erythræan sea, took possession of Arabia, as well as of the lands on the western shore of the Red Sea. There are also those who consider them to have been the eastern Ethiopians, as distinguished from the western, by Homer and Herodotus.*

The latter of these writers even says, that the inhabitants of Syrian Palestine related that their ancestors had migrated from the country east of the Erythræan Sea, to the shores of the Mediterranean. It is also to be observed that a Palestine, or Palestan, was found on the banks of the Tigris; that a town by the name of Paliputra was situated on the Hellespont, and the town Philista on the river Po, in Italy.

The following extract from an article in the Asiatic Researches, by Captain Wilford, tends also to confirm the opinion that the shepherds who invaded Egypt, had migrated from some distant land of the east.

"An ancient king, called Chatura Yana, passed a hundred years in a cavern of Chrishna-geri, the Black Mountain, on the banks of the Cali, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion. At length Vishnu appeared to him, and promised him that he should have a son, whom he was to name *Tamovatsa*. This prince, who succeeded his father, was warlike and ambitious, yet wise and devout. He prayed to Vishnu to enlarge his empire, and the god granted his request. Hearing that Misra-sthan—the land of Egypt—was governed by a powerful and unjust prince called Nirmaryada, he, with a chosen army, invaded that country, without having previously made any declaration of war, and began to administer justice among the people, and to give them a specimen of the blessings of a good king; and when Nirmaryada sent to expostulate with him, he treated his remonstrance with disdain. This brought on a bloody battle of three days, in which the Egyptian king was killed. The conqueror, who fought like another Parasa Rama, then took possession of the kingdom of Misra, and governed it with perfect equity. Babya Vatsa, his son, devoted himself to religion, and re-

* See *Iliad*, b. i. v. 423. *Odyssey*, b. i. v. 22. *Herod* book vii.

signed his crown to his son Ruema Vatsa, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country that, from his own just revenues, he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great that he raised *three mountains*, called *Ruem-adri*, *Rujat-adri*, and *Retu-adri*, or the mountain of gold, of silver, and of gems."*

In this legend, says Dr. Hales, we trace the distorted features of the Egyptian account. By an interchange of characters, *Tamo* is the *Timans* of Manetho, a quiet and peaceable prince, who was attacked without provocation by this Nirmaryada, of the Cushite race, called Salatis by Manetho, and Silitis by Syncellus. His son Babya, is evidently the Beon of Manetho. The third king was surnamed Ruchma, from his immense wealth, which he collected by oppressing the Egyptians, though he tenderly loved his own people, the shepherds. Wishing either to extirpate the natives, or to break down their spirits by hard and incessant labors, he employed them in constructing those stupenduous monuments of ancient ostentation and tyranny. The Pyramids, which are evidently the *mountains* indicated in the Hindoo records, were, it is presumed, originally cased with yellow, white, or spotted marble, brought from the quarries of Arabia.

Perizonius drawing a very circumstantial parallel between what is related of the shepherds by Manetho, and what is said of the obscurity of the Israelites, the power and dignity of Joseph, and the miraculous works of Moses, which in his opinion almost utterly destroyed the country, at last pronounces the shepherds so heinously spoken of, to have been the Israelites themselves. Sir Isaac Newton considers the shepherds to have been the Canaanites, which fled before Joshua, and went into Africa, but who in their flight seized upon the kingdom of Lower Egypt. Graeves also attempts to prove, that the shepherds were not the same people as the Israelites.

From the name of shepherd-kings which this people bore, there have been some who have considered them to be of the same race as the Royal Scythians, who also were shepherds and nomads, and who in more remote times might have overrun Asia and conquered Egypt, as they actually did in later times in regard to the former, and were only by bribes prevented from doing in regard to the latter.

Though in Manetho's list, Salatis or Sais and other rulers of the shepherd-kings belong to much later dynasties, there is every probability, that the builders of the above mentioned pyramids,—the kings of his fourth dynasty—were foreign conquerors, who at this more ancient period might also have been for some time in possession of Egypt. This seems also confirmed by the allusion, as I have before mentioned, which Herodotus makes in regard to one Philitis, who, this writer says, in accordance with

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 225.

an old tradition, fed his flocks in Egypt at the time the pyramids above spoken of were built. This Philitis evidently bears relation to some race of shepherds that at that time ruled over Egypt.

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, that from what Manetho has said on this subject, it appears reasonable to conclude, that Egypt was at one time invaded and occupied by a powerful Asiatic people, who held this country in subjection; and viceroys being appointed to govern it, these obtained the title of Pastors or Shepherd-kings. He also thinks, they must have reigned before Osortasen the First, as the monuments satisfactorily prove that during the reign of that monarch, and of his second successor, the Egyptians had already extended their conquest over some tribes of Asia, and were consequently free from enemies within their territory; and that the Assyrians seem the only ones likely to have extended their arms over Egypt.

This reasoning may be just in regard to the first of these shepherd-kings, but not so in regard to Salatis and his immediate successors, as we will see that this king took means to prevent the Assyrians from invading Egypt. But there is good reason I think, to suppose that Ninus and Semiramis appointed governors over Egypt, who might possibly have been called shepherd-kings; as the Assyrians, or at least a part of them, were shepherds. As Mr. Wilkinson thinks that Osortasen the First reigned not more than about one thousand and seven hundred years B. C., the conquest which Ninus and Semiramis made of Egypt, undoubtedly took place some hundred years before. It is to be observed that though the Egyptians extended their sway over foreign lands in the time of Osortasen, it does not follow that they therefore were not afterwards subjected to foreign rulers. The irruptions in ancient times of nomadic tribes in the settled States, were very frequent, and hence the great confusion in the traditions handed down to us; the one event being, so very often, confused with the other; which was also the case with the names of the kings.

We will now continue our narrative of what we know of some of the Egyptian princes.

Queen Nitokris—or Neit-gori—the sixth regent of Manetho's sixth dynasty, is said to have been the handsomest woman of her time; of a florid complexion, and flaxen hair—she was consequently from some northern clime. There have been some who have considered her the regent that caused the pyramid to be built, which Herodotus says was raised by Mycerinus.

Achthroes, the first king of Manetho's ninth dynasty, is said to have been more cruel than any one of his predecessors, and after having committed many outrages, to have been seized with madness, and at last killed by a crocodile.

The frequent recurrence of the name of Ammenemes, among the imme-

diate successors of Osortasen the First,* makes Mr. Osburn inclined to think that this king belonged, as well as the Ammenemeses, to the twelfth dynasty of Manetho.

Osortasen the First, appears to have been a prosperous and successful monarch, and to have reigned over the whole of Egypt.†

From the sculpture of Beni Hassam, says Mr. Wilkinsons, we are informed that in the time of this king, the Egyptians were acquainted with the manufacture of linen, *glass*, cabinet works, gold ornaments, and numerous objects indicative of skill and refinement, and also with various gymnastic exercises, games of draughts, ball, *mora*, and other well-known modern amusements. The style of architecture was chaste, and the fluted column of Beni Hassam of a character calling to mind the purity of the Doric, which the same writer thinks to have thence, probably, derived its origin.

It was during the reign of this king that the temple of Heliopolis was either founded or enlarged; and as one of the obelisks bears his name, it attests the skill the Egyptians appear to have already then attained in the difficult art of sculpturing granite. Another of the same materials, indicates the existence of a temple, erected, or at least embellished by this prince, in the province of Crocodilopolus, afterwards known by the name of the Arsenoite nome of El Fayoum. The remains of a colonnade in the great temple of Karnak as well as the title "Lord of the Upper and Lower Country," accompanying his name, prove that he was the sole monarch at that time of the Thebaid and Lower Egypt.‡

As *Sesostris* is one of the kings mentioned by Manetho as belonging to the twelfth dynasty, I will say a few words here of this celebrated monarch. That a king with this, or a very similar name, who was a great conqueror, at one time reigned in Egypt, I think there can be no doubt, but when he reigned, is a question which seems almost impossible satisfactorily to answer. If the great conqueror who bore the name of *Sesostris*, really belonged to the twelfth dynasty, then the empire he founded appears soon to have fallen to pieces; as we will see that a part of Egypt, a very short time after the pretended time of his reign, was subjected to foreign rulers. Still, as a reverse of fortune often takes place immediately after the most brilliant success, this might even then have happened, and thus the great *Sesostris* might possibly have belonged to the twelfth dynasty of Manetho.

* Sig. Rosellini considers *Osortasen* as identical with *Amosis*, and as being the fourth king of Manetho's 18th dynasty.

† It must not be forgotten that Egypt, even after the time of *Menes*, on several occasions, was divided into several smaller kingdoms, each of which was ruled by its own prince; a circumstance that has also caused much confusion in regard to the true succession of the Egyptian princes.

‡ See *Ancient Egypt*, by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, Vol. 1.

Sesostris must at least, however, have been regarded as a very ancient king, for we are informed by *Ælian* that he is said to have had as teacher Mercury—that is, Thoth, or *Hermes Trismegistus*. It is recorded that he invaded Asia, and during the course of nine years, laid the whole western region of that part of the globe under his dominion, and then passing over to Europe, penetrated into the interior of Thrace until, receiving a check from the Scythians, he thought proper to return from whence he had come, erecting everywhere monuments of his victories over conquered nations. Among those who had defended themselves with courage, he is said to have set up memorials of a phallic nature, but among those who had proved themselves cowards, female emblems engraved on stelæ.

The Egyptians are said to have considered him as the immediate successor of *Osiris*. He is now viewed by many writers to be the same king as *Remeses*, or *Ramses the Great*, who is also by them thought to be identical with *Osymandias*. I think, however, that we may entertain reasonable doubt whether this really was the case, as there is much probability that an empire which lasted so long a time as that of Egypt, might well have had more than one king who was a great conqueror.

Dr. Bunsen considers the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties of native princes as contemporary, or parallel to the fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth dynasties of foreigners.

There appears to be some reason for such a supposition, as it is recorded, says Mr. Osburn, in a magnificent series of sculptured stelæ, or tombstones,* discovered in Abydos by Mr. Athanasi, that the successors of *Osortasen the First*, held their courts in Abydos, while another race of monarchs, equally civilized with themselves, held possession of Memphis. This must, however, first have taken place after the time of *Sesostris*, if he really was a king of the twelfth dynasty; still the irruption of the foreigners who caused this division of Egypt might have happened under the later kings of the twelfth dynasty, though Dr. Bunsen presumes that the invasion of these shepherds—of whom *Salatis* is mentioned as the first king—took place somewhat later, under one of the kings of the thirteenth dynasty of *Manetho*, or the last king in *Eratosthenes'* list.

The names of two of the Memphite kings who reigned contemporaneously with the descendants of *Osortasen the First*, at Abydos, have been discovered on the walls in the burial places of ancient Memphis. The interpreted hieroglyphics give the names of *Aphobis*, or *Aphophis*, and *Aasis*; thus confirming so far the list of *Manetho*, where the fourth and the sixth of these kings of shepherds bear the very same names. The first in *Manetho's* list alluded to is *Salatis*, of whose invasion we have already spoken. *Manetho* gives a fearful account of the enormities committed by these conquerors, but even if his statements be true, there are

* These are now in the British Museum.

nevertheless evidences that they were a highly refined race. The tomb of Assis is said by M. l'Hôte, its discoverer, to have been executed with astonishing skill. It is in the style called *cavorelievo*, like most other similar monuments; and each character in it has the delicately exquisite finish of a gem or medal. This great perfection of the art at so remote a period, which he judged—though probably somewhat exaggerated—never to have been equalled, caused him great surprise.* But Mr. Osburn thinks this fact very natural, as in his opinion "all the arts of social life were in the first instance the direct gifts of God to man." From these words we may justly be allowed to conclude, that Mr. Osburn supposes the arts in their infancy to have been more perfect than ever afterwards. The folly of such a supposition is so evident that it deserves no refutation.

Mr. Osburn thinks that Joseph was the prime minister of the shepherd-king, Aphobis, while Mr. Wilkinson supposes that Joseph was a contemporary of Osortasen the First.† It seems, to me there is a poor chance for either of them to be right.

Eusebius following Manetho's, mentions only five shepherd-kings, who he says reigned one hundred and three years. Josephus again gives us on the same authority, six kings of this race, who he says reigned two hundred and sixty years; but adds that the whole time under which the shepherd-kings had possession of Egypt, amounts to five hundred and eleven years. Yet in accordance with the dynasties furnished us by Africanus, and founded on the list of Manetho, the shepherd-kings ruled over Egypt nine hundred and fifty-three years. These statements are not easy to reconcile, but make it evident that foreigners several times had taken possession of this country, though the length of time during which their several irruptions lasted, cannot be ascertained with certainty. Great probability, however there is, that Egypt had altogether for many hundred years, to submit to foreign sway, and that the Egyptians designated all these conquerors with the general name of shepherd-kings—thus indicating that they were nomads; though it therefore would be a great mistake to consider them all to have been of the same people. Sometimes they may have been Arabs, sometimes inhabitants of Canaan, as Manetho says,‡ and sometimes Assyrians, or Asiatic people.

* Plus on remonte dans l'antiquité vers l'origine de l'art Egyptien, plus les produits de cet art sont parfaits, comme si le génie de ce peuple, à l'inverse des autres se fut formé tout à coup " L'Hôte's Letter from Smyrna, in the *Journal des Savans*, January, 1841.

† I will here observe, that Mr. Wilkinson maintains that there are few paintings or sculptures of an age prior to that of Osortasen the First.

‡ This historian, as quoted by Josephus, distinctly points out to us, the country eastward of Egypt with which the ancient Pharaohs carried on war, and relates, that at an early period Egypt had suffered invasion from a people who came from Canaan, and were named "shepherds." That the shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians before the arrival of the

Amosis or *Amunoph*, was, according to Manetho, the first of the eighteenth dynasty. Mr. Wilkinson considers him to have been the "new king who knew not Joseph;"* adding, that as this king was from the distant province of Thebes, it is reasonable to suppose, that the Hebrews would be strangers to him, and that he was likely to look upon them with the same distrust and contempt with which the Egyptians usually treated foreigners. It seems not improbable that such was the case, still it is impossible to determine it with certainty.

The era of the eighteenth dynasty, appears to have been the most flourishing age of Egypt. The principal temples and palaces, the ruins of which are still in existence, were undertaken by the kings of this dynasty. The expulsion of the foreigners who had for a long time held possession of a part of Egypt, must either have taken place before the time of Amosis, or else under his immediate successors.†

Israelites, appears evident from Genesis, chap. xlv. v. 34—as well as that Goshen did not belong to "Egypt Proper;" and that the Israelites were settled there, as out of Egypt—Goshen being the fertile country on the right bank of the eastern branch of the Nile—because every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians.

* Exodus, chap. i. v. 8.

† Manetho relates that the kings of the Thebaid, and other provinces of Egypt, made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that a long and mighty war was carried on between them, till the shepherds were conquered by a king whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, and that they were by him driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and hemmed up in a place containing about ten thousand acres, which was called Avaris. All this tract, he says, the shepherds surrounded with a large and strong wall, that they might retain all their property, and their prey within a stronghold.

Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, endeavored to force them by a siege, and beleaguered the place with a body of four hundred and eighty thousand men; but at the moment he despaired of reducing them by siege, they agreed to a capitulation, that they would leave Egypt, and should be permitted to go out without molestation, wherever they pleased. According to this stipulation, they departed from Egypt with all their families and effects, in number not less than two hundred and forty thousand, and bent their way through the desert to Syria. But as they stood in fear of the Assyrians who then held dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and named it Jerusalem.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that Manetho in another place says, that this people here called shepherds, in the sacred books of the Egyptians, were also styled captives. Could it be possible, that this people were really descendants of captives, whom the Egyptians had taken in more ancient times, and whose descendants had revolted, and made themselves independent of their former masters?

Manetho says, also, that after the departure of this nation of shepherds to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned twenty-five years—and enumerates thereafter his successors—among whom he mentions Amenophis, whom he says was succeeded by Sethosis and Ramesses. This king, Sethosis, appointed his brother Armais, his viceroy over Egypt; he also invested him with all the authority of a king, with only three restrictions; that he should not wear the diadem; nor interfere with the queen, the mother of his children, nor abuse the royal concubines. Sethosis then made an expedition against Cyprus and Phœnicia, and waged war with the Assyrians and Medes; and he subdued them all, some by force of arms, and others without a battle, by the mere terror of his pow-

There are those who think that Amosis lived about 1847 years B. C., and that the shepherds spoken of by Manetho, as being driven out of Egypt, and building Jerusalem, were the Jebusites, who, we know, in later times, were in possession of this city. This opinion seems to me to be founded upon good reason.

The reign of Thothmes III., is one of the most remarkable that occurs in the history of Egypt. He was a prince who appears to have been ambitious of that glory which is acquired by encouraging the arts of peace, as well as those of war. But whether he conducted his military expeditions himself, or by means of able generals—there are said to be many evidences of the extent of his power in the painting and sculptures, representing the tributes brought to his feet by “the chiefs of foreign nations,” who present to him the riches of “Pount,” of “Kufa,” of “Rot-u-no,” and of “the northern districts of western Ethiopia.”*

There appears to have lived at the time of Thothmes III., a queen, who may either have been his mother or his wife, and who is called by Signor Rossellini, *Amense*, and by Mr. Wilkinson, *Amun-neit-goni*, and whom the latter writer considers to have caused to be erected several magnificent buildings, and even the great Obelisk of Karnak.

er. And being elated with his success, he advanced still more confidently, and overthrew the cities, and subdued the countries of the east.

But Armais, who was left in Egypt, took advantage of the opportunity, and fearlessly perpetrated all those acts, which his brother had enjoined him not to commit; he violated the queen, and continued an unrestrained intercourse with the concubines; and at the persuasion of his friends, he assumed the diadem, and openly opposed his brother.

But the ruler of the priests of Egypt, sent an account by letter to Sethosis, and informed him of what had happened, and how his brother had set himself up in opposition to his power. Upon this, Sethosis immediately returned to Pelusium, and recovered his kingdom. The country of Egypt took its name from Sethosis, who was called also, *Aegyptas*, as his brother Armais was known by the name of Danaus. Joseph contr. App. lib. 1, c. 14, 15.

* Mr. Wilkinson supposes, that the Exodus took place in the fourth year of this monarch's reign—that is to say, about 1758 years B. C., according to the computation of Signor Rossellini. And as the date of the thirty-fourth year of his reign is found, Mr. Wilkinson thinks, that the wars he undertook, and the monuments he erected, must date subsequently to that event. He also very justly observes, that there is no authority in the writings of Moses—that is, in the Pentateuch—for presuming that the Pharaoh who pursued the Israelites, was drowned in the Red Sea. According to the account given in Exodus, Pharaoh led his army in pursuit of the fugitives, and overtook the Israelites encamping by the sea beside Pi-Hahisoth, before Baal-zephon. The Israelites having entered the channel of the sea, the army of Pharaoh, “his chariots and horsemen,” pursued them, and all those who went in after them, were overwhelmed by the retreating waters. This is in the 28th verse, of the 14th chapter of Exodus, confined to the “chariots, and the horsemen, and all that host of Pharaoh, that came into the sea after them,” but neither here, nor in the song in which Moses celebrated their deliverance, is any mention made of the king's death—Exodus, xv. 4.—an event which it is not probable that Moses would have passed over in silence. The authority of a psalm cannot be opposed to that of Moses, and besides the latter relates, only that “the Lord overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea.” Psalm c. cxlvi. v. 15.

Sculptured records of the exploits of Thothmes III. are found on the monuments he erected, and which have been preserved to the present day. It is now proved that numerous buildings were erected by him in Upper and Lower Egypt, and in those parts of Ethiopia into which his arms had penetrated.

After a reign of about thirty-nine years, according to Eratosthenes, he was succeeded by his son,

Amunoph II., who, among other buildings, is said to have founded a temple at Amoda in Nubia, which was completed by his son, Thothmes II.

Amunoph III. and his brother *Amoun Toonh* are considered by Mr. Wilkinson to have succeeded to the throne on the death of Thothmes IV., but that as they were both young, the office of regent and tutor during their minority was confided to their mother, the queen, *Maut-ni-shoi*, whom he thinks may perhaps be the Achencheres of Manetho, who is in the list of this historian introduced as a reigning queen. It appears that these two brothers had ruled with equal authority, and in perfect harmony, until some unknown event caused the dethronement or resignation of Amun-Toonh, who left Amunoph in possession of the throne; though it is from some circumstances probable that the latter was the younger brother.*

Amunoph appears to have been very anxious to obliterate every recollection of his former conjoint rule with his brother, as he not only prevented the mention of the latter in the lists of kings, but also caused it to be erased from all the monuments of Upper and Lower Egypt.†

The palace-temple of Luxor, and that behind the vocal statue, are considered by Mr. Wilkinson to have been built by these two kings, whom he also says appear to have made extensive additions to the temple of Karnak.

The era of Amunoph III. is said to have been distinguished by the great beauty of its sculptures, which are considered to have gradually improved from the reign of Osortasen to that of Remeses, or Ramses the great; though without any great change afterwards, except certain modifications in the character already established.

"The features" says Mr. Wilkinson, "of this monarch cannot fail to strike every one who examines the portraits of the Egyptian kings, having more in common with the negro than those of any other Pharaoh; but it is difficult to say whether this was incidental, or in consequence of his mother having been of Ethiopian origin.

Though the ancient writers speak of the conquests of Sesostris, and of some other of the Egyptian princes, the pictures and inscriptions still extant give us in some instances a better and surer information of the successes

* Mr. Wilkinson thinks that Amun-Toonh might possibly be identical with Darius.

† Mr. Wilkinson says that he is inclined to believe Amunoph to have been the youngest brother, from the circumstance of his prenomen being alone admitted on the buildings erected during their combined reign, while both the prenomen and nomen of Amun-Toonh are always introduced.

of the Egyptian arms than what we receive from the historians. There are walls which are covered with pictures often eighty feet high, and which extend for more than eight hundred feet, and as these pictures appear to represent the chief exploits of the following kings of the eighteenth dynasty, we will here give a general relation applicable to all.

The first scene in these pictures is generally *the battle and victory*. The conqueror, who is always a monarch of Egypt, and his armies, are trampling upon their fallen enemies, riding over heaps of slain, slaughtering them by wholesale, and taking their fastnesses by storm. *The next scene is the repose after victory*. The conqueror sits in his war-chariot, and calls upon his troops to rejoice, while the prisoners of war are brought to his feet, and the right hands of the slain victims are counted before him.

The third grand scene is laid in Egypt, and in the temple in which the picture occurs. The conqueror offers to the gods of the temple the spoils he has taken, and drags to their feet long lines of captives, tied together with one cord, which passes around the necks of all of them. Their arms are also tied together in cruelly distorted postures, in a manner evidently indicating a design to inflict torture, and showing that the cries of the wretched sufferers formed an important accessory to this infernal ceremony.

In all the scenes, the physiognomy, the complexion, the costume, and the arms of the conquered nations are carefully depicted. The geographical situation of the countries also of which the captives were inhabitants, is denoted by the tassel of the cord by which the conqueror is dragging them. Those which lay to the south and west, against which an expedition would have to set out from Upper Egypt, were led by a cord terminating in the bud of the lotus, which was the symbol of that part of the kingdom. The nations of Asia and Europe, again, lying across the isthmus of Suez, could only be invaded by an army from Lower Egypt, and were therefore denoted by a tassel representing the color of the papyrus. To this rule there is no exception.*

Among the recently recovered antiquities of Egypt, there is scarcely any subject which attracted more attention and raised so many expectations as these evidently faithful portraits of foreign nations, with whom the Egyptians had been at war, or whom they had subdued. Their physiognomies and complexions are said to be clearly distinguished, and to be quite various. Much less than what might have been expected has hitherto been done in regard to ascertaining who were the enemies the Egyptians had to contend with. A great deal of important information on this subject, has, however, been obtained, and future investigation will probably develop still more.

Though none of the Egyptian kings, except Sesostris, are mentioned by ancient writers as having carried their arms far beyond the limits of Egypt,

* See *Ancient Egypt*, by William Osburn, Junior.

still the pictured representations were at first considered to indicate many distant expeditions of various kings; this is now thought to be an error, with the exception, perhaps, of those undertaken by one or two kings,* as it has been proved that many of these pictures represent battles which the Egyptians fought with neighboring nations,† and with no Indians, or other distant people, as was at first supposed.

Sethos, or as Mr. Wilkinson calls him *Osirei*, appears to have enlarged and embellished the great palace—temple of Karnak, at Thebes. This king seems also to have been a warlike and victorious monarch, or, at least the pictures on the walls so represent him. The subjugated nations are represented by manacled prisoners, with their names and shields hanging before them, and conducted by the god of the temple of Amoun, with his falchion extended; signifying that they were devoted to the vengeance of the god. The prisoners are considered to be Cushites and Amalekites.

In the scene which immediately follows, on the exterior of the same wall—that is, on the northern wall of the great temple of Karnak—another race of people, accoutred and armed differently from the former, and inhabiting a hilly country, well wooded, and abounding in forts suffer a terrible defeat from the irresistible arms of *Sethos*. The hieroglyphic inscription informs us, that the king, “returning to the borders of Egypt, lifts up his hand over all the ways of the Jebusites.” It might import that he cut his way through this part of Palestine in his return to Egypt, and built forts in the country, to secure the rout through it. One of the three forts represented in the picture, might be of that character. It is called “the fort Bashan, of *Sethos*.”

The following picture represents the return of the victorious prince to Egypt by the way of the sea whose coast he fortified. He is riding in his chariot, and leading in separate strings, the captives of four conquered nations, who are suffering the horrible barbarities which the Egyptians, as well as other ancient nations, often had the inhumanity to inflict upon their pris-

* I will here observe that what is related of *Osiris*, if not altogether an allegory, or allusion to the expeditions of *Sesostris* and his namesake, might, perhaps, embody what is related of the expeditions of *Ninus* to *Bactriana*, as some Egyptian troops might have been obliged to participate in them. I think that there is little probability that the Egyptians ever extended their conquests far beyond the *Tigris*. They were not a people of warlike disposition, but nevertheless vain boasters, who might have gloried in imaginary victories.

† The captives, for instance, on the tomb of *Pihrai*, at *Beni Hassam*, in Middle Egypt, who held a high military office in the reign of *Osortasen I.*, are by Mr. *Osburn* proved through the interpreted hieroglyphic to be “*Jebusites*!” But if this people were the same as that which afterwards was in possession of *Jerusalem*, and if *Manetho* be correct in saying, that the shepherds who were driven out of Egypt founded that city, then there can be very little doubt that the expulsion of these shepherds from Egypt must have taken place before the time of *Osortasen I.* It must still be admitted that there is a possibility that these shepherds can have borne the name of *Jebusites* even before having been chased out of Egypt; though *Manetho* would probably, have then called them so.

oners. The arms of these captives are tied in all manner of distorted positions; the hands of three of them who were chiefs, having been amputated, and suspended from the chariot.

Over the captives is written a boastful song

"Behold, he makes the good god to rejoice in receiving the spoils of victory—; he has made his enemies drunken, their hearts died within them, at the sight of blood; he cuts off your members from your bodies; he smites your hearts, he binds you."^{*}

Another picture represents a crowd of priests, bearing palm branches, and the civil and military authorities of Egypt, greeting, with uplifted hands, the return of the king. Their song, in which they express their congratulations, is of the same boastful import.

"The song of the chiefs of Upper and Lower Egypt, when they come to felicitate the good god, (Sethos) returned from the land of Arvad, with many prisoners."

"Never was seen the like of thee, O divine sun!

"We say, glory to his majesty, who, in the greatness of his fury, went into the land.

"Making sure the words of thy justice, thou slayest thine enemies beneath thee.

"Thou conquerest every day, with thy majesty, like the sun in heaven.

"The hearts of the lords of Phuthim, shall melt at the deeds of Pharaoh, on both his borders.

"Thou comest with four chiefs, captives—(or literally, with the bodies of four captives.)

"Thou hast cast down the mighty men of the lands."[†]

Another picture represents Sethos presenting the fruits of his campaign, consisting of captives, and vessels of gold and silver, to Amoun, who appears to have been the tutelar deity of his family. The vessels taken from the different nations are arranged in four separate rows before the deity.

Sethos appears also to have gained some naval advantages over the wicked race of the Arvadites.

The following picture represents another battle, or rather massacre of the enemies of Egypt by Sethos.

The scene is again in a hilly country, abounding in shrubs and trees, among which some of the vanquished endeavor vainly to conceal themselves from the never-failing arrows of Sethos. It was inhabited by a pastoral people. One man is in the act of driving away a herd of buffaloes. The action represented is the capture of a large and strong fortress, or town, upon a high hill.

The inscription on the fort records the name of the country in which it was situated. The hieroglyphic being interpreted to denote the land of Amor; that is the land of the Amorites, one of the most powerful tribes that inhabited Canaan; the herd of buffaloes, also, agreeing with the

^{*} See Osburn's Ancient Egypt, Sethos' wars.

habits of the Amœtes. The district of Bashan belonged to them, and was known as a cattle breeding country.

The next picture represents Sethos still pursuing his victorious career. He has now met with a people who seem to be more civilized than his former enemies. They wear metal skull-caps, of a peculiar but not ungraceful form, from which the Grecian helmet might, perhaps, have originated. The skull-caps of the chiefs are decorated with one or two ostrich feathers, according to their rank. Two actions are represented in the picture. In the first of them, Sethos has alighted from his chariot, and standing with his foot upon the neck of one chief who is pierced with a javelin, and writhing in the agonies of death, he seizes another—who is also wounded in the arm—and is about to give him a death-blow with his uplifted javelin. In the following action the enemy is in full flight, and Sethos, standing in his chariot, is pursuing them at full speed; having raised up the dying chieftain—upon whom he had been trampling—and with the string of his bow thrown round his neck like a noose, he is about to strike off his head with his raised scimitar.

The next scene represents Sethos returned to Egypt. His chariot is adorned with the heads of his vanquished foes; a proof of the relish the Egyptians found in the display of unnecessary inhumanity. In his left hand he holds the reins and his bow; in his right hand the scimitar, the flagellum, and the cords which bind two lines of captives. Nothing can surpass the grace, it is said, with which he appears to manage them all.

The inscription is boastful as usual.

"He grants their (the captives') petitions.

"The chiefs of the shepherds shall bear bows no more.

"He brings them low in their quarters.

"He makes them flee like horses from hyænas."

The last scene is laid at Thebes, and very probably in the palace of Karnak, where the picture is found.

Sethos stands before the magnificent shrine of the Theban triad†—and presents a meat-offering of bread, flesh, and herbs, and a drink-offering of wine, milk, and the fruits of his campaign, consisting of the spoils of three people, or cities, in three separate rows. He leads two lines of captives over whom is an inscription—said to be somewhat mutilated—of the following signification.

"The return of his majesty from the lands he has conquered.

"The words of the captive chiefs (to)—

"The youth whose vengeance burns like the sun in his manifestation.

"The Jebusites could not pass over their waters.

"He saves their breath,"—that is, he preserves their lives.

* See Ancient Egypt, by W. Osburn.

† The god Amoun, his wife Mant, and son Chousis.

In this campaign, Mr. Osburn, with good reason, thinks that Sethos took the city of Haddashah, in the land of the Amorites, overran the land of the Hitties, whom he appears to have defeated in two battles, and took by surprise a city or fortress of the Jebusites, whence he obtained spoils. This place seems to have been near the Dead Sea, by the crossing of which, those who had held the city sought to escape with their treasures, but were prevented by Sethos, who seems on this occasion to have assisted the Arvadites, his former enemies.

Another series of scenes, following each other in the usual succession of the battle—the triumph and the offering—bring this vast picture to a conclusion.

The enemies with whom Sethos had then to contend seem to have been of a very warlike race, having also horses in far greater number than any of the other people, with whom he had formerly carried on war.

A passage in the inscription is said to indicate that these people belonged not to those stigmatised by the name of “shepherds” by the Egyptians.

The conclusion of this vast picture is a gigantic figure of Sethos with the red cap of Lower Egypt upon his head. He grasps with his left hand an upright staff, to which are tied an individual of each of the conquered nations, while his raised right hand grasps the club in the act of dealing out a blow.

During the latter part of his reign, Sethos seems to have been employed in erecting the monuments which have served to hand down to us the memory of his bloody triumphs, and which prove that Egypt was, during his time, in a flourishing state.

Sethos was styled, in accordance with the interpreted hieroglyphics, Pharaoh—Firm in Justice—and the Servant of Amoun.

It is to be observed, that almost all the Egyptian kings had titles more or less high-sounding, similar to those customarily in use in many other countries.

Ramses, or *Remeses* the great, was, in all probability, the son of Sethos, but whether he was his immediate successor, or whether a brother of his bearing the same name reigned between him and his father, is more doubtful;* still I feel myself more inclined to view him as the immediate successor of his father. Ramses the great is by many supposed to be identical with the Sesostris of Herodotus and Sesosis of Diodorus. It may be so; still I think that Manetho must have had some foundation for mentioning Sesostris among the kings of the twelfth dynasty, and I have, therefore, spoken of him under that head. It might, nevertheless, have happened that being a famous warrior, the Egyptians, finding Ramses the great endowed with the same qualities, thought proper to honor him with the same name, and that by degrees his reputation caused the memory of the earlier king to wane. It has also been observed by Mr. Wilkinson, in

* M. Champellion, Signor Rossellini, and Mr. Osburn, entertain the latter opinion.



ROBERT RICHARDSON SCULPTOR

RAMSES THE GREAT

At a Feast in Celebration of his Return from a Victorious Campaign.

support of this opinion, that when Germanicus visited Egypt, the Thebans mentioned not Sesostris, but Ramses, as the king who had performed the glorious actions in olden times, ascribed to their great conqueror. Besides, it seems very doubtful whether Ramses the great ever passed over to Europe or subdued so large a part of Asia as Sesostris is said to have done.

Ramses is first represented routing the Jebusites. He himself dilated, as usual, to the dimensions of a giant and wearing a red cap, gains the victory alone. He is stooping from his chariot to kill a chief, while a great number of common warriors fly before him.

The single remaining phrase of the much mutilated inscription which contains a glimpse of historical light, records that "he sailed" (passed over) "to put to flight the Jebusites."

In the next scene he is represented taking a fortress from a people, that, Mr. Osburn, from the dress they bear, judges, as it seems to me with some probability of truth, to be Tyrians or Arvadites.

The inscription is said to be altogether mutilated, but from the dress of the prisoners, the same writer thinks them to be Arvadites, Jebusites, and Hitties. The few remaining sentences of the inscription convey some historical facts of importance. The design is said to have been identical with that of the triumphs of Sethos. Ramses receives the congratulations of his army upon his victory, seated in the shrine and decked with the symbols of the god of the cave—one of the forms of Phtha. His sons and officers, who are leading lines of captives, proclaim that "Egypt is red beneath his sandals;" that "'Tyre'—the northern foe—and 'Cush'—the southern—are in his grasp."

In the final triumph, Ramses is styled, "The avenger of Egypt, inflicting chastisement upon the nations on the frontiers; he bound the Arvadites."

The facts represented in this scene, Mr. Osburn thinks with good reason, to be as follows: that on the death of Sethos, the shepherds, or Canaanites, began once more to make inroads upon the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, and compelled his successor to undertake another campaign against them, in the course of which he defeated the confederated armies of the Jebusites and Hitties, and took a fortress garrisoned by the Tyrians or Arvadites.

The subsequent campaign of Ramses the Great appears to have been a very brilliant one, as there still exist three repetitions of the vast designs by which it is represented. The most perfect of them is said to be that of the stupendous cavern-temple at Ipsambul. The same subject adorns also the left propylon on the palace of Luxor at Thebes, and is repeated the third time on the walls of the palace of Ramses, or, as it is more generally called, the Memnonium in that city. From the comparison of all three, the following account has been collected of this victorious expedition of Ramses:

The nations against whom the war was undertaken appear to be the *Jebusites*, whom he cast down upon their high mountains, passing through

the valleys like a young man among the grasshoppers ; the *Zuyim*, whom he conquered in the land—the name mutilated ; the *Hitties*, whom he defeated in the northern mountains, building forts in their country by the hands of the captives ; and the *Tyrians* or *Arvadites*, whom he cut off and hewed in pieces. It is also probable that he captured Punon, a city on the southern frontier of Palestine, and which is considered by some writers to be the fortress which is represented on the walls at Beit el Wally as being taken by Ramses.

Over the picture representing the above events, there is an inscription which praises Ramses in high-sounding words.

The main action of the campaign is recorded both at Ipsambul and on the Memnonium. It was a general battle, with chariots and infantry, in which Ramses defeated an unknown people—perhaps the Assyrians. It took place before the fortress, against which Sethos had fought, and which is supposed by Mr. Osburn to be the city called Hadasha in the Bible. It appears to have been at the time of this war in the possession of the Canaanites, in alliance with Egypt, who had sent an embassy to Ramses, with presents, imploring his aid against a people to us unknown. From the picture, it is said to appear, that on his arrival, he found that this warlike people had actually undertaken a siege of the city, and taken a fortified camp in its vicinity, which is supposed to have been erected by Sethos.

Ramses attacked the formidable force of the besiegers both with his chariots and his infantry, and succeeded at last, after a hard and sanguinary struggle, in defeating them and in taking possession of the camp.

The Zidonians, who were in alliance with Egypt, assisted in this battle, which is represented as ending in the total overthrow of the unknown people. In the fragments that remain of this picture on the Memnonium the names of the twelve princes who perished in this battle are recorded. After their defeat, the defeated people sent ambassadors to the camp of the conqueror, but they were, in conformity with the custom of Egypt, as recorded in Genesis, first treated as spies and beaten, before they were allowed to approach the royal footstool. The ambassadors are also called in the inscription the two spies, and are said to have come direct from the land of the two Rabbahs—the renowned capitals of Ammon and Moab. They promise entire submission, and implore to have a place among the many lands of his Egyptian majesty ; lands far distant from the unknown people, and from those of Naharaim and Heth. These proposals of submission were accompanied with a great many presents. Ramses gave a gracious answer and accepted the proposed submission, after having dissipated the terror which had reigned in the besieged city—supposed to be Hadasha—and confirmed his servants there in their allegiance to him.

The defeated army appears to have consisted of confederated forces of several nations. The men and horses of this confederation are said to

have been as numerous as lizards. The only other facts recorded in this very intricate and verbose inscription are, that Remeses built a fortress in the southern region of the land of the Jebusites, and again crossed the water in his ships; on his return bringing with him an immense booty to Egypt.*

After having concluded peace with the unknown people and their confederates, Ramses marched back to the land of the Jebusites, where he built a fortress, and thence returned to Egypt.

Mr. Wilkinson says that on the rocks of the Lycus, near Beirout, the name and figure of Ramses are sculptured; consequently proving that he, at least, had thus far extended his conquests.

There are said to be abundant indications on the monuments—erected by Ramses the Great, who appears in every respect to have been a very munificent monarch—of a long series of successive wars; among which, one with the unknown people above alluded to, was concluded on the twenty-first of the month of Tybi, in the twenty-first year of the reign of this prince. In the document of peace, the modes of thought which prevailed in those ancient times are curiously illustrated, by the circumstance that the gods of Egypt and of the unknown people, as well as the kings, ratify the treaty. The divinities of the latter nation are everywhere

* The march of Ramses may be traced on any common map of Canaan, and will be found to agree well with the few facts which are supplied by these inscriptions. Punon lies to the north of Mount Hor, at a short distance from it. It would therefore be in that vicinity—in the southern mountains—that Ramses warred with the Jebusites and Arvadites. After having taken Punon, and refused the proposals of the ambassadors of the unknown people—he proceeded on his way, as the inscription says, “like fire when it is kindled where there is no water,” along the *Wady el Arabah*, which appears then to have belonged to the Zuzim; expelling the Arvadites and Jebusites, by whom this territory had been invaded. When he reached the shores of the Dead Sea, perhaps at Zoar, it would appear that he made peace with the Jebusites and Arvadites, and passed over to the southern frontier of the Jebusites, where he received a message from the Zuzim of the north, informing him of the invasion of the unknown people, and the siege of Hadasha. These events may reasonably be supposed to have taken place in consequence of the failure of the negotiation before Punon. In hastening to the relief of his allies, the hieroglyphics are said to appear to indicate that the march of Ramses lay through countries in the possession of the Jebusites and Hittites. On referring to the map, we find that such was really the case with the district on the west of the Dead Sea. (See Bagster’s Map of the Land of Canaan, before the subjugation by Moses and Joshua.) Through this country Ramses appears to have fought his way; for it is pretty evident that the Jebusites were but doubtful friends, and the Hittites open enemies. The situation of Hadasha is not perfectly known. It is mentioned as in the southern division of the tribe of Judah. See Jos. xv. 37. It is also mentioned in the first book of the Maccabees, vii. 40–43, in a connection which makes it reasonable to suppose that it was not far distant from Jerusalem. According to the hieroglyphics, it was situated in the land of the Heth, which agrees well with both these indications. The land of the Heths was near that of the Jebusites, in which Jerusalem was situated, and lay immediately to the south of it. There is good reason to think, as has been presumed by some, that it was in the eastern portion of this country, and that the river or brook by which it is represented as being surrounded on three sides, ran into the Dead Sea, toward the northern part of it. See *Ancient Egypt*, by W. Osburn, Jr.

termed the *destroyers*, and *evil demons* ;* evidence sufficient to denote the power of the foreign gods—that is, of those foreign enemies of Egypt, as well as of the intolerance of the Egyptians in religious matters. The style of the document is quite as bombastic and boasting as those we have already alluded to. “Nothing can exceed,” says Mr. Osburn, “the arrogance of Pharaoh, and the abject crouching submission of the princes of the unknown people. He grants them peace only on condition of entire submission, and an annual tribute of silver, precious stones, and spicery. They are permitted by the Pharaoh to return to their dominions, having received the supremacy over them from his hands. Yet we find, with some astonishment, on more attentively considering this text, that the unknown people were the invaders of Egypt.” This proves unquestionably that the Egyptians, as is even now done among many nations, extolled their victories above the truth, and depicted their power and the exploits of their kings in exaggerated colors ; but we cannot therefore be assured—because their country had been invaded by the people alluded to—that the invaders could, as Mr. Osburn concludes, dictate the terms of peace ; this is very improbable from the unquestionably great success which attended the warlike undertakings of Ramses the Great.† Still, that the invading people was very powerful, is evident from the inscription itself, containing, among other expressions confirmatory of this, the following : “Great was the giving and the returning of blows, between Phre, (the god of Egypt), and Seth, (the god of the unknown people), in the land of Egypt.” Seth was identical with Baal, worshipped, as we have seen, principally in Babylon, but also in many other places.

The enemies, whoever they may have been, with whom Ramses the Great, and his predecessors waged war, appear to have attained a high degree of civilization, and to have displayed no inconsiderable degree of talent in carrying on wars of defence, as well as of offence ; as may be justly concluded from their mode of drawing up their phalanxes of infantry, from the double fosses that surrounded their walls, from the bridges they had thrown over the former, and from their arms, consisting of spears, swords, helmets, shields, coats of mail, and two horse-chariots, containing each three men.‡ They had also horsemen, who guided their steeds by a bridle, but used no saddles, in the manner of many of the Asiatic nations.

* Baal, or Belus, the god of the Assyrians, was always stigmatised as the *evil principle*, to denote his foreign origin, but he was in consequence of the power of the people who worshipped him, accounted so mighty a god, that the Pharaohs often invoked his aid, and wished to enlist him in their cause.

† That Egypt was exposed, for a long series of years, to the invasion of the people that lived on its borders, is proved beyond a doubt. Herodotus relates that Sesostris built forts on the eastern side of Egypt to protect it from the invasions of the neighboring nations. This, if true, as there is little reason to doubt, is also an evidence of the dangers to which Egypt was exposed from that quarter.

‡ The Egyptian chariots contained not more than two persons, but the Indian three persons, the charioteer included, according to Megasthenes.

To say how far Ramses the Great, extended his empire is impossible, but it is probable that it was not so far as what has been presumed by several writers. He might, however, have overrun a great part of Asia, without having made any lasting conquests of those countries over which he had carried his victorious standards.

Strabo says, that the Egyptians extended their conquests even to Bactriana and India, but this has not been confirmed by the monuments; as we are informed by some of the investigators of Egyptian archæology. But there can scarcely be any doubt that Sesostris overran western Asia, and even passed over to Europe, as related before; therefore, as there are many who consider Sesostris and Ramses the Great to be identical, I will here relate some of the deeds Sesotris, is said, by Herodotus and Diodorus, to have performed.

Already in his youth, his father sent him against the Arabians, in order that he might learn how to conduct with ability the wars in which he might become engaged, after having mounted the throne. During this expedition his father died. Sesostris is said afterwards to have formed the design of extending his sway over all known nations. But before he left his kingdom, he did all in his power, by his generosity, justice, and insinuating manners, to make himself beloved by his people. He was also very studious to gain the confidence and love of his officers and soldiers, in which he succeeded to such a degree, that they willingly shed their blood in his service. In the meantime, he made all necessary preparations for carrying out the vast plan of conquest he had formed; levied forces, and headed them with officers distinguished by their bravery, and many of whom were selected from among the youth with whom he had been educated. He thus collected one thousand and seven hundred officers, capable of inspiring the soldiers with the hope of success, and on whose warlike talents and attachment to his person, he could fully rely. His army is said to have consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand chariots.

His first expedition is said to have been against Ethiopia, the inhabitants of which, he compelled to bind themselves to pay a yearly tribute of a certain quantity of gold, ivory, and ebony. Then he ordered a fleet, which he had previously fitted out, and which, according to Diodorus, numbered no less than four hundred vessels—to receive his troops, and carry them across the Red Sea; thus making himself master of the isles and cities lying on its coast. Continuing his career of success, he overran, and conquered Asia, and advanced farther into India than Hercules, and Bacchus, were said to have done. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, were also conquered; leaving a colony in Colchis, situated, as we know, to the east of the Black Sea. The scarcity of provisions is said to have stopped, in Thrace, his farther advance into Europe.

Exaggerated as the vast conquests of Sesostris appear to be—the

were nevertheless, in all probability, very extensive, as is proved by the evidence of Herodotus, who saw in Asia Minor, from one sea to the other, those monuments of his victories, to which I have in another place alluded. On the pillars erected in the several countries were engraven the following inscription : *Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.* On his return from his victories, which, as observed before, he had pursued without interruption for nine years, he carried with him immense spoils, and an immense number of captives. He rewarded his soldiers with a truly liberal munificence, in proportion to their rank and desert ; proving thus, that he felt a pleasure in putting the companions of his victories in such a condition as might enable them, for the remainder of their lifetime, to enjoy, in repose, a rich recompense for the toils and dangers they had undergone.

He raised a great many temples, as so many monuments of gratitude to the several deities of Egypt, and is said to have made it known in the inscriptions on them, that they had been completed without causing his subjects any new burdens. The only workmen employed in the erection of these buildings were captives.

He is said to have been especially anxious to adorn and enrich the temple of Vulcan, at Pelusium, in acknowledgment of the protection which he imagined this god had extended to him, when, on his return from his victories, his brother had formed a plan to destroy him, with his consort and children in that city, by setting fire to the house in which he and his family dwelt.

Sesostris caused a great number of moles, or high banks to be raised, on which new cities were built, on purpose to afford to the people, as well as to their cattle, places of retreat during the inundation of the Nile. For the benefit of trade, and other useful objects, he also caused, on both sides of this river, many canals to be constructed, among which the most remarkable was that which united the Nile with the Gulf of Suez *

* This canal, according to Strabo, began at the village of Phacusa, that is, about twelve miles to the north-east of the modern town Belbays, and after following a nearly eastern direction for about thirty-three miles, it turned to the south-south-east, and continued about sixty-three miles further in that line to the western extremity of the Red Sea.

Several monarchs are represented to have been the authors of this grand and useful undertaking ; some writers attribute it to Sesostris, but others to Necho, and its completion to Darius and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Still Pliny supposes it never to have been finished, stating that after it had reached the bitter springs—lakes—the canals were abandoned, from fear of the greater height of the Red Sea—Pliny, vi. c. 29. Diodorus, however, says that though Darius was prevented from completing it, in consequence of the greater height of the Red Sea, the second Ptolemy overcame this obstacle, by means of sluices. It is now generally admitted that this work was completed, and there are those who think that this was done even as early as under the reign of Ramses the Great. But the vicinity of the fields, amidst which it was excavated, necessarily prevented it from remaining in a proper condition, without con-

Sesostris, is represented by the historians, as having generally treated the conquered princes with some degree of humanity and generosity; still they were obliged to come, at appointed times, to do him homage and pay to him the stipulated tribute, and then when going to the temple he compelled them, four abreast, to draw his car; giving abundant proof of his power, but also of a contemptible vanity.

It is, as before observed, impossible to say how far the Egyptians carried their conquests over foreign nations, but there can be no doubt that whatever distant countries they subdued, they at least did not long retain possession of them. That Assyria, or at least that part of it called Babylonia, was for a considerable period in subjection to Egyptian sway, is very probable, and indeed almost certain; and I think we may presume that this unknown people—so frequently alluded to, and who proved themselves under king Ramses the Great such formidable enemies to Egypt,—were but Assyrians inhabiting Babylonia. Mr. Osburn, however, attempts to prove them to have been the Ammonites and Moabites, whom he calls the descendants of the incestuous daughters of Lot; but this seems to me an erroneous opinion, as these nations cannot reasonably be supposed to have been so powerful as to be able to wage a long series of wars against the formidable power of Egypt. Still these small nations may have been allied with the Assyrians, and thus far Mr. Osburn be in the right.

This unknown people are in the pictures represented sometimes with the forehead, sometimes with the back part of the head, and sometimes with the whole head shaven, except a tuft of hair at the crown; the hair on the left side being very long. They are also shorn of their whiskers and beard; leaving the mustaches, which, like the hair, were very long. Their dress was a close coat, with sleeves, reaching to the elbows, belted at the waist, and with a full shirt reaching to the knees. It had the appearance of being quilted, and is supposed to have been made either of

stant attention. Therefore, it was very natural that in the time of Necho, of Darius, and of the Ptolemies, it was found necessary to repair it, before it could be servicable to the use for which it was intended.

Herodotus, who says that the canal was commenced by Necho, gives to it a length of four days' journey, and a breadth sufficient to admit two triremes abreast. Diodorus relates that one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians had perished in the execution of this canal; but this seems incredible, though a vast number of Egyptian prisoners, who probably were employed on this work, may have lost their lives in this drudgery. Mr. Wilkinson says, "though filled with sand, the direction of this canal is easily traced, as well from the appearance of its channel, as from the mounds and vestiges of the ancient towns upon its banks, in one of which I found a monument, bearing the sculptures and name of Ramses the Second, the more satisfactory as being a strong proof of its having existed at least as early as the reign of that monarch." After the reign of the Ptolemies, and the Roman Emperors, this canal was again neglected, and suffered to go to decay, but was, on the revival of the trade with India, repaired by the Caliphs, and continued to be used, till the discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope turned trade that way.

leather, or of plates of brass, or copper. Over this they wore the ordinary Babylonian, or Tyrian tunic, which passed under the right arm, and was knitted or brooched on the left shoulder. Their shields were square, or rounded out at the sides, and there is, it is said, good evidence that they were frames of wicker work, with green hides stretched over them, which in drying would produce the latter form; and their weapons were the spear and the bow; and their cavalry seems to have been far more numerous than that of other people, with whom Ramses is represented to have warred.

The Hamathites, or Syrians, are said to be represented in the tomb of Sethos, but it is admitted that there appear to have been two races of them, the one having auburn hair, blue eyes, a complexion perfectly blond, and a contour of the face that is European. This people seems more probably to have been a northern people; thus showing that the Egyptians extended their warlike expeditions to more remote nations than what some writers will admit. It is true that their dress is said to be almost similar to that worn by the Canaanites, but this does not prove them to have been Canaanites, as two different nations often display in their fashions of dress much similarity.

The other race depicted on the same tomb, and even denoted by the name of Hamathites, seems more likely to have been Syrians. They are said to bear a striking resemblance to the Jebusites—as these are represented in the tomb of Pihrai before spoken of—in regard to the color of their hair, eyes and complexion, and in the prominent contour of their nose. Their dress is also very gorgeous, but perfectly identical in fashion with that of the Jebusites, and other people of Canaan. Their tunic was of a magnificent shawl-pattern, in colors of green, blue, scarlet, and wrapped around the person and confined at the waist with a girdle knotted in front. The cape, or Tyrian mantle, was also worn, which inclined to the left shoulder, so as to leave the right arm at liberty. Like the tunic, it was fringed at the edges. The beard was long, but the whiskers and locks of the forehead were shaven off; the rest of the hair was combed back, and worn thick and bushy behind.

Although Mr. Osburn presumes these people to be only two tribes of the Hamathites, or Syrians, I think that we shall approach nearer to the truth, by viewing them as quite different people; of whom the one lived in a more northern climate than the other. But be this as it may, there can be but little doubt that at least one king existed in Egypt, who carried the arms of this country to the shores of the Black Sea and the Hellespont, and also to the banks of the Tigris. More questionable it surely is, if ever an Egyptian army penetrated into Bactriana, or crossed the Indus. The latter, at least, I am quite inclined to disbelieve. I consider it more probable, that the expeditions of the Assyrian monarchs during the time they held Egypt in subjugation—a fact which I do not the least doubt in regard to some of them, and in which Egyptian troops may have participa-

ted—were afterwards attributed by the people of Egypt to some of their own kings.

Osymandias—who is by Sir John Marsham considered to be identical with Amenophis, or Memnon, or, as he is now called, in accordance with the monumental inscriptions, Amuneph III—is by some writers thought to be the same as Sesostris, or Ramses the great, and is by Diodorus said to have subdued the revolting Bactrians with an army of four hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. I cannot, however, forbear to think that this action, attributed to Osymandias,* is the very same which

* To this monarch, Diodorus ascribes the most splendid works of Thebes. They consisted of vast courts, porticos, shrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and several other buildings.

The first court, which was of various kinds of stone, was 200 feet in extent and 45 feet high. Next to this was a square portico, each of whose sides was 400 feet long, and, instead of pillars, supported by representations of animals fifteen cubits high, all of stone, and adorned with figures after the ancient manner. The ceiling was blue and bespangled with stars. From this portico they went into a second court, in all respects like the first, except that it was more enriched with various sculptures. In the entrance thereof were three statues all of one stone, the workmanship of Memnon, the Sienite: one of them was in a sitting posture, and the largest in all Egypt; the length of its foot exceeding seven cubits. This was his own statue; the other two, which stood one at each knee, represented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not so admirable for the exquisite skill of the carver, as for the beauty of the stone, which was free from the least flaw or blemish. It had this inscription: "*I am Osymandias, king of kings; he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him excel me in any of my works.*" We have also here another statue of his mother, standing by itself, of twenty cubits height, and cut out of one stone; she had three queens on her head, signifying that she had been the daughter, wife, and mother, of a king. This court led to a second portico, or piazza, far exceeding the first. On the first wall the king was represented with his army besieging a town encompassed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle, accompanied by a lion; concerning which, some related that he always fought with a tame lion at his side, but others said, that the figure of that beast was merely emblematical of his extraordinary courage. On the second wall were the captives, with the hands lopped off, to signify their cowardice. On the third were all sorts of sculptures and paintings, which represented his sacrifices and his triumphs. In the middle of the piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the most shining marble, of excellent workmanship and wonderful proportions. On the fourth side, or wall, were two gigantic statues, all of one stone, in a sitting posture and 27 cubits high. Near unto these were three passages which gave admission into a great hall supported by columns after the fashion of a concert-hall, two hundred feet square. In this place were many wooden statues representing parties engaged in law and the judges hearing the causes. From hence one passed into a gallery, or walk, in which were several fine apartments. Here the king was most curiously wrought and painted in the most lively colors, as presenting to his god the gold and silver annually dug out of the mines in Egypt, the amount whereof was said to be more than 450,000,000, of American dollars. Next was the second library with the inscription: "*The dispensary of the mind.*" Contiguous thereto, were the images of the Egyptian gods, with the king paying the offerings due to and peculiar to each of them, that Osiris and the rest of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he passed his life with piety towards the gods, and with justice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feast on, and the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and the king who was considered to be here interred. Around this were several pavilions in which most curious pictures of the consecrated animals were seen. From hence was an ascent to the sepulchre, which being surmounted, you saw a ring, or circle of gold 365 cubits in circumference and one in thickness, surrounding

Ninus and even Semiramis performed, but which the vanity of the Egyptians attributed to one of their own monarchs.

The reign of Ramses the Great—whether he be identical with Sesostris or not—was, however, glorious and conspicuous, as in his time the arts and learning of Egypt, appear to have attained a degree of perfection which no other age, in the opinion of some Egyptian Archæologists succeeded in successfully imitating. There can also be no doubt, that he carried the arms of Egypt into Asia, further than, at least, most of the other Egyptian kings ever did. The reign of this illustrious monarch is said to have lasted about sixty-six years, which he appears to have spent in great activity, either engaged in wars, or in vast and grand works of peace, the ruins of which have rescued his name from oblivion, and immortalized it on the pages of history. The extensive additions to the great temples of Karnak and Luxor, where two beautiful obelisks of red granite, bearing his name, proclaim, as Mr. Wilkinson says, the wonderful skill of the Egyptians in sculpturing these hard materials;* the elegant palace-temple of the Memnonium, and many other edifices at Thebes and Abydos; the temple hewn in the hard grit-stone rock of Ebsambul; those erected at Dair, Sebooa, and Gerf Hossay in Nubia; the obelisks of Tunis, and vestiges of ruins there and in other parts of the Delta; bear, undoubtedly, ample testimony of the length of time required for their execution, but seem to me to be too vast to have been all accomplished as presumed by the same writer, during even the long reign admitted to Ramses the Great, and thus more likely, to have, in part, been raised by some of his ancestors.

There is an argument against the identity of Ramses the Great with Sesostris, which, though not conclusive, must, nevertheless, be not entirely overlooked. Sesostris is said by Herodotus to have caused the partition of the lands among the peasantry, who were required to pay a fixed tax to the government, in proportion to the property allotted to each individual. The same historian also tells us, that this was the origin of land-surveying, but it is proved by the evidence of the Jewish writers, and the sculptures, that the rights and limits of landed property were, long before the reign of

the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and showed the rising and the setting of the stars, and their significations, or portents, according to the Egyptian astrology. This circular border was carried away by Cambyses the Persian. Such was the tomb of Osymandias—in accordance with Diodorus who also says that his descendants reigned after him to the eighth generation, the last of them bearing the name of Uchoreus—who fortified Memphis and extended the circumference of that city to about twenty miles. It is to be observed that these kings, as Diodorus, relates, reigned before the time of Mæris, who is said to have constructed the famous lake bearing his name. Mr. Osburn considers Mæris to be the same as Thothmosis III.; who, in accordance with Champollion, reigned about 1,700 years B. C.

* I will here observe, that it has been doubted whether the Egyptians were acquainted at this time with the use of iron; this seems, however, to me almost certain, as it would else have been almost impossible for them to have executed such works as they did.

Ramses the Great, well defined ; and it is evident, as Mr. Wilkinson justly observes, that the necessity of ascertaining the quantity of land irrigated by the Nile, or changed by the effect of the inundation must, long before that period, have led so highly a cultivated people to the knowledge and practise of geometry some hundred years at least, before the time of Ramses the Great.*

This monarch is on the monumental inscriptions called Pharaoh—Vigilant in Justice—the Beloved of Amoun—Approved of the Sun—Ramses. Champollion presumes his reign to have begun 1571 B. C ; Rossellini 1579 ; and Mr. Wilkinson as late as 1355 B. C.

Amenophis of Manetho, or Menephtha, or Si-Pthah, of the monuments appears to have been the last king of the eighteenth dynasty.

This king is said by Manetho to have been driven from the throne by a new invasion of the shepherds, and as I consider this historian's narrative of this event, as given by Josephus, in many respects of high importance, I repeat it here. "This king" (*Amenophis*), "was desirous of beholding the gods, as Orus—one of his predecessors in the kingdom—had desired the same before him ; he consequently communicated his wish to a priest of the same name with himself—*Amenophis*, the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake of the Divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurity—who told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers, and of the other impure people.

The king, well pleased with this information, gathered out of Egypt all that labored under any defect in body, to the amount of eighty thousand, and sent them to the quarries, which are situated on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. He—Manetho—further says, that there were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy ; but that still this *Amenophis*, the wise man and the prophet, fearful lest the vengeance of the gods should fall both on himself and on the king, if it should appear that violence had been offered them, added this also in a prophetic spirit, that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years ; that,

* The Bible informs us that Pharaoh, the contemporary of Joseph, bought all the land of the land-holders, except that of the priests ; this seems to me a proof that a partition of land must have taken place even before the time of that monarch, and that whoever he might have been, he unquestionably reigned a long time anterior to Ramses the Great.

Mr. Wilkinson says, that there is a monument in Asia, which is said to be Egyptian. If so, it is probably one of the Stelæ of Sesostria, mentioned by Herodotus, and similar to that on the Lycus, near Beirout. It is the figure of a man, cut on the rock near Nymphio, the ancient Nymphæum, about fifteen feet from the ground, with a javelin in his hand ; and was seen by the Rev. G. Renouard some years ago, who observes that one of the ancient roads from Mysia to Lydia passed that way.

however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all these matters, and then slew himself, which made the king very sorry."

After which, he, Manetho, writes thus, word for word, says Josephus, "When those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he should set apart for their habitation and protection the city of Avaris, which had been left vacant by the shepherds; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was a Typhorian city.

But when these men had taken possession of it, and found it well adapted for a revolt, they appointed for themselves a ruler from among the priests of Heliopolis, one whose name was Osarsiph, and they bound themselves by oath, that they would be obedient. Osarsiph then, in the first place enacted a law, that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians hold in veneration, but sacrifice and slay them all, and that they should connect themselves with none but such as were of that confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many others of a tendency directly in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave orders that they should employ the multitude of hands in rebuilding the walls about the city, and hold themselves in readiness for war with Amenophis, the king; he then took into his counsels some others of the priests and unclean persons; and sent ambassadors to the city called Jerusalem, to those shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis, and he informed them of the position of his own affairs, and of the ignominious manner in which the other had been treated, and requested them to come up unanimously to his assistance in this war with Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country of Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them, and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. The shepherds received this message with the greatest joy, and quickly mustered to the number of two hundred thousand men and came up to Avaris.

Now Amenophis, the king of Egypt, when he was informed of their invasion, was in great consternation, remembering the prophecy of Amenophis, the son of Papis; he assembled, therefore, the armies of the Egyptians, and having consulted with the leaders, he commanded the sacred animals to be brought to him, especially those which were in more particular veneration in the temples; and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos—who was named Rameses, from his father Rhampses—being but five years old, to one of his friends. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundred thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy who advanced to meet

him, yet *he did not attack them, thinking it would be to wage war against the gods,** but returned, and came again to Memphis; where he took Apis, and the other sacred animals he had sent for, and retreated immediately into Ethiopia, together with all his army, and a multitude of the other Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under obligation to him. He was, therefore, kindly received by the king, who took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied what was necessary for their subsistence. He also allotted to him cities and villages during his exile, which was to continue during the predestined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt.

Meanwhile, such was the state of things in Ethiopia, that the people of Jerusalem, who had come down with the unclean of the Egyptians, treated the inhabitants with such barbarity, that those who witnessed their impieties, believed their joint sway to be more execrable than that which the shepherds had formerly exercised alone; for they not only set fire to the cities and villages, but committed every kind of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and roasted and fed upon the sacred animals that were worshipped; and having compelled the priests and prophets to kill and sacrifice them, they cast them naked out of the country. It is said also, that the priest who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to this people, his name was changed, and he was called Moyses.†

Manetho says farther: "After this Amenophis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army—as did hisson Rampses with another army also—and both of them encountered the shepherds, and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria."‡

Mr. Osburn considers that Amenophis, or Siphtha, perished in the Red Sea, and attempts to confirm this, by saying that his corpse was never interred in the tomb at Bilan el Maloch near Thebes, which he had begun to rear with great magnificence; but I agree rather with Mr. Williamson, that no Pharaoh is proved to have perished in the Red Sea, and it is very easy to account, in another way, for the circumstance, if true, that Amenophis was not interred in the tomb he had for that purpose begun to build. We will here only observe, that the name of Siphtha, and of his queen Tha-osor, were inscribed on the first gallery of the tomb, but were covered with plaster, on which Remeni, the usurper, inscribed his own. Mr. Os-

* This sentence is very remarkable, and might indicate the loss which the Egyptians suffered in their attempt to follow the Israelites to the other side of the Red Sea.

† Joseph. contr. App. lib. 1, c. 26.

‡ Joseph. contr. App. lib. 1, c. 27.

burn says, that the sarcophagus which remains, is that of Remeni—but even this might be doubted.

From the above narration of Manetho, it seems very evident that during the reign of Amenophis, some revolt took place in Egypt, and that those who participated in it, were supported by the ancient enemies of the Egyptians. We will at present wave the question, whether there is any foundation in truth for supposing that the unclean people and the Israelites were identical, as Manetho appears to indicate. But it seems to me very probable, that the Exodus took place in the time of Amenophis, who most probably fled to Ethiopia after having, in some way, met with a severe check. The usurper who took possession of the throne of Egypt, bore the name of Remeni, as proved by the inscriptions on the tomb; but whether he was an Egyptian, or foreigner, is uncertain; still there is more probability that he was a native of Egypt, because his successor adopted him as his father, probably, as Mr. Osburn observes from the circumstance that he was successful; as misfortune was with the Egyptians identical with disgrace.

Manetho makes the ruler of that part of Ethiopia, to which Amenophis fled, an independent sovereign, but the hieroglyphics everywhere show that this was a mistake, and that he was only the Egyptian viceroy. He faithfully assisted his sovereign to prevent the further advance of his enemies. As the hieroglyphics also inform us that Ramses—which name, according to Manetho, the son of Amenophis bore—was also the name borne by the successor of Remeni, the usurper; it is a strong proof that there may be truth in what the same historian relates of the expulsion of the shepherds and of those Egyptians who had revolted, by Amenophis and his son, or at least by the latter, after the lapse of time mentioned.

This *Ramses*—whom we count as the third of that name, though others view him as the fourth—is called in the hieroglyphics Pharaoh, Guardian of Justice, the Friend of Amoun, Prince of On. His reign was long and prosperous. Mr. Osburn says, that the vast palace-temple of Medinet—Abou, in Western Thebes, was begun and finished during his reign. The walls of this superb edifice are said to be covered with sculptures, representing the successful wars of this monarch. Mr. Osburn considers that the Osarsiph of Manetho is the same as the Remeni of the hieroglyphics, and that Ramses was called prince of On—that is, of Heliopolis, for having re-conquered this city from the usurper.

In one of the scenes represented on the walls of the temple of Medinet-Abou, Ramses is represented sitting in his chariot, while his sons and the chief officers of his army count before him the severed hands of the enemy who had been slain in the battle. The air of calm dignified repose with which Ramses sits in his chariot, is said to be very admirable. There are four rows of prisoners, and four heaps of hands, of three thousand each. Four great officers stand by, and preside over the ceremony of counting each of these

heaps. Two of these officers are the king's sons; and the other two, probably some distinguished officers.

The inscription over the king is his address to his army. It is a short poem, or ode, similar in tendency to those already given. We here will repeat some of the more striking verses as given by Mr. Osburn :

THE ADDRESS OF RAMSES TO HIS ROYAL SONS.

"Give yourselves up to joy.

"Let it resound to heaven.

"My falchion has smitten the Hitties.

"I come, and terror fills their hearts.

"I arise conquering with the armies of Upper and Lower Egypt.

"I saw you in the midst of them, like springing lions.

"My heart is strong against them, like a bull against a ram.

"I have forded their rivers;

"I have laid waste their lands;

"I have burnt their forts with fire;

"Amoun-Re hath put the whole world under my feet.

"I am a king upon my throne for ever!"

From the remainder of the mutilated inscription, only a very few facts can be ascertained, as that this prince defeated the shepherds and the Hamathites; that he made an alliance with the Philistines, and made the land of the Arvadites to tremble.

The details of another war on the eastern frontier of Egypt, are also preserved upon the walls of Medinet-Abou. It took place in the twelfth year of this monarch's reign.

Two actions of this war against the Philistines are still remaining. The one is the surprise of a city, or district of the Philistines, by the combined armies of the Egyptians and their allies, supposed by Mr. Osburn to be Zidonians. The other is an attack upon the fleets of the Philistines, and the Zidonians in a harbor, by the Egyptians. In both these pictures the defeat of the enemies of Egypt is as complete as in all other cases. The Egyptians seem to have had a custom, as is still prevalent among many of the modern nations, greatly to exaggerate their victories. In the land-fight, the army of the Philistines is vainly attempting to cover the flight of their wives and children, with the luggage and wagons of wicker-work with solid wheels, and drawn by four oxen abreast. Their ranks are broken, and they appear in inextricable confusion, while their wagons fall a prey to the Egyptians. The sea-fight is said to be a very remarkable picture. As it occurs in the same series with the former, the event is considered to have taken place during the same war, which is very possible. But the cause of the union of the Zidonians with their former enemies against their late allies—the Egyptians—is not explained; still this is a circumstance that often happens in war. Thus the Saxons fought in the

battle of Leipsic, first with the French, and then against them. The occasion, however, of this sea-battle between the Egyptians and their enemies, appears to have been a meditated descent upon the coast of Egypt, by the combined fleet of the Zidonians and the Philistines. The action is considered to have taken place, either on the Egyptian coast, or in its vicinity. Remeses, or Ramses, at the head of his army, repulsed the enemy in their attempt to land, while the Egyptian fleet engaged with them by sea; both, according to the picture, with a success so exaggerated, that it cannot gain any credit. The entire fleet of the enemy was taken and carried in triumph to Egypt, and the forces which had manned it, graced the triumph of the victorious monarch.

Another war is also commemorated on the remaining wall of Medinet Abou, in which Ramses defeated the Arvadites, and took a fort from them. This Mr. Osburn supposes to have been Punon, for which his ancestors had so frequently contended with this adventurous and commercial people. Its value in the eyes, both of the Egyptians and the Arvadites, consisted in the mines which abounded in its vicinity. It might have been, as supposed, that from this success, Ramses acquired the title which is applied to him on two occasions—“*Lord of the Mountain of the Cave of Metals*”—that is, of the mining districts.

The reign of Ramses IV., took place, in accordance with M. Champollion, the elder, between 1474 and 1419 years B. C. He is the first king of Manetho's nineteenth dynasty; and called by this historian Sethos. Mr. Osburn says, that after his reign the nations of Canaan are never mentioned on the monuments; still he is quite in error, when supposing this to be in consequence of the Israelites having taken possession of Canaan; because this conquest resulted not in the annihilation of the Philistines, or all of those small nations that lived in the neighborhood of the Israelites, who often proved themselves formidable enemies, not only to them, but also waged war with the powerful monarchs of Assyria. But it appears to me more probable, that the people who inhabited the whole of Syria, in the most extensive meaning of this name, had found the Egyptians too powerful, and that they, therefore, rather sought their friendship—particularly as they were often in need of it—in order to protect themselves against the still more formidable enemies they had in the Assyrians.

Shishak, or *Sesonchis*—the Sheshonk I. of the monuments—is the first king of Manetho's twenty-second dynasty. The reign of this monarch is supposed to have taken place about 970 years B. C., and his inaugurated title reads, according to Mr. Osburn, thus: “Pharaoh in the Upper Region, Sesostris, it is approved of the Sun.” The invasion of this monarch of Judea in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, is commemorated on the northern external wall of the palace at Karnak; but the picture is said to be so much mutilated, that nothing remains but three captives bound to a stake, which forms, as usual, the title page at the beginning, and a portion

of the triumphal procession at the end, which is so much dilapidated, that only the names of the captives are legible.

It was to this monarch Jeroboam is said to have fled, to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. It might, perhaps, have been upon his instigation, that Shishak undertook his expedition against Rehoboam. The king of Egypt* is said to have led sixty thousand horse, twelve hundred chariots, and besides an innumerable—that is—a vast corps of foot against the monarch of Judæa, whom he conquered, took his strongest cities, and, as it appears, Jerusalem itself, which he deprived of its most valuable riches, and among them even the three hundred shields of gold, that Solomon is said to have caused to be made. Still the Egyptian conqueror left Rehoboam in possession of the throne, but, as it appears, as a vassal king.

The power of Egypt seems, during the monarchs succeeding Shishak, to have declined, as the Ethiopian king of Meroe, Sabaco, or Shabak as he is called in the monumental inscriptions, in the midst of the eighth century before the Christian Era, was able to take possession of Upper Egypt, if not even of Lower Egypt also. This king is said to have reigned with great clemency and justice, and it appears very improbable, that he cruelly treated the conquered king of Egypt, as some writers relate, inasmuch as he abrogated the punishment of death, and ordered that the criminals who were sentenced to die, should repair the causeways, on which the respective districts to which they belonged were situated; a much more rational punishment than that of death, or of solitary imprisonment for life—both of which are not only inhuman, but also irrational and impolitic. This monarch is said to have built several temples, and among others one in the city of Bubastis, of which Herodotus gives a long and vivid description. If Sabaco, or Sabacus, be the same as So, then it was he whose aid Hosea, the king of Israel, implored against Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrian kingdom of Nineveh.

It is related that at length Sabaco had a dream, wherein the tutelary deities of Thebes appeared to him and advised him that he could not hold the kingdom of Egypt with safety and happiness, unless he massacred the priests. This dream or vision was repeated several times; but his heart abhorring a deed so inhuman, he sent for the priests, and declared to them what it was the gods had urged him to do, and that he considered this as a sign that it was their pleasure he should remain no longer in Egypt; and that therefore with pure hands, and a clear conscience, he would return to his native land, rather than be under the necessity of staining his life by such a general bloodshed, in order to maintain himself on the throne of Egypt. Besides, the fifty years which an oracle had predicted he should reign over Egypt, were expired, and he therefore thought it but just to re-

tire into his own country. The truth enveloped in this tradition is very probably this ; a conspiracy of the priests, compelled Sabaco either to annihilate them by bloody means or retire from Egypt ; and that rather than sully his fair fame and conscience with so much bloodshed, he relinquished the dominion of Egypt. Still it must be observed, that knowing the nature of men, and the conduct generally pursued by princes, we may not be much mistaken in supposing that Sabaco, if he really acted as here related, may also have been influenced to such a course, through a distrust of his ability to overcome his powerful enemies.

Some have related, that Sabaco killed the king of Egypt, whom he had dethroned ; others, on the contrary, that this king,* concealed himself from the persecution of his victorious foe, but on his return to Ethiopia, came forth and mounted the throne again. Be this as it may, *Sethon*, who appears to have been a priest of *Vulcan*, soon took possession of the throne of Egypt. He seems not only to have neglected the military caste, or order, but unwisely to have divested it of its privileges and lands ; for which reason this powerful body thought itself absolved from its allegiance, and entered into a combination not to use their arms in his defence, should he become in want of aid. But regardless of their threats and the ill-will of the soldiers he is said to have occupied himself with the duties of religion. Such was the state of affairs when Sennacherib, king of Assyria, approached Pelusium, with the intention of invading Egypt. Sethon, aware of the danger which menaced him, and that his only safety consisted in acquiring the aid of the maltreated soldiers, sought now to sooth their resentment, but in vain. They firmly refused to take up arms in his defence. The royal priest—as is the custom of man when unable to help himself—sought for the assistance of a Superior Power, whom he implored in the utmost dejection of mind, not to forsake him in this time of the greatest danger. While he was in the temple, as the tradition informs us, he fell into a deep sleep, during which, it seemed to him that the god stood at his side, and exhorted him to courage ; promising that if he would march out to meet the Assyrians, he should obtain a complete victory over them. Relying on this promise, Sethon assembled together a promiscuous body of mechanics, shopkeepers, and laborers, and with this undisciplined multitude, he went out to meet the formidable host of Assyria. But lo ! the very night after his arrival at Pelusium, an infinite number of field-rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed the quivers, and shield-straps to pieces. When Sethon, on the next morning, found the Assyrians disarmed, and hastily retreating, he pursued them with great slaughter. In commemoration of this miraculous event, there was a stone statue of this king erected in the temple of Vulcan, with a rat in one of his hands, and uttering these words

* This king is called by Herodotus, Anytes, a blind man ; others think that Boochoris was the king, who was dethroned by Sabacus.

from his mouth : *Whoever beholds me, let him be pious.** It is curious to observe how miracles in ancient times generally happened, in aid of those who were the favorites of the priests. There can be no doubt that a pestilential disease saved Egypt, as well as Judea from being subdued by Sennacherib, and we are bound to admit, that this check upon the plans of the Assyrian monarch, took place in consequence of the will of Providence, but we are not, therefore, obliged to believe the spurious stories of falsifying priests.

There can scarcely be any doubt that a short time after the death of Sethon, Egypt was ruled by a confederation, consisting of twelve of the most powerful men of that country ; but I do not think, that any partition of the country among these rulers actually took place. These chiefs, on the contrary, appear to have entered into the closest alliance for conducting public affairs, for their mutual as well as for the general welfare of the people. This mutual bond was cemented by all the strictest ties that could possibly conduce to a perpetual union and harmony between them ; because, as we are assured, it had been foretold by an oracle, that upon their assuming the government, whoever of their number should perform a libation in a brazen cup, would in time be sole king of Egypt. This new form of government, which was aristocratic, and at the same time hierarchical, was at first attended with peace and satisfaction. The twelve rulers resolved, as we are told, to raise a monument which might perpetuate their names to futurity, and they accordingly constructed the famous Labyrinth near Lake Moeris—if we are to believe Herodotus. At length, it happened, that at a stated time they all met together to sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan ; and being about to offer a libation on the last day, the high priest, through a mistake, or *perhaps in consequence of a private agreement*—brought out only eleven of the twelve golden bowls, which were reserved for the use of these twelve rulers ; and, *Psammeticus* standing the last in order, and being thus unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of brass, and performed his libation with that. This he is however said to have done inadvertently ; but it being observed by his colleagues, they called to mind the oracle, which promised that he who should perform a libation in that place with a brass bowl should be sole king of Egypt. Consequently, as his colleagues were persuaded that he had acted as he did without design, they would not sentence him to die, but unanimously agreed to require him to remove to the marshy country, and to divest himself of the greater part of that district, which had been committed to his particular government, and to prohibit him from any further participation in public affairs. This resolution of the colleagues of *Psammeticus*, they put into execution, and divested him of the power, of which he had been in possession. Thus this affair is related by Herodo-

* Herod. b. 1.

tus. But there is another account, attributing this discord to envy, which is said to have originated from the following cause. The division of the country over which Psammeticus was appointed governor, bordered on the sea coasts, and as he greatly encouraged commerce with the Phœnicians and Greeks, he not only acquired much wealth, but also the friendship of several foreign kings, and nations, which his colleagues began to fear he intended to use to the subversion of the established order of things, and for the extension of his own power. In order, therefore, that he should not strengthen himself so far as to be able to execute the ambitious plans of which he was suspected, his colleagues resolved to deprive him of the power he already held, with their own consent. Consequently, they declared war against him. Psammeticus finding himself unequal to the contest, hired an army of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of Ionians, Carians, and Arabians, and repelled force with force; at last he subdued all his colleagues, and put an end to the *duodeceminatæ*.* On the other hand it is related, that, in pursuance of the above mentioned sentence, he retreated to the fens; but highly resenting the maltreatment received from his former colleagues for an unoffensive act of his, he sent to the oracle of *Latona*, at the city of Batus, to know how, and when, he might hope for vengeance. The answer he received was, that brazen men would suddenly rise out of the sea, and avenge his cause. This he considered as an absurdity; but afterwards it happened, that some Grecian troops were cast upon the coast of Egypt, in the vicinity where Psammeticus dwelt—who were accoutred with helmets, cuirasses, and other arms of brass—which being told to Psammeticus, he immediately called to mind the oracle, and did not doubt that the prediction alluded to these foreigners, whom he hastened to enlist in his service, by promising them great rewards would they resolve to assist him. He also levied other forces, at the head of which, he put those Greeks, when some time later he fought a decisive battle with the other eleven rulers of Egypt. He gained the victory, and thus exalted himself to be sole ruler over Egypt. Of these two different narratives of this event, the most probable is unquestionably that given by Diodorus.

From the time that Psammeticus made himself master of all Egypt, until the first conquest of that country by the Persians, one hundred and thirty years elapsed, as is computed by Herodotus. During this time, Egypt remained undivided, and was ruled by some wise and able kings; and though the era of decline had entered, still it is egregious folly to attribute this, as some writers have done, to the expulsion or voluntary exodus of the Israelites. The causes of this decline were the great age of the Egyptian empire—which, in accordance with the law prescribed by Providence, carried the seeds of decay within itself—and the employment of

* See Diod. Sic. b. 1.



THE DEATH OF PSAMMETICUS.

foreign troops in the wars, which resulted from the policy of Psammeticus, who, as he had attained through this means, the supreme power, was also obliged to rely upon the same means for its maintenance. Some of his successors, pursuing the same policy, could not rely upon the native soldiers in the time of danger. Besides the growing power of Persia was not to be withstood by a priest-ridden people.

As Psammeticus owed his preservation and throne to the Greeks, he opened Egypt to them; some of whom he settled there —which could not but offend the Egyptians, who hated foreigners, and had not to any extent allowed them before that time to make any settlements in Egypt. Psammeticus on the contrary assigned to them lands, and revenues, in order to induce them to remain there. By his order, Egyptian children were put under the care of Greeks to learn the Grecian language. This intercourse with foreigners was undoubtedly useful towards dispelling many prejudices prevailing among the people of Egypt, but it must also be allowed, that the knowledge which foreigners hereby acquired of this country, awakened also their desire to come into possession of it.

Psammet-
cus About
670 B. C.

As soon as Psammeticus was in quiet possession of the throne, he is said to have commenced a war against Assyria, on account of the boundaries of the two empires; or rather, he may have had to defend himself against the Assyrians, who, after having overrun Syria and Palestine, were attempting to wrest from the Egyptians, the places they occupied in these countries. Be this as it may, Psammeticus is said to have entered Palestine, and laid siege to Azotus, one of the principal cities of that country, and whose capture, according to Diodorus, cost this king twenty-nine years of labor. This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history, but it is probable that it was many times interrupted, though the historian has related nothing of any cessations.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians having some time before put themselves in possession of it, had made it, by strong fortifications, their best bulwark on that side; still Sennacherib had become master of it through Tartan, his general, who by some means had succeeded in capturing it. The perseverance with which the Assyrians defended it, is best proved by the long time it required for the Egyptians to recover this stronghold.

In consideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, by whose aid Psammeticus had made himself sole master of Egypt, he thought proper to give them the post of honor, when he marched his army into Syria. This preference given to the foreigners is said to have so much irritated the Egyptian soldiers, that upwards of two hundred thousand of them deserted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus offending this powerful caste, he at first sent some of the chief officers after them to persuade them not to execute their intention; but finding

that their persuasions were of no avail, he hastened after them himself, and overtook them on the banks of the Nile. There he conjured them, in the name of their gods, and love of their native country, not to desert him ; but they unanimously struck their spears upon their shields, and exclaimed that as long as they had arms, they did not doubt they should find a country fit for them to settle in. Then they sullenly marched off until they came to a fertile spot in Ethiopia, where they settled.

Psammeticus is much praised for the prudence by which he induced the Scythians to desist from their intention of invading Egypt ; because instead of attempting to oppose these formidable warriors, who had overcome even the then warlike Medes, he prevailed on them, by seasonable presents, to turn back the way whence they came. Herodotus says, that after a prosperous and glorious reign of fifty years, he died, and was buried in the temple of Bubastis, or Minerva, at Sais, the place where the remains of all the Saitic monarchs are said to have been deposited.

Pharaoh-Necho. About 616 B. C. *Necho*, or Pharaoh-Necho, as he is called by the Jewish writers, is said to have been the son of Psammeticus. He was a

prince of a very warlike character and of many excellent qualities. He sent some of the most expert Phœnician mariners to explore the African coasts, and there can be scarcely any doubt that they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar, after having set out from the Red Sea. The very circumstance, that Herodotus tells us that Africa had been circumnavigated in his time, is almost a conclusive proof that it was done ; because this historian would scarcely else have thought such an achievement possible.

Josephus, following the authority of Ctesias, relates that Pharaoh-Necho waged war with the Babylonians and Medes—a proof that Josephus was not so sceptical in regard to what Ctesias has told us, as some modern historians have been. Josiah, king of Judah, attempted to prevent Pharaoh-Necho from passing through that country in his march against the Babylonians. When Necho was informed of the intention of Josiah, he sent messengers to him to remonstrate, that he had not taken up arms with a design to do Josiah the least injury ; and that he was going to engage in a war with other nations ; but finding that the king of Judah would not let him pass unmolested through his dominions, he led his army against him, and conquered him in the valley of Megiddo, or Magdelus, as Josephus relates. Josiah was mortally wounded with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks, and his army was compelled to retreat. Necho, pursuing his victorious course, routed the Assyrians and took the great city of Carshemish, where he left a strong garrison ere he returned to Egypt, which he did three months afterwards. Directing his course towards Jerusalem, he heard that Jehoahaz had made himself king of it ; but displeased with him, he ordered him to come to Riblah, in Syria. On the arrival of Jehoahaz thither, he caused him to be bound in chains, and

sent as a prisoner to Egypt. Then he went himself to Jerusalem, and made Eliakim, whose name he changed into Jehoiakim, king over Judah, imposing upon him, at the same time, a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.* It is to be observed, that Herodotus says, that he took the great and mountainous city of Cadytis in Palestine, which name, unquestionably, is identical with that of Jerusalem. In commemoration of his success in having made himself master of a great part of Syria, or out of gratitude to Apollo, he is said to have consecrated the garments he wore in these actions to this deity, and sent them to Branchio, in the land of the Milesians.

But fortune soon turned her back upon Necho; for some years afterwards, he was, as I have before related, overcome by Nebuchadnezzar at Carshemish, and lost all his conquests; being compelled to seek safety within the ancient boundaries of Egypt. He appears to have died after a reign of about sixteen years, leaving the kingdom to his son.

Psammis reigned, according to Herodotus, six years, and died Psammis. About 640 B. in an expedition against the Ethiopians. In his time, there came About 640 B. ambassadors into Egypt from the Eleans, to inquire whether the C. sages of Egypt could add anything to their regulations, concerning the Olympic games, or whether they could perceive any defect in them. When *Psammis* was informed of the business of the embassy, he called a council of the wisest men in Egypt, and sending for the ambassadors to present themselves before this assembly, he asked them if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games; to which they returned an affirmative answer. Whereupon the Egyptian sages pronounced that they departed from all the rules of hospitality; observing that it was natural for them to favor their fellow-citizens more than strangers. That if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, and what ought not to be done in the matter, they would advise that the most equitable law they could frame, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none but strangers to contend for the prizes.

Apries, supposed to be the king called *Pharaoh-Hophra*, by Apries, or Pharaoh-Hophra. About 594 B. C. the Jewish writers, succeeded his father. His reign was in the beginning glorious and prosperous, but terminated in disasters. 594 B. C. In the first year of his reign he received ambassadors from Zedekiah, the same whom Nebuchadnezzar had made king of Judah, who sought for his alliance. *Apries* acceded to this request, and entered into a league with the ambassadors of Zedekiah against the king of Babylon. About two years afterwards, by virtue of this alliance, *Apries* marched out of Egypt with a seeming intention of relieving Jerusalem, then closely besieged by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, who, as soon as he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, raised the siege, and went to meet the

* 2 Kings, xxiii.

king of Egypt. From the Jewish writers, it appears as if the Egyptians had not ventured to engage in battle with the Assyrians, but retreated as fast as the latter approached, and so continued till they had fallen back into their own country ;* leaving the Jews to the vengeance of their exasperated enemies. For this breach of faith, Ezekiel, after the custom of the Jewish priests, when they were displeased with any one, menaced the Egyptians with the wrath of heaven. But though the Egyptians may not have done everything they, perhaps, might have been able to do in order to avert the fate that afterwards befell the Jews, it was unquestionably a great military error of the Jewish leaders, not to follow on the heels of the Assyrians ; because, had they done so, and given timely intelligence of their movements to the Egyptians, the latter would then probably have dared to face the Assyrians, as they could have relied upon the co-operation of the Jews in the battle. I take it however for granted, that the Egyptians were defeated ere they retreated. It is to be observed that the time is come, when the complaints of the Jewish writers against other nations are to be investigated with impartiality. Nothing will more serve the cause of truth—and I should think myself unworthy of the responsible calling of an historian, did I not do everything in my power to aid those who have fearlessly stood forth as champions of truth.

The Jewish writers, burning with hatred against Apries for not having taken more vigorous measures to save their native land, cannot be expected to have passed an impartial judgment, and we cannot, therefore, approve of their denunciations against this king. Herodotus relates, that Apries enjoyed twenty-five years of greater prosperity than any of his successors—except Psammeticus—but he nevertheless informs us of his later misfortunes. Diodorus, however, allows his whole reign to have been not more than twenty years.

The Cyrenæns, a Greek colony, had a very numerous accession of their countrymen under their third king, *Battus the Happy* ; and being impelled by an oracle from the Pythian, seized on the lands and unjustly drove the Libyans, their neighbors, from their possessions ; their king Andicran, sent an embassy of submission to Apries, and implored his protection from the violence of the new comers. Apries agreed to his request, and sent a powerful army to relieve him. But the Egyptians suffered a dreadful defeat from the Cyrenæns ; few of the former escaping with their lives, but those who had saved themselves by flight were incensed with the fiercest rage against Apries, as if he had sent them to certain destruction, in hopes that they being annihilated, he might tyrannize at pleasure over the remainder of his subjects. What ground there was for this suspicion does not appear, but the giddy multitude believed it to have been founded

in truth, and the consequence was almost an universal defection. Upon the news that the multitude had assembled in a tumultuous manner, and were talking aloud of depriving him of the throne, Apries sent a trusty friend, as he thought, and one much respected by the people, to appease them. The name of this man was Amasis. He set out on his errand ; but instead of reconciling them to the king, he permitted them to make himself the instrument of the execution of their rebellious intention. Because, while pretending to reproach the people, and recall them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, and putting a helmet on his head, saluted him king of Egypt, when he embraced this opportunity of elevating himself, and accordingly prepared war against his former master. Apries finding himself so foully betrayed, commanded one Patarbemis, the most considerable of all the Egyptians, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring Amasis to him alive. He obeyed, and coming in sight of Amasis, called out to him, and charged him to go with him to the king ; but Amasis in a most indecorous manner refused to do it. When Patarbemis continued to urge him ; he said that he had been for some time preparing to visit the king, but that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a suitable equipage with him. Patarbemis seeing how affairs stood, thought that the greatest service he could do to Apries would be to give him the most early notice of the disposition of the rebels. He therefore returned ; but when the king saw him coming into his presence without Amasis, he spoke with him not one word, but ordered his ears and nose to be cut off, and thus sealed his own doom ; for when the rest of the Egyptians, who still remained faithful to him, saw this barbarous and insolent behavior towards one who was worthy of a quite different treatment, they all deserted from Apries, and went over to Amasis. Now the sanguinary tyrant, on one hand, and his faithless friend on the other, prepared for war ; the former aided by foreigners, whom he had enlisted in his service, and the latter by the whole body of the natives.

These intestine discords appear to have facilitated the invasion of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, who, after being cheated by the Tyrians, out of the spoils he might reasonably have hoped to acquire by the capture of the ancient city of Tyre, led his army, as we have in another place related, against Egypt. We have no certain information whether the Egyptians made any attempt to resist this formidable conqueror, but certain it is, he carried thence an immense booty, and a great number of captives. Whether Nebuchadnezzar's invasion took place before Apries and Amasis had measured their power, is doubtful, still it seems to me more probable that the contest between them was decided by Nebuchadnezzar, who, I think, espoused the cause of the latter. But however this may be, according to Herodotus, Apries marched from Sais, where he had a most magnificent palace, at the head of thirty thousand foreigners, and Amasis advanced to meet him at the head of the Egyptians. They encountered

each other on the fields near Memphis, and Apries appears, in accordance with the same historian, to have been so sure of the victory, that he did not think it possible even for any god to divest him of his kingdom. But his hope proved vain; because so greatly did the Egyptians out-number the foreigners, that in spite of the most heroic efforts, the last were totally defeated, and Apries himself taken prisoner.

Now *Amasis** mounted the throne. He confined Apries in the palace of Sais, and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and thirsted for the blood of the de-throned monarch. They murmured against Amasis, and said that his lenity was wrongly applied in extending it to his and their common enemy. At last Amasis had not courage enough to withstand the clamors of the people, but delivered Apries into the hands of his enemies, who strangled him; but permitted, nevertheless, his body to be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, which was in the temple of Minerva, where, according to Herodotus, all the Saitic princes were entombed.

Amasis is generally considered to have been of plebeian extraction. It is said, that, perceiving at first that it was with reluctance, the Egyptians paid to him the respect due to his high dignity, he took a golden cistern in which his guests were accustomed to wash their feet, and ordered it to be melted down, and cast into the shape of a god. This precious idol was set up in the most frequented place in the city, and all the people hastened to pay devout reverence to it. He then called an assembly of the people, and told them that the god they now worshipped was made of the vessel in which they had washed their feet—and that this was an illustration of his own position; he formerly had been an insignificant person, but being now their king, he expected and required to be honored and obeyed as such.

This prince is said to have made it a rule to attend closely to business every morning, but to spend the remainder of the day in convivial entertainments with his friends, drinking, and making merry with them; but his mirth being of a low and vulgar character, unbecoming a king, gave offence to some of his friends, who told him, that such forgetfulness of his dignity would draw down upon him the contempt of all his subjects. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly lose much of its spring and vigor, and at last be totally useless, so a man who should incessantly devote himself to serious matters, would grow stupid, and eventually lose his senses; therefore, he was determined to divide his time between business and pleasure. It is even said of him, that when in private life, he was very fond of drinking, and jesting, and was so averse to busi-

* There is a different account of the manner in which Amasis mounted the throne, which denies that he succeeded Apries—See Hellenic. apud. Athenae. Deipno. b. 15.—but as this account is not to be relied on, I think it not necessary to say anything more in regard to it.

ness, that he obtained the means for his luxuries by thieving; and that, in consequence of this shameful practise, being often accused but continually denying his guilt, he was usually taken to the oracle of the place wherever he might be, and was sometimes convicted and sometimes acquitted. After having ascended the throne, and recalling the former transactions of his life, and also the deceit and ignorance of the oracles which had pronounced him innocent, he slighted the temples of such gods, and abstained from their sacrifices, refusing even to present to them any donations. But on the contrary, he highly revered the veracity and discernment of those who had deemed him guilty.

He built a portico to the temple of Minerva at Sais—which was of the utmost magnificence, both in regard to vastness of proportion, and the massiveness of the materials—and adorned it with colossal figures, among which were the monstrous images of Androsphynges. He was also very liberal in the gifts and ornaments he bestowed upon the other celebrated temples, and particularly those at Memphis, where, before the temple of Vulcan, he caused a colossus of seventy-five feet high to be laid on its back, with its face looking upwards, and on the same basis or pavement, whereon this lay, he erected two statues twenty feet high, cut out of the same stone, and standing one on each side of the great one.

As Egypt is described as being very happy under his reign, he must have taken much pains to repair the losses it had sustained in consequence of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion. We have before mentioned that Amasis was one of the kings of Egypt, who is celebrated as one of the law-givers of that country. Though the Greeks had opposed him, when he rebelled against Apries, he appears to have been a friend of this glorious nation, and to have permitted, as many as pleased, to settle in Egypt, and also to erect temples to their gods. The most noted and frequented of these sacred buildings, was that which bore the name of the Grecian Temple, which was built at the joint expense of the Ionian cities of Chio, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazemene, together with the aid of the Dorians of Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and of the city of Mytelene, and of the Æolians. Those who had come from Ægina reared also a temple to Jupiter, at their sole expense; the Samians another to Juno, and the Milesians a third to Apollo. The Greeks were also permitted to elect officers to preside over their commercial affairs, and over their religion.

The munificence of Amasis is attested by many circumstances, and among others, by the following:—When the Delphians, whose temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city, to raise such a contribution as might enable them to pay that share of the expense of rebuilding, which was imposed upon them, they applied not only to the Greeks in Egypt, but also to Amasis himself, who gave them a thousand talents of Alom; thus showing that he was a tolerant prince in religious matters. He made an alliance with the Cyrenæns, and being desirous of a Grecian

wife, or willing to give a manifest proof of his affection for that people, he married a Grecian lady, whose name was Ladice. But the royal couple experienced some trouble in the married state, as the king proved himself unable to consummate the marriage without the aid of a deity. Though Amasis found no impediment in himself with regard to other women, he experienced a total imbecility in the presence of his wife. This led him to suspect that she had enchanted him, and practised some witchcraft in order to debilitate him; he therefore, one night, when lying by her side, told her, that versed as she was in supernatural contrivances, she should not have it in her power to escape the vengeance he intended to take on her, for the foul play of which she had made herself guilty. She however, in the most solemn manner, denied this accusation, and endeavored to give him a better opinion of her; but in vain. In this distress she implored the aid of Venus, vowing, that, if the goddess would hear her prayers, she would send a statue of her to Cyrene. Venus was propitious, and Amasis found his vigor restored, and from that day evinced the greatest tenderness and affection for his wife, who performed her vow to the goddess, whose statue, erected by her, was seen without the gates of Cyrene some ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was called, brought the gods of the Grecians into the highest credit with Amasis, as would seem by his consecrated donations to Greece. To the city of Cyrene, he sent a gilded statue of Minerva, and his own picture taken from life. To the city of Lindus he gave two statues, of the same goddess, with a linen pectoral or stomacher curiously wrought and beautifully adorned. To Samos he sent two wooden images of himself, which were seen standing, several ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of Juno. This donation he made to Samos, for the sake of Polycrates, with whom he was in close and friendly alliance.

Amasis is said to have subdued Cyprus, and exacted a tribute from the inhabitants of that island.

As this monarch was much praised by the priests from whom Herodotus got his information of him, we may be sure that he had learnt to insinuate himself into the favor of these bestowers of censure and of praise. It is, however, curious that they made no allusion to the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. This was probably done from national vanity; they being unwilling to relate what they thought would disgrace their country, and a king who had been their favorite. It is also very possible, that Nebuchadnezzar might have lent his aid to Amasis against Apries. The priests however, confessed that the latter days of Amasis were darkened by the misfortunes which hung over Egypt, and though he died just early enough to escape them, yet his corpse was afterwards so inhumanly treated, that had he been able to foresee this great calamity—according to the superstition of the Egyptians—he would have considered the loss of his kingdom as a trifle, compared to the indignity offered to his remains.

Amasis had by some means enraged Cambyzes*—the son of Cyrus—to a degree of hatred, so implacable, that it has scarcely its parallel in history. The cause of this bitter enmity is not certainly known. It is however said, that Amasis, having been requested to send to Cambyzes the best oculist in Egypt, had dispatched to that monarch a man who was much grieved that he should have been thus subjected to a kind of exile, and especially as he thought that he was not, as Cambyzes had requested, the most skilful of the Egyptian oculists. Displeased as he was with Amasis, and caring little for the honor conferred upon him, the physician thirsted for revenge on his king. He, therefore, when he had come to Persia, began to insinuate to Cambyzes the idea of sending a herald to Amasis to demand his daughter for his wife, hoping that whether Amasis complied or not, with this request of Cambyzes, he should by this means obtain revenge. Cambyzes at last was prevailed upon to do as the Egyptian oculist suggested.

When the Persian herald had come to the king of Egypt, and delivered his message, this monarch deemed himself placed in a very critical position; as he feared the revenge of the powerful king of Persia, if he refused, and would feel ashamed of the dishonor which must be reflected on his family if he complied; as he knew, that instead of becoming a wife, his daughter would be nothing but the concubine of Cambyzes. At last he recollected that his predecessor left an only daughter, of great beauty, and dignified deportment, who bore the name of Nitetis. He therefore sent her to Cambyzes, with all the pomp and splendor becoming his own daughter. As soon as the Persian monarch met her, and saluted her as the daughter of Amasis, the princess replied, that she was no daughter of this monarch, but that he had deceived Cambyzes; as she was the child of the unfortunate Apries, whom Amasis had permitted to be put to death, and whose throne he had ungratefully usurped. At this Cambyzes, who was a man of a passionate, but not therefore of an ungenerous disposition, became violently incensed, and swore to take ample revenge upon Amasis. Thus the Persians related this affair; but the Egyptians say that it was Cyrus who sent for the daughter of Amasis, and that Cambyzes was the son of Nitetis. The Egyptians may, however, have said so, because this would make it appear as if Cambyzes had become king of Egypt, not so much by conquest, as by inheritance. But Herodotus declares it contrary to the custom of the Persians to admit of a son of half-blood to succeed as heir to the kingdom. There is still a third account given of the cause of Cambyzes' hatred against Amasis, which is as follows: A Persian lady having been admitted to the harem of Cyrus and admiring the children of

* Xenophon says, that Cyrus conquered Egypt. But this seems to me improbable. Still the Persian conqueror might have compelled Amasis to acknowledge his supremacy, as Herodotus relates, that this monarch was leagued with Croesus against Cyrus.

Cassandana—the mother of Cambyses—was told by her, that notwithstanding she was the wife of Cyrus, and the mother of these fine children, yet her husband neglected her and preferred an Egyptian servant—meaning Nitetis. Cambyses, at that time but ten years of age, hearing these words, told his mother, that when he should have grown up to be a man, he would then for her sake, carry ruin to all Egypt. The ill-treatment to which he afterwards subjected this country, was but the revenge, which, on this occasion, he had vowed. This account, however, carries in itself something romantic, which gives us reason to doubt of its truth. There have been those, and among them Dr. Prideaux, who have paid no regard to what has now been related of the cause of the hatred Cambyses bore to Amasis; but they have taken it for granted, that the Egyptian king, having been tributary to Cyrus, upon the death of this great prince withdrew his allegiance from his successor, and consequently exposed himself to the vengeance of Cambyses.

It is also related that Phanes of Halicarnassus, a commander of the Grecian auxiliaries in the pay of Amasis, for some reason or other, had become offended with Amasis, and therefore embarked from Egypt, on purpose to go to Persia. This officer was a wise counsellor, a brave warrior, and well acquainted with everything that related to Egypt; he was besides, much liked by the Greeks who lived in Egypt. Amasis was therefore sensible of the great injury he would sustain, were this man allowed to depart; as he would have it in his power to strengthen Cambyses, or any other prince who might undertake to invade Egypt. The king, therefore, immediately dispatched a trusty eunuch with a swift galley to pursue Phanes, who was taken in Lydia. He was, however, not brought back to Egypt—in consequence, it is said, of having made his guard drunk—but was able to find his way into Persia, where he presented himself before Cambyses, who was then meditating an invasion of Egypt, and whom Phanes, as Amasis had apprehended, confirmed in this purpose.

Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, who had been an intimate friend of Amasis, contributed also to the success of the Persian prince; after having become the enemy of the Egyptian king, in the following manner: Amasis receiving frequent accounts of the uninterrupted successes of Polycrates, feared that at last some heavy misfortune would befall him, as disastrous as his triumphs and fortune had hitherto been glorious. He therefore thought proper to give his friend some salutary advice in a letter of the following contents:

“It is with pleasure I have received information of the continued happiness that my friend and ally enjoys. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear to fear for your great prosperity; knowing, as I do, the fickleness of fortune. For my own part, I would rather that my affairs, and those of my friends, should sometimes be prosperous, and sometimes adverse, than see them go on with uninterrupted success. Therefore, listen now to my counsel, and

do as I shall bid you, in order to diminish your present happiness ; consider with yourself what you possess of the greatest value in your own opinion, and what would cause you the most sorrow were you to lose it. When you have fixed your choice, dispose of the thing in such a way that it may never more be beheld by mortal eye. If your happiness after this is not mingled with any bitterness whatever, then preserve yourself against the sorrow which may be in store for you, by repeating the remedy I have now prescribed."

When Amasis had heard that Polycrates had followed his advice, and thrown a very valuable signet into the sea, but that it had been found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fish and restored to him, he considered the prince of Samos as the most unhappy of men ; and dreading to be involved in the ruin which he was sure would befall his friend, he dispatched a herald to Samos to renounce the alliance and friendship that had existed between them, that he might not be obliged to mourn his misfortune with the bitter pangs of a friend.*

Thus Amasis, by dissolving the ties that had bound the prince of Samos to him, left Polycrates at liberty to act against him, if his inclinations or advantage should so prompt. The latter, either from revenge at seeing his friendship so disregarded, or from policy, is said to have offered a fleet of ships to Cambyses, to assist him in his enterprise against Egypt.

If these several accounts are to be relied on, Amasis was thus menaced by the combined forces of a most revengeful and mighty enemy, and of an offended and formidable friend. But, meanwhile, death approaching unawares, snatched his life away. His corpse was embalmed and deposited in a sepulchre he had built for himself in the temple of Sais. He was succeeded by his son.

Psammenitus had scarcely ascended the throne, when he was ^{*Psammenitus*} obliged to march at the head of his troops to Pelusium, in order ³²⁵ to oppose the enemies that were advancing. Cambyses, having ^{B. C.} by the aid and assistance of an Arabian king, crossed the dry and sandy deserts, and approaching the right of the Egyptian camp, immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Egyptians seeing the enemy ready for an attack, prepared themselves to receive him ; but, in the meantime, the Grecians—or as they are also called the Carian and Ionian auxiliaries in the Egyptian army—gave a signal but also terrible evidence of their zeal in the cause of *Psammenitus*, and of their detestation of the treachery of Phanes, who accompanied Cambyses. They led Phanes' unhappy sons whom he had left in Egypt, out of the camp, and butchered them over a bowl, which received the blood of these innocent victims, in sight of the father and his new friends ; and pouring wine and water into the same, drank of that unnatural beverage, and then rushed against the

* Herod. b. 1 and 3.

enemy's lines. The fight was at first bravely maintained on both sides, but in the end the Egyptians gave way, and fled in great disorder toward Memphis. Here they soon, as it is said, made themselves guilty of a cruel and imprudent outrage towards a herald whom Cambyzes sent to them in a ship of Mitylene; for as soon as they saw this vessel coming they flocked down to the beach, and destroyed the ship, and in the most horrible manner cut the Persian herald and all the crew into pieces; carrying their mangled limbs with shouts of exultation—as though they had gained a victory over Cambyzes—into the city. But the Persian army shortly afterwards arrived, and laid a close siege to the city, which was at last obliged to surrender. The news of this event, struck, as we are told, such terror into the minds of the Libyans, Cyrenæans, and Baniæans that they all hastened to humble themselves before Cambyzes, and to acknowledge that they were dependent upon him for their salvation.

Upon the tenth day after Memphis had been taken, Psammenitus and the chiefs of the Egyptians were sent into the suburbs of that city to act an ignominious part in that tragedy Cambyzes caused to be enacted for the purpose of showing his power and satisfying his revenge. Here the conquered king of Egypt had to see his daughter, in the habit of a poor slave, carrying a pitcher to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the noblest men of Egypt, all in the same humble garb, and going on the same errand, with pitchers in their hands; all weeping and bewailing their misfortune with heart-rending lamentations. When the fathers who accompanied Psammenitus saw their daughters in this distress, and reduced to such a degradation, they also burst out into tears, and complained aloud of the heavy misfortune that had befallen them; but the dethroned king, though ready to sink to the earth under the load of sorrow that lay upon his heart, only threw his eyes upon the ground, and thus held them fixed. When the maidens had passed by their fathers, then came the son of Psammenitus and two thousand youth of the highest Egyptian families, all with bits in their mouths, and halters around their necks, on their way to be executed, to expiate the murder of the Persian herald and the Mytelenian sailors. But Psammenitus, like one perfectly stupified, observed, as the blooming youth passed by to meet an untimely death, the very same conduct as before, while the Egyptians about him gave vent to their agonies in the most doleful cries. A short time afterwards, however, when on beholding an intimate friend, who now advanced in years and plundered of all he had possessed, was begging his bread, Psammenitus began to weep bitterly, and calling out to him by his name, struck himself on the head as one that was frantic. As there were spies set to watch over his behavior, they instantly gave Cambyzes an account of his conduct. This monarch sent a messenger to the captive prince to know the reason why he wept on seeing the misfortune of his friend, and not over that of his own children. To this Psammenitus re-

turned the following answer: That the calamities of his own family were too great to be lamented by any outward signs of grief, and that they had quite stunned him; but the misery of a bosom friend allowed him some room for reflection, and therefore drew tears from his eyes. This answer had the effect upon Cambyse to cause him to send an order to stop the execution of the son of Psammenitus; but the messenger who bore it arrived too late, as the young prince was the first who had been put to death. The captive king was, however, restored to liberty; and would, perhaps, have been entrusted with the administration of the government of Egypt, had he not betrayed a desire to take revenge upon Cambyse; but imprudently showing his vindictive spirit, he was seized, and condemned to drink bullock's blood.*

Thus terminated the mission of the proud and mighty Egypt. She who had haughtily put her foot on the necks of so many humbled nations, now lay prostrate at the feet of an insolent conqueror. Great had been her glory; and, though sometimes dimmed, reverses had only had the effect of adding to it new lustre; but long as her prosperity had lasted, and long as she had been favored by fortune, she was now doomed, for thousands of years to drink of the brimmed cup of humiliation, of suffering, and of woe. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and nations then unborn, were destined to feed on her vitals, and to mock at her vain attempts to break the fetters of her slavery. Those to whom she had taught the arts and the wisdom of which they boasted, were to forget the gratitude they owed her, and while admiring her stupendous works and adopting many of her laws as their own, would laugh at her follies, and scorn her gods, at the sight of whose temples they stood aghast with wonder and awe.

The fate of Egypt has been very wonderful; being a glorious instrument, in the hands of Providence, of advancing mankind toward its high destiny, at the same time that she has infected the world with superstitions, which still sway the minds of many nations. She conferred invaluable benefits on the surrounding people, and enkindled among them the light of knowledge, while she enveloped herself in the darkness of the most abject religious tenets, and shut her eyes against the rays of reason. Arrogant in her prosperity, and elated above her desert; when the day of misfortune came, she was treated without mercy, and trampled upon by those who were indebted to her for the comforts of life, and for the germs of their knowledge.

Whatever antiquity the Egyptian nation may have possessed, the country was, at least, inhabited by a race of men who have proved themselves in their works, to have lived in a very ancient period, and to have run through all the stages of progress allotted to nations, ere the Greeks and

the Jews had laid the foundations of their social structures. Having been the birth-place of so much superstition, Egypt has now become the means of dispelling many false notions, and of proving the absurdity of pretending to establish beliefs without a scrutinizing investigation. At one time, viewed as the blessed region of the earth, and the favorite place of the gods, she became at another the foot-stool of barbarians, and the derision of the learned; while, now she is again exalted to the skies as the mother of all human wisdom.

No philosophical mind can contemplate the history of Egypt, without being convinced that mankind has by slow degrees risen from ignorance to knowledge, and that the genius of man must have been more fertile of invention in those remote ages than at present, if the human race did not require a longer time than what might be claimed for it even in accordance with Dr. Bunsen's computation of the age of the Egyptian nation. The time is now come, when we must begin to acknowledge, that we have been ourselves infatuated with a no less ridiculous pride of our superior knowledge than were the ancient Egyptians, and that we must do as the Greeks did; go to despised Egypt to learn wisdom, and seek for information of those remote ages we have so long believed to have had no existence. But it is not only Egypt, but also India and China, which speak to us of those times, we have on the authority of prejudiced, but learned writers, considered as the offspring of imagination, but whose reality reason can now no longer doubt.

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. With the lightning flash of genius Champollion read the mysterious writings of ancient Egypt; and the darkness in which the early age of man had so long been enveloped, began to dissipate. Our eyes are turned to the East, and it is to be hoped that ere the sun of the new day approaches the zenith, much valuable information of the infancy of mankind may be gathered by a thorough and impartial investigation of the traditions of the Eastern nations. May all structures, reared by whatever superstition and prejudices they may have been, crumble into dust, and triumphant truth pronounce and perpetuate the glory and wisdom of a benevolent Providence.

When we compare the degree of civilization which the Egyptians had already attained anterior to 2000 years B. C., with that acquired by the most advanced nations of the present time, we must admit that man has since greatly enlarged his sphere of knowledge, and brought to a far higher state of perfection, the sciences and most of the arts then known; yet we must also acknowledge that the advance has been very slow, considering the long time which has since elapsed. Hence we are justified in the inference that a far longer time, than what has hitherto generally been admitted, must have passed away ere the people of Egypt could have attained the degree of civilization which they are now known to have possessed, at least four thousand years ago. By accepting this truth, we dispel many

prejudices which have hitherto dimmed our sight, and thus obtain a clearer and more enlarged view of the history of the human race. God thus appears—what he has always been—as the benevolent father of men, and as an All-Wise-Being, whose plans are harmonious and unchangeable, and from whose perfection emanate none of those acts of weakness and caprice, which superstition and ignorance have so often attributed to Him. It is only frail man who has cause to repent of his actions; it is therefore folly and blasphemy, to think that God has ever repented what He has done. Repentance is the result of error, and therefore, those who charge Him with having repented of His acts, deny also His perfection. Short sighted as we are, we cannot fail to perceive the false foundation, upon which have been reared those preposterous structures of falsehood, which have so long surrounded us with gloomy darkness. The days of the triumph of deception are numbered, and ere long, those, who have won its victories, will stand unmasked before the face of an enlightened world; and; haunted by the vengeful cry of those whom they have deceived, will call on the mountains to hide them from the wrathful countenances of those who will then have become their merciless judges.

Was it not natural that man, after having eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, should perceive with shame, the nakedness in which ignorance had left him, and that, following his spontaneous impulses, he should apply all his energies to clothe his person with such adornments, as would fit himself to appear before the face of his Creator? Is not knowledge the means by which man is enabled to appreciate his own virtues and vices, and by which, exalting himself above the brute creation, he approaches to the more perfect beings, whom we designate as spirits? Should not our hearts overflow with gratitude towards that benign Being, who has endowed us with those wonderful capacities, by which we have risen from a state of ignorance to a glorious place among rational creatures? Why shut our eyes to the brilliant rays of truth that are descending upon us? By their light we can perceive the path by which Providence is leading us onward to a higher destiny.

Surely we cannot have investigated the history of the ancient Egyptians without having been convinced, that the infancy of mankind is to be sought in a period far more remote than has generally been supposed; and that the progress of the human race in civilization, has been gradually and slowly developing itself, in accordance with certain immutable laws which, though unknown to us, nevertheless, unquestionably exist.

"Every craftsman," says Mr. Gliddon, "can behold in Egyptian monuments the condition of his art four thousand years ago; whether it be a wheelwright building a chariot; a shoemaker drawing his twine; a leather-cutter using the self-same form of knife of old as is considered the best form now; a weaver throwing the same hand-shuttle; a white-smith using that identical form of blow-pipe but lately recognized to be the

most efficient ; or the seal-engraver cutting in hieroglyphics, names above four thousand three hundred years old." The Egyptians also, in this remote age, knew how to cut granite with a copper chisel ; to give elasticity to a copper sword ; to move single blocks of the enormous weight of about nine hundred tons, through any distance, by land or water ; they knew, too, the art of *fresco*-painting in imperishable colors, and they had made great progress in the sciences of mathematics, of astronomy, and of anatomy. They distinguished between matter and spirit, between what is perishable and imperishable. They were convinced of the immortality of the soul, and entertained the doctrine of the resurrection of the human body. They had formed a moral system, and believed that man, according to his merits or his failings, had to expect reward or punishment from superior beings. There were among them, those who regarded a supreme and spiritual God as the creator or architect of the universe ; and we have good reason to suppose that there existed among them philosophers who attempted to fathom the divine nature. Gross idolaters as the great majority of the Egyptians were, they appear, nevertheless, to have been the favorite children of heaven. Consisting, in the later period of their empire, of a population of between seven and eight millions, they were well fed, well clad, and enjoyed the greatest comforts and luxuries of life. They were blessed with a genial climate and a fertile soil, and had, through their industry and skill, surrounded themselves with majestic works of art and pleasant homes. What do these reflections teach us but that the harvest which man gathers is the fruit of the seed he has sown ? What a degree of preposterous temerity must that man possess, who assumes to know the ways in which Providence distributes his rewards and punishments ! Yet, from the remotest ages, there have been men who have had the impious hardihood to pretend that whatever was contrary to their own notions of right and wrong was displeasing also to the Deity, and who have threatened with divine vengeance all those who did not conform to the mode of religious worship which they taught, as alone true. Ye blind ! open your eyes, and behold how God took equal care both of the idolaters of Egypt and those who, in your opinion, were his chosen people ! How can you know which of these people counted among themselves the greatest comparative number of pure hearts, and of sincere friends of what is just and right in the eyes of the Supreme Judge ? Read history, and it will teach you that crimes no less heinous were committed by these people whom you consider as the selected of heaven, than by the idolatrous Egyptians ! On the other hand, the priests of Egypt entertained fully as narrow views, and likewise considered no people so pious, and so worthy the blessings of heaven as those who conformed to the doctrines they preached ; deeming all other nations as an abomination. How long, therefore, is mankind to permit themselves to be imposed upon by a class, who, divided among themselves, preach a thousand dif-

ferent religions, and who, while pretending to be the servants of the Father of mankind, arm man against man, and cause lamentable strifes and bloody contests among his children? Read history, because it will teach you that God loves all men, and that when he punishes them it is done, not from caprice or revenge—as such feelings do not belong to a perfect being—but for the purpose of correcting and recalling them to their duty.

As I have brought down the history of the people of Egypt to the beginning of the second period into which I have chosen to divide ancient history, we will now leave them for the present, and turn our attention to their neighbors.

LETTER XXVIII.

HISTORY OF THE ETHIOPIANS.

IN attempting to trace the history of the people, who in ancient times were called Ethiopians, we have to encounter the same obstacles which we meet with in the history of almost all ancient nations, and which consist chiefly in the scanty information that has been handed down to us concerning them. Here, however, as in Egypt, we possess some monumental records, that indicate the civilization and the religion of the people by whom those countries now called Nubia and Abyssinia were of old inhabited; but it is evident that “in reading the language supplied by the arts, it must be very difficult always to avoid the ambiguity and uncertainty inseparable from their expression in regard to the precise date at which these arts flourished.” The ruins of cities, of temples, and of obelisks may no doubt bear testimony to the wisdom of former ages, to the power of conquerors and to the spirit of magnificence which threw a transient splendor even over the paths of destructive armies; still, we cannot discover in them the genealogy of the nations to whom they were indebted for their origin, nor the earliest rudiments of that mechanical skill of which they so strikingly illustrate the progress towards perfection. But we will attempt to penetrate the clouds that hang over the remote antiquity of the people who in ancient times inhabited this country.

Though ancient historians appear to be unanimous in the opinion that Thebes owes its foundation to a people that dwelt above the Cataracts;

there is now very much doubt expressed whether it be correct. Yet, I think that we shall not be much mistaken in presuming that the ancients were nearer to the truth; particularly as I feel almost convinced that the civilization of Egypt was in part wrought by the Hindoos, whom I do not in the least doubt to have been a still more anciently civilized people than even the Egyptians. We know, as I have before related, that the records of the Hindoos speak of the emigration of the "sacred order." If we suppose, that crossing the Erythræan sea, and reaching the straits of Bal El Mandeb, instead of proceeding up the Arabian gulf, or Red Sea—the navigation of which is very dangerous—they made their way into Abyssinia by some of those mountain-passes which still connect that sea with the higher valleys of the Nile, we may easily account for Meroë being a colony of priests, and for the preponderating influence which the priests exercised not only there but over Egypt also. There is, besides, ample reason to believe that these lateral defiles, which form the line of communication between the sea and the rivers of Ethiopia, witnessed, in the very remotest times, expeditions from India and also from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris, consisting of daring adventurers, who, in quest of wealth and novelties, pushed their discoveries into Habesh, Nubia, and Sennaar.

It has been justly observed—as the most obvious confirmation of the opinion now given—that there exists a striking resemblance between the usages, the arts, and the mythology of the ancient inhabitants of Western India, and those of the first settlers of the Upper Nile. The sanctuaries of Nubia, as I have before observed, exhibit the same features, both as to the style of architecture, and the forms of worship which must have been practised within them, as the similar temples that have been recently examined in the vicinity of Bombay. It is also admitted, that the ancient architecture of Nubia, generally exhibits the chief features of that of the Hindoos.

The Ethiopians are spoken of in all the most ancient records, as a remarkable people, though their history has always been surrounded by a cloud of mystery. The earliest writers of Greece, placed them in the first rank for their knowledge and high civilization; and Homer awards to them the praise of being the most just of men, and therefore, the favorites of the gods, who, as he informs us, did not disdain to grace with their presence the feasts of the blameless race of Ethiopia.*

To what, it has been asked, shall we attribute this early renown of one of the most sequestered people of the earth? How happened it, that its fame penetrated the formidable desert with which it is surrounded, and which even now presents an almost insurmountable barrier to all who at-

* See the *Iliad*, Book 1.

tempt to reach its ancient capital? The supposition that the allusions made by Homer, were the mere offspring of his fancy is not at all reasonable. But if these allusions are founded in truth—as we have no reason to doubt they are—then the Ethiopians have strong claims on our attention.*

It must, however, be observed, that a great deal of ambiguity is attached to the term Ethiopian; because it was used by all classes of Greek writers, not so much to signify a country bounded by certain geographical limits, as to describe the complexion of a certain race of men, whatever might be their position in regard to other nations; consequently, we find Ethiopians anciently spoken of as inhabiting several regions of the East. Though the greater part of the people denoted by this name, appears to have inhabited Africa, there can be no doubt that also many of them lived in Asia; and as India was often made to comprise the southern division of the former continent, so, in like manner, Ethiopia was frequently described as including southern India; these mistakes evidently originating in the erroneous geographical knowledge of the Greeks. Homer therefore speaks of the Ethiopians, as extending from the rising to the setting sun, in the following verses:

“But now the god, remote, a heavenly guest
In Ethiopia, graced the genial feast,
(A race divided, whom with sloping rays
The rising and descending sun surveys;)
There, on the world's extended verge revered,
With hecatombs and prayers, in pomp preferred,
Distant he lay.”†

The ancient historians divided the Africans into two great people, the Ethiopians and Libyans, to whom Herodotus adds the Greeks and Phœnicians, who as settlers occupied the northern coasts of Africa. The Ethiopians dwelt on the eastern shore of the Arabian Gulf, as well as on the African side. The Asiatics had, according to what Herodotus relates, straight hair, while that of the Africans was much curled; still all the black inhabitants of Africa have not curled hair; for many of the natives of the Upper Nile, though their skins are of a very dark hue, have a hair resembling that of the Europeans; being neither curled nor woolly. Herodotus relates, that in the extensive district which stretches from the First Cataract to Sennaar, there were two different classes of inhabitants, very easily distinguished from each other. The one described by him as aboriginal, he includes under the appellation of Ethiopians; while the other, which seemed to have sprung from an Asiatic race, must have immigrated into the country at an early date, where they continued, even in

* See Heeren's Historical Researches.

† The Odyssey, book V. 23.

his day, to follow a roving kind of life. In later times the Arabs seem to have possessed a still larger portion of Nubia, and to have occupied the banks of the Nile from Philæ to the neighborhood of Meroë; a fact which is confirmed by Pliny on the authority of Juba, the Numidian king, who wrote a work on the geography of Africa.*

If we can rely upon what recent travelers tell us, there must have existed, from very remote times, a numerous race of men, who are neither Negroes nor Moors. They are divided into many tribes, but all speak the same language, which is said to be entirely different from the Arabic, and is the same that is now used by the Berbers in the Atlas Mountains. They appear to have possessed the vast range of country which extends from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of Joliba. With regard to their color, it is diverse, and appears to depend in some parts on the place of abode, and the manner of living; the difference consisting chiefly in the variation of tint, which is darker or lighter according to circumstances. The western portion of this race is white, as far as the climate allows it; others are of a yellow cast, like the Arabs; some are swarthy; and some completely black. Their lineaments bear, however, not the least resemblance to those of the negroes. They are slenderly made and rather tall. Their moral character has been favorably estimated; and it is supposed that, if their talents were duly cultivated, they would in all probability become one of the first nations in the world.

Captain Lyon asserts, that one of the tribes here alluded to, called the Tuaricks, is composed of the finest race of men he ever saw: tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence, which is very imposing. They are generally white; the dark-brown of their complexion being only occasioned by the heat of the climate. The Tibboes are a different tribe in appearance, manner of living, and even in language. Their color is a bright black; but their features have not the least resemblance to those of the negroes. They have aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips formed like those of the Europeans. Herodotus would, nevertheless, have included them among Ethiopians, as having the dark skin which, in his estimation, formed the distinguishing mark of all the nations to whom he applied that name. It is supposed that the Nubians—those, at least, who boast of an oriental extraction—are of the same race with the ancient Berbers, who are considered by some writers to have been the progenitors of the Tuaricks, and perhaps of the Tibboes. The Berbers were not known by this name until the era of the Ptolemies, when it was first mentioned by Eratosthenes; it soon afterward came into common use, both as a general denomination for all the tribes dwelling on the banks of the Nile, from Es Souan to Meroë; and also, in a more limited sense, for the

inhabitants of the modern Dongola. They are of a dark-brown color, with hair somewhat curled, either by nature or art, but not at all woolly. Their countenance has no resemblance to the negro physiognomy. The men are well formed, strong, and muscular, with fine faces.*

The Abyssinians, properly so called, are presumed to be the descendants of a people, who at various times have migrated from the opposite shores of the Arabian Gulf, and who, in pursuit of commerce, or in quest of a safe retreat from powerful enemies, disputed with the natives the possession of their country.

This hypothesis, illustrated with equal ingenuity and learning by Mr. Heeren, in regard to the early civilization and commerce of the African nations, and especially the inhabitants of Meroe, Thebes, and their dependent colonies at Ammonium, Adule, Azab, and Axum, deserves our especial attention.

It is proved by the clearest testimony of the ancient writers, that at a very remote period, the Ethiopians carried on a considerable trade, in which the Arabians—who undoubtedly visited India long anterior to authentic history—bore a prominent part, as might be inferred from the relative position of the several countries. “Of this international traffic in the southern regions, the strongest evidence still remains; and there is no doubt that the gold of Africa, the spices of India, and the precious productions of Arabia, occupied the industrious carriers of the desert, in ages of which we have no records.” Commerce and religion were, as Mr. Heeren justly observes, always indissolubly connected in the East. The long journey of the desert, and the marauding habits of the nomadic tribes by whom the wilderness was infested, rendered it necessary to awe these lawless barbarians, by means of superstition; and hence it is presumed, that mercantile transactions were usually conducted in the vicinity of temples, and sometimes within their walls. The situation of Nubia has always made it the grand route for caravans between Ethiopia and the countries on this side of the desert. Now, a communication of this kind is maintained across the waste from Upper Egypt to Sennaar; hence we may infer that Meroe was thus the natural emporium for the produce of the interior Africa, being the extreme point of the gold countries towards Egypt, which, from its proximity to Happy Arabia, constituted the most appropriate mart for goods from the remoter East.

Of the great trade still carried on there, modern travelers have given us ample accounts, observing at the same time, that the great salt-works, whence the surrounding country is supplied, are but at a short distance from Shendy. The commerce with Egypt being established, it is evident that Meroe must have extended its traffic far into the south of Africa;

* See Backhardt's *Travels in Nubia*; Waddington and Hanbury's *Travels in Ethiopia*.

and Mr. Heeren is even inclined to doubt whether the extensive ruins of Axum, Azab, Meroe, and Adule, be ruins of cities; he supposing them to indicate rather extensive places of trade, adorned with temples, and appropriated to caravans: an hypothesis to which he is led by the nature of the country, and the wandering habits of its inhabitants. In short, the conclusions which this learned historian draws from a minute examination of all the notices that have been preserved relative to those ancient states, are—that a commercial intercourse existed between Southern Asia and Africa, between India and Arabia, and thence between these countries and Ethiopia, Libya, and Egypt; that its principal seat for Africa was Meroe, the chief route of which, he thinks, is still pointed out by a chain of ruins extending from the shores of the Indian Sea to the Mediterranean; that Adule, Axum, and Azab, were links of it between Arabia and Meroe; and that Thebes and Ammonium united the Nile, Egypt and Carthage; and finally, that its chief stations were sacerdotal establishments, the head of which was Meroe, whence all the colonies were sent out. Hence he infers, what every competent judge will acknowledge to be just, that the first seats of commerce were also the first seats of civilization. Exchange of merchandise led to exchange of ideas; and by this collision of mind was first struck out the sacred flame of humanity.* We may be justified, I think, in adding, that the mutual interests of the priests and the merchants made them very anxious to impose upon the minds of the neighboring nations a belief in the power of the deities, and in their wrath towards those who dared to violate these sacred places, or those who were busied with occupations over which the higher powers extended their especial protection. Thus necessity called forth religious ideas, and individual interests bred moral principles.

"The connexion," says Dr. Russel, "between merchandize and the usages of religion was not confined to the wandering tribes of Africa, but may be traced throughout the ancient world, wherever men collected in great numbers to celebrate the rites of a national faith. As the adoration presented to the gods was not thought complete without the addition of more expensive offerings, the worshipper repaired not to the stated festivals unless accompanied with beasts for sacrifice, or with frankincense and other spices, to perfume the air. The vicinity of a temple was thus naturally converted into a market, more especially at the holy seasons of the year. In the sacred Scriptures the reader will discover numerous facts which establish the view now given of the relation between commerce and piety. Even the consecrated fane of Jerusalem was contaminated by the presence of dealers who sought their own advantage rather than the honor of the Great Being whom they professed to venerate. A

* Heeren's Historical Researches.

similar abuse was long tolerated in the Christian church; and hence most of the periodical transactions of a commercial nature became associated with the names of the more popular saints. Every one knows that the *feriæ*, or holy-days of the Roman communion, supplied the term for the *fairs* in all the counties of Great Britain."

These observations confirm the truth of Mr. Heeren's views relative to the mutual influence of religion and trade among barbarous nations. The view of a temple in the wilderness secured at once a demand and a protection for the commodities which the wandering merchantmen brought from distant lands. Still, it may be questionable, whether the temples were erected for the safety of the caravans, or whether the merchants bent their course through the deserts in a line indicated by these religious establishments.

Though the earliest annals of the intercourse, which connected the most civilized nations of the ancient world, by ties of mutual benefit and of intelligence, are irrecoverably lost, there is, however, satisfactory evidence extant that such an intercourse existed in times of which no historical records now exist. As, for instance, the spices, and especially cinnamon, which were derived from India, are mentioned in the Pentateuch in such a manner as to prove that they must already, before the time of Moses, have formed an important article of commerce. We read that "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, take thou also unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred shekels, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty shekels, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty shekels, and of cassia five hundred shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary, and of oil-olive, an hin. And thou shalt make it an oil of holy ointment, an ointment compounded after the art of the apothecary: * it shall be an holy anointing oil." † In the history of Joseph mention is incidentally made of the same traffic as carried on by the inhabitants of the desert—said to be the offspring of Ishmael—that is, the Arabs.

There has been, and still exists, as I have before observed, much dispute among writers on the subject, whether the works of Upper Egypt, or those of the ruins discovered above the Cataracts, ought justly to be considered the most ancient. I think that it will be impossible to decide this question with certainty; though it appears to me most probable, as I have already stated, that civilization coming from India was first planted in Ethiopia, and afterwards descended along the banks of the Nile, to the Thebaid and Lower Egypt. Those who deny that Egypt is indebted to Ethiopia for the first germs of civilization, are chiefly writers whose opinions on this subject have been determined by an inspection of the Nubian

* Thus we see that apothecaries existed before the time of Moses; an evidence of the early progress of the sciences in Egypt.

† Exodus, chap. xxx, v. 22, 23, 24, 25.

valley. They say that "the narrow limits of the latter country, hemmed in between a double range of barren mountains, which occasionally protrude their rocks to the very margin of the river, could not have supplied the means of luxurious refinement of a great nation." But it has with good reason been replied, that beyond the confines of Nubia there are extensive, and very fertile regions, which, aided by the periodical inundations of the Nile, and the genial influence of a tropical sun, were capable of supporting in the utmost plenty a very large population; and that, besides, Ethiopia, from her natural position—surrounded by deserts, which to foreign conquerors were almost impenetrable, and by mountains almost inaccessible—enjoyed a degree of security highly favorable to her progress in the liberal arts; while the adventurous inhabitants of the contiguous wildernesses, who carried on her trade, kept a communication open between her and Arabia, and India, on the one side, and with the shores of the Mediterranean on the other. Diodorus testifies also, that from Meroë and Axum, downwards to the Mediterranean, there arose powerful states, which though independent of each other, were connected by the same language, the same mode of writing, and the same religion.

Trade was in ancient times as it is now, the means of accumulating wealth; but wealth appears to have been then displayed more generally in public works than in the comforts of individuals. Thus stately temples are seen to have risen long ere private palaces were erected; and the precious metals, as well as the richest spices and perfumes, were lavished in the worship of the gods, while the comforts of life appear to have been almost unknown to the mass of the people. By inculcating the belief that it was an evidence of piety, to bring forth the best of everything in sacrifice to the gods, the priesthood had found plausible means to enrich themselves; but in proportion as they became rich, they became less dependent upon their own manual labors for their livelihood, and had therefore the more leisure to cultivate the sciences; hence we find that learning everywhere flourished first among the priesthood, and as it was their interest to cause magnificent temples to be raised, in order to inspire greater awe in the minds of the vulgar, they also were the chief patrons of the arts; hence the connexion, which as is admirably proved by Mr. Heeren, existed in ancient times between religion and commerce.

Before we take notice of the scanty information we have obtained of the Ethiopians from ancient writers, we will survey the country which we know was inhabited, at least in part, by the people denoted under this name. In the pursuit of this survey, we will ascend the Nile in the footsteps of some of the travelers who have been acknowledged as the most trustworthy guides, until we reach the boundaries of the kingdom of Sennaar, and after turning to the bank of the Blue River, direct our course eastward, through the country now called Abyssinia, to the shores of the ocean and the Arabian Gulf.

As soon as we have passed the cataract of Es Souan, we find ourselves in Nubia—a country, the precise extent of which it is now useless to attempt to determine. We must be satisfied by presuming that it occupied the valley of the Nile, from Philæ to Dongola, and was bounded on either side by formidable deserts, which could be crossed only by large bodies of men by means of camels. For a considerable distance above Syene, “the mountains press so closely on the banks of the river, that there is very little ground on either side for the purposes of agriculture; and the small portion that is suitable for raising a crop, is continually threatened by the approach of the sand which the winds of the desert carry towards the stream. From the structure of the valley, through which the Nile here forces a passage, it is obvious that there could not at any time have existed an extensive population. The labor of man would have exerted its powers in vain against the sterility of nature, which, amid rocks and shingle, occupies, by an everlasting tenure, a wide domain in Lower Nubia. But beyond the parallel of Wady Hahfa, there is ample space for the powerful nations which are said to have flourished in Ethiopia. At the southern termination of the second cataract, immense plains stretch out from the margin of the river, manifesting, even in their present neglected state, the most unequivocal symptoms of a prolific soil.”

It has been supposed that, in former ages, the annual inundation of the Nile carried its riches much beyond the limits of modern cultivation. The rocky barriers, which now scarcely oppose any obstacle to navigation, are, by some writers, considered to have at one period checked the current so materially, as to throw back the water on all the level land on both sides of the contiguous valley. The voice of ancient traditions is in favor of such an opinion, as there must have been some ground for the descriptions of the ancient historians, who represent the falls of the Nile as accompanied by a violent dashing of the waters, and a deafening roar; which, it is thought, indicate that the rocky shelves, that have been broken and washed down by the weight of the yearly flood, extended from bank to bank, at a considerable elevation.

After leaving Philæ and ascending the Nile, the traveler finds at Dondour a small temple, still in a very good state. The greater part of the enclosure is quite perfect, and the propylon also is very little injured; but the inside, it would appear, has never been completed. There are two columns which must have formed the entrance into the building, and which are ornamented with serpents. The inner shrine, or sekos, consists, as usual, of three apartments; the first measures eighteen feet in length, and twenty in breadth; the columns are three feet in diameter, and the height, ascending to the top of the cornice, is nearly seventeen feet. The winged globes on the architraves of the temple and propylon, are supported in the usual manner by two serpents. The hieroglyphics are relieved and sculptured in a good style, showing the ordinary subjects, as priests with

jugs offering to Isis, and to Osiris, who is represented with a hawk's head, and carrying a crozier in his hand. Behind the structure is a small grotto, which has the appearance of being the work of a later date, and is most probably to be attributed to the early Christians; there being an inscription with the characters A+O among the fragments, which are found in the area.*

These ruins, however, are surpassed in magnificence and interest by those of Gurfah Hassan, and Sibhoi, of which the relics are yet sufficiently entire to enable a scientific eye to delineate their plan and determine their object. It has been remarked that one of the most striking differences between the ancient buildings above and below the Cataracts, is the high state of preservation of the stones and outward walls of the former, which have scarcely suffered from the effects of age. This circumstance has induced many to presume that these remains of antiquity were more recent than the ancient buildings in Egypt; but those who have denied this to be the case, have contended that the real cause of it is to be sought in the mild unchanging climate that prevails between the tropics; but as Egypt is even blessed with an almost equally genial climate, this argument seems to me not entirely conclusive. I think that the buildings above the Cataracts are better preserved by having been less exposed to the destroying hand of man.

Pursuing our course, we now arrive at Ibrim, said to be the ancient Primmis, which Strabo describes as being fortified by nature; and such is the actual appearance which Ibrim presents to the eye. But when this writer states that the Romans, in marching from Pselcha or Kalabsche, passed over the mounds of sand, under which the army of Cambyzes was buried, he is considered to be at variance with Herodotus, who relates that the army of the Persian monarch, when surprised by clouds of moving dust, was proceeding to chastise the Ammonians. Hence it is inferred that their route must have lain in a direction quite opposite to that of the Romans under Petronius, who was sent to punish the Ethiopians for an irruption into the Thebaid. It is, however, to be observed, that these remarks are founded on the assumption that the Ammonians must necessarily have been the inhabitants of the particular district of Libya where the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon was erected; but as there is reason to believe that another sanctuary dedicated to the same god, under the character solely of Amoun, stood in the peninsula of Meroe, near Shendy the principal seat of the Ethiopians, there are those who think it probable that the troops of Persia and of Rome pursued the same line of march.

In approaching the Second Cataract, we arrive at Ebsamboul, or Ipsam-

* Mr. Legh's Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the countries beyond the Cataracts: p. 142.

bul, which has very recently become famous for the temple that in ancient times was here formed by the excavation of a solid rock. The desert in the course of ages had so completely overwhelmed it with sand, that nothing appeared to the eye of the traveler except the bust of one of the colossal figures which were placed in front of the entrance. The dimensions of this statue were, however, so great as to excite much wonder in the minds of all who visited it. Finati, who was in the service of Mr. Bankes, whom I have elsewhere mentioned, relates that when he stood on a level with the necklace he could hardly reach the beard, while one of the sailors climbed up and sat across the ear; yet the countenance, he adds, seen at its proper distance, appeared very beautiful.

The sand has since been removed by a party of travelers, among whom were M. Belzoni and Finati; the latter of whom—when after three weeks of continual labor, the doorway at length became visible—as the slenderest of the party, crept through into the interior, and was thus, probably, as he himself remarks, the first that had entered it for a thousand years. Unlike all the other grottoes in Egypt and Nubia, its atmosphere, instead of a refreshing coolness, presented a hot and damp vapor, resembling that of a Turkish bath, and so penetrating, that paper soon became as much saturated with moisture as if it had been dropped into the river.

The exploring party soon found, to their great surprise, that they had discovered one of the most magnificent of temples embellished with beautiful intaglios, paintings, and colossal figures. The pronaos measuring fifty-seven feet in length by fifty-two in width, was supported by two rows of square pillars, in a straight line from the front to the door of the sechos. Each pillar has a figure, not unlike those of Medinet-Abou, well executed, and very little injured by time. The tops of their turbans reach the ceiling, which is about thirty feet high; the pillars are five feet and a half square. Both these and the walls are covered with splendid sculptures; the style of which is somewhat superior, or at least bolder, than that of any in Egypt; not only in the workmanship, but also in the subjects. They exhibit, as I have mentioned when speaking of Ramses the Great, the storming of forts, triumphs over conquered people, and numerous sacrifices. Some of the colors are much injured by the close and heated atmosphere.

There are several halls and apartments in this temple, the outside, or external front of which is really magnificent. It is a hundred and seventeen feet wide, and eighty-six feet high; the space from the top of the cornice to the top of the door, being sixty-six feet six inches, and the dimensions of the door itself twenty feet. There are four enormous colossal figures in the attitude of sitting; the largest in Nubia, or in Egypt, except the great sphinx at the pyramids, to which they approach in the proportion of nearly two-thirds. From the shoulder to the elbow they measure fifteen feet six inches; the face seven feet; the ears three feet six

inches; the beard five feet six inches; across the shoulders twenty-five feet four inches; their height is about fifty-one feet, not including the caps, which are about fourteen. On the top of the door is a statue of Osiris, twenty feet in length, with two colossal hieroglyphic figures, one on each side, looking towards the god. The temple has, besides, a cornice with hieroglyphics, a torus and a frieze under it; the first is six feet broad, the last four feet. Above the cornice is a row of sitting monkeys, twenty-one in number, which are eight feet high, and six across the shoulders. Belzoni remarks that it must have had a fine landing-place, now buried under the sand; adding, that it is the best and largest temple excavated in the solid rock in Nubia, between the first and second Cataracts, or even in Egypt.* Sir F. Henniker says, though I think with some exaggeration: "Ebsamboul is the *ne plus ultra* of Egyptian labor. There is no temple of either Dendera, Thebes, or Philæ, that can be put in competition with it; and I am well contented to finish my travels in this part with having seen the noblest monument of antiquity that is to be found on the banks of the Nile."

There are two temples at Ebsamboul, at a short distance from each other, excavated entirely from the sandstone rock, the front of which has been hewn down; and on either side of the door of the smaller temple—called the temple of Isis, while the longer, the one already spoken of, bears the name of Osiris—are three statues, cut out of the same rock. These six figures are sculptured in relief, standing erect, with their arms hanging stiffly down. Beneath each hand is also an upright statue seven feet in height, which does not, however, reach above the knees of its principal. The part of the rock which has been smoothed for the face of the temple is a hundred and eleven feet long. The devices begin on the north side, with a human figure extending his right arm, armed with an instrument like a sickle, toward Osiris, who is seated. Before him is a table of hieroglyphics well executed. The next ornament is a colossal statue of about thirty feet, wrought in a deep niche of the precipice; it is standing, and two tall feathers rise up from the middle of the head-dress, with the globe, or moon, on each side. In a projection of the rock, shaped like a buttress, and covered with hieroglyphics, is a colossal statue of Isis, carved in high relief. The dress of the head is lofty and enclosed, as usual, between two horns; the hair falls on each shoulder in a round mass; the left hand is brought across the breast, and holds something like a mace. Then comes a similar projection in the cliff, covered also with hieroglyphics, followed by another niche, in which is a statue more massive than either of the other two, and of large dimensions. The sides of the door are in like manner crowded with hieroglyphics, over which are seated Osiris and the hawk-headed deity. On each side of the passage, in entering, offer-

* Belzoni's Narrative, vol. 1, p. 330.

ings are presented to Isis, who holds in her hand the lotus-headed sceptre, surrounded with numerous inscriptions and emblems. Near to a priest of Amoun sits a most miserable, palsied figure, the very victim of terror; he holds a feeble scourge in his hand, and is painted red; the other figures are yellow. Close to him there is a table loaded with sacred gifts, which are offered to a hero or a god, who has his hand extended towards the other in a most threatening attitude. The six columns in the middle of the chamber are also covered with hieroglyphics, and representations of the ram-headed, the hawk-headed, the ibis-headed deity, together with the lion-headed goddess, or Isis—all with the globe or moon over them. The capitals of the columns are human heads, and are adorned with numerous hieroglyphics.

In the second chamber similar figures, inscriptions, and devices present themselves. Much interesting sculpture also is lavished upon this as well as upon the third apartment; a great part of which is well executed; and in a niche at the upper end of the latter is seated a small statue of Nephthe, the wife of Typhon.*

This temple is only a few yards from the brink of the river, and about twenty feet above the present level of the water. The front is ninety-one feet long; the depth of the excavation, measured from the door to the extremity of the adytum is seventy-six feet. A number of ovals, or cartouches, as they are called by M. Champollion, containing the name and pre-nomen of Ramses the Great, are cut in several places of the square border that encloses the front of the temple like a frame, and on the buttresses between the colossal figures. Gau remarks, "that the *facade*, though cut in the mountain, displays very distinctly the general character of the great propyla, of which it presents the original form in bas-relief. We easily recognize the outline of each of the two parts of the propylon with the door-way between them, and the appendage of the statues, which are so cut out of the rock as to differ in no respect from the colossi, which, at a later period were placed in front of the propyla. The interior is in good preservation with the exception of the statue, in the recess of the sanctuary, and it is richly adorned with painted bas-reliefs. The principle color of the figures is yellow; the ceiling is blue—a favorite tint for that purpose among the Egyptians—and a border of three colors runs all around."†

As I have before mentioned that there exists so great similarity between the religious and sacred structures of India and those of Egypt—and particularly between the former and these just described—as to warrant us to presume that they had a common origin in regard to the principles of architecture and their mythological bearing; I will here state what an English traveler, Mr. Erskine, has related of the excavated temple in the

* Travels along the Mediterranean, and Parts Adjacent, by Dr. Richardson. Vol. 1, p. 426.

† M. Gau's Nubia, p. 8.

island of Elephanta, in Hindostan. "The entrance into it," says he, "is by a spacious front, supported by two massive pillars and two pilasters, forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock, overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns that appear closing the perspective on every side, the flat roof of solid rock that seems to be prevented from falling only by the many pillars, whose capitals are pressed down and flattened as if by the superincumbent weight; the darkness that obscures the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrances, and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic stone figures ranged along the wall, and hewn, like the whole temple, out of the living rock, joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history of the place, carry back the mind to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of religious awe with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated.

The whole excavation consists of three principal parts; the great temple itself, which is in the centre, and two smaller chapels, one on each side of the great temple. These two chapels which do not come forward into a straight line with the front of the chief temple, are not perceived on approaching the temple, and are considerably in recess, being approached by two narrow passes in the hill, one on each side of the great entrance, but at some distance from it. After advancing to some distance up these confined passes, we find each of them conduct to another front of the grand excavation, exactly like three fronts being hollowed out of the solid rock, and each consisting of two huge pillars, with two pilasters. The two side fronts are precisely opposite to each other on the east and west, the ground entrance facing the north. The two wings of the temple, are at the upper end of these passages, and are close by the grand excavation, but have no covered passage to connect them with it.

The great temple is about one hundred and thirty feet and a half long, measuring from the chief entrance to the farthest end of the cave, and one hundred and thirty-three feet broad from the eastern to the western entrance. It rests on twenty-six pillars, (eight of them now broken), and sixteen pilasters; and neither the floor nor the roof being in one plane, it varies in height from seventeen and a half to fifteen feet. The plan is regular, there being eight pillars and pilasters in a line from the northern entrance to the southern entrance of the temple, and the same number from the eastern to the western entrances. The pillars, which all appear to run in straight lines parallel to each other, and at equal distances, are crossed by other ranges running at right angles in the opposite direction; they are strong and massy, and of an order remarkably well adapted to their situation and the purpose which they are to serve, and have an appearance of very considerable elegance. They are not all of the same form, but differ both in their size and ornaments, though this difference also, does not at first strike the eye.

The figure that faces the principal entrance, is the most remarkable in this excavation, and has given rise to numberless conjectures, and theories. It is a gigantic bust, representing some three-headed being, or three of the heads of some being to whom the temple may be supposed to be dedicated. One head faces the spectator, another looks to the right, the third to the left: a fourth may be imagined to be concealed behind. It may give some idea of its bulk to mention, that from the top of the cap of the middle figure to the bottom of the image is seventeen feet ten inches, while the horizontal curved line, embracing the three heads at the height of the eyes, is twenty-two feet nine inches in length.

Travellers have entertained very different ideas of the degree of genius and art displayed in this temple, and the figures around it; some are disposed to rate them very high, and speak in rapturous terms of the execution and design of several of the compartments. To me it appears, that while the whole conception and plan of the temple is extremely grand and magnificent, and while the outline and disposition of the several figures indicate great talent and ingenuity, the execution and finishing of the figures in general—though some of them prove the sculptor to have great merit—fall below the original idea, and are often very defective. The figures have somewhat of rudeness and want of finish; the proportions are sometimes lost, the attitudes forced, and everything indicates the infancy of the art, though a vigorous infancy.

Nothing presents itself in these excavations which can lead to a satisfactory solution of the important and curious question: In what age or by what dynasty was this vast temple completed? One fact is worthy of notice, that a greater number of magnificent cave-temples present themselves in a small space on this coast than are to be met with in any other part of India. The caves of Elephanta, those of Kenneri, Amboli, and some others on the island of Salsette, the fine cave of Caili, on the road by the Bor Ghaut to Poonah, the still more extensive and magnificent ranges at Ellora, not to mention some smaller cave-temples in the Concan, and near the Adjanta Pass, are all on Mahratta ground, and seem to show the existence of some great and powerful dynasty which must have reigned many years to complete works of such labor and extent.”*

I have thus furnished the reader with the means of comparing the excavated temples of Elephanta with those of Epsamboul. The general plan is the same in the former as in the latter—massy pillars, huge figures, emblematical devices, and mysterious ornaments. The serpent and the lotus tend still farther to identify the ancient superstitions with the uses for which those stupendous works were executed. We will refrain from

* Account of the Cave-Temple of Elephanta, by W. Erskine, Esq., in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. I. pp. 210, 249.

saying anything more on this subject until we come to treat of the history of the Hindoos.

Leaving the rock-temples both of India and Nubia, over the history and design of which a dark cloud is still suspended, we will continue our route up the Nile.

Near the upper part of the Second Cataract,* the country becomes extremely beautiful and fertile; verifying all the reports respecting the excellence of the soil in the provinces beyond Nubia. "In some places the river is not less than five or six miles broad, enclosing numerous islands, on which agricultural produce might be increased to almost any amount. The scenes of verdure on the left bank are said to far surpass the finest views of rural beauty in the Thebaid, while the mode of culture is not inferior to that pursued in the most improved districts of the Lower Nile. It is asserted, that some of the grounds watered by the stream, might, by the hands of enlightened industry, be made capable of producing everything which the art of man, operating upon a fine soil under a genial climate, could possibly effect. Many parts of Dongola exhibit the same rich qualities, and present the same hopes, to agriculturists; and, in short, it is evident that nothing but a good government is required to render those extensive districts the abode of a vast population, enjoying the necessaries of life in abundance" Thus, it is not impossible that this country was inhabited in remote times, as testified to in the traditions of the ancients, by a numerous and powerful people.

When we arrive near Old Dongola the Nile turns towards the northeast, and gives an insular form to a large extent of land distinguished as the kingdom of Merawe. In this tract we meet with some magnificent monuments near the spot which is supposed to mark the site of the ancient capital. For example, there are remains of seven temples, of which the largest is four hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and fifty-nine broad. The principal apartment is one hundred and forty-seven by one hundred and eleven feet, and the next is one hundred and thirty-three by one hundred and two feet. This edifice is said to be generally in a very ruined state, and some of the materials are in so confused and shattered a condition as to indicate that they have been broken down and unskillfully replaced. The other temples are of much smaller dimensions, but several of them most perfectly preserved, and in two, most of the chambers are excavated in the solid rock. This is part of a lofty eminence, called Gebel el Berkal, or the Holy Mountain, along the foot of which all the monuments are erected. There we also meet with seventeen pyramids, while at El Bellal, seven miles farther up the river, there is a more numerous and lofty range of these structures; none of which, however, rival those of Memphis.

* The Second Cataract is properly a succession of swift rapids, which extend fully a hundred miles from Wady Hahfa to Sukkot, some of which are very dangerous to pass.

The sculptures and ornaments which can still be traced bear evidence of very different periods of art; some being extremely rude, and others nearly as perfect as any in the palaces of Egypt.*

Among those who have investigated the subject there has been much dispute in regard to the site of ancient Meroë. But as all the ancient authorities describe the geographical position of the Ethiopian capital as an island, formed by the junction of the Nile with the Astapus, or river of Abyssinia, and with the Astaboras, which is considered to be identical with the modern Tacazze still called Albura, the city of Meroë, if it was situated in the country bounded by the two latter rivers, must necessarily have stood above the point at which they unite; a conclusion which is indeed fully confirmed by the direct statement of Eratosthenes. There have also been discovered near Shendy, forty miles above that junction, a range of buildings and pyramids of very considerable extent and magnificence. Bruce in his journey also observed some of them, and threw out a conjecture, that they marked the site of Meroë; thereby leading to the natural inference, that the kingdom mentioned by ancient writers under the same name, must have extended its territory between the Tacazze and the Blue River. It appears that the opinion thus entertained by the Greek writer, as well as by the celebrated Scottish traveler, has gained the approbation of the majority of those who have investigated this subject; still there are those who contend that the city of Meroë stood, not at Shendy, but at Merawe, and that the kingdom of the same name had a corresponding location, though they admit that Meroë in its glory might have extended to Dongola on the one side, and to Shendy on the other.†

The reasonings advanced in support of these different opinions, are too diffuse to be inserted here; but though the advocates of the last mentioned opinion have displayed great ingenuity in maintaining it, I think that those who support the former opinion, have advanced the most valid arguments, and I feel myself therefore bound to consider it as most probable that Meroë stood in the vicinity of Shendy. Still there can be no question that Merawe was a place of great importance in a religious point of view, as is fully attested by the numerous remains of several buildings which still exist.

Somewhat more than two hundred miles beyond these remarkable ruins, we reach the point where the Tacazze or Astaboras falls into the Nile; forming, as we presume, the celebrated island of Meroë, and where,

* Mr. Gau, in his splendid work on Nubia, says, "that this country was the cradle of Egyptian architecture, and that its monuments embrace the whole period during which this art flourished in Egypt." In other words, he maintains the opinion, that all the architecture of the latter country has its type in the buildings of Nubia, from the first rude effort to cut a temple in the rock, to the construction of those detached edifices which were afterward raised under the sway of the Greeks and the Romans.

† *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XII. p. 190.

if our opinion be correct, are found the relics of the primitive faith of Ethiopia, as well as mementoes of her earliest civilization. There can at least be no doubt that the most ancient traditions which have been handed down to us through the medium of the Greek writers, point unanimously to a remote country on the banks of the Nile, as the cradle of learning, religion and the arts, and whence issued at different periods these Thoths and Hermeses, who brought with them the germs of knowledge to Egypt, to the northern shores of Africa, and to the barbarous coast of Europe. "So far are we able," as Dr. Russel says, "to trace the vestiges of refinement, and the progress of the arts; which, attracting our attention in the kingdom of the Pharaohs, carry us gradually towards the south, till we reach a people whose origin is lost in the obscurity of distant time, and the names of whose teachers have utterly perished. We indeed find marks of their resemblance, and affinity to nations beyond the Arabian Gulf, and even on the borders of Hindostan, but all our attempts to identify these, fail to attain success, because we have neither historical records nor the aid of such other monuments as on such a subject are necessary to command belief." I think, however, that with the evidence which is furnished to us, we shall be able to give a satisfactory solution to this question.

Bruce speaks of the ruins near Shendy—which we, in conformity with the opinions of many intelligent travellers, view as those of ancient Meroë—in the following manner:—"On the 20th of October, in the evening, we left Shendy, and rested two miles from the town and about a mile from the river; the next day we continued our journey. At nine we alighted to feed our camels under some trees, having gone about ten miles. At this place begins a large island in the Nile, several miles long, full of villages, trees and corn; it is called Kurgos. Opposite to this is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, plainly designed for the statues of the dog; and some pieces of obelisks, likewise with hieroglyphics, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us, that these ruins were very extensive, and that many pieces of statues both of men and animals, had been dug up there. The statues of men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess that this is the ancient city of Meroë."

The conjecture which Mr. Bruce hazarded, has been confirmed by later travelers; and it has also been proved that the Arabs spoke the truth when they told him, that these remains of antiquity, of which he only obtained a passing glance, are not confined to one spot, but are scattered over a considerable extent of surface. The whole strip of land from Shendy to Gerri, teems with them, and is, therefore, regarded as a portion of what is called the classic ground of Ethiopia. There appear to be situated the principal groups, each in the vicinity of Assour, Naga, and Messoura or Mecaoura, as M. Cailliaud writes it. The first of these lies

to, the north of Shendy, about two miles from the river; the others are at the distance of several leagues from the Nile in a southerly direction, proceeding from the same point. The monuments found here consist both of temples and pyramids. All private dwellings have long ago been destroyed; but that was to have been expected, for according to Strabo, they were built merely of split palm-tree and tiles; the sand, however, is in many places so covered with bricks, that there is every reason to suppose that a town formerly stood there, which, together with other evidences already alluded to, have convinced most travelers that these ruins mark the site of ancient Meroë, which, if this supposition be correct, extended between Assour and the village of Tanetbey, where are still discovered the remains of some temples, and many other edifices constructed of sandstone; the whole extending, according to the measurement of M. Cailliaud,* to a circumference of four thousand feet.

Eastward of Assour lies what has been called the Great Church-yard of Pyramids—where we find, according to the estimate of M. Cailliaud, the remains of no less than eighty pyramids. "There were formerly many more in existence, though their precise number cannot be ascertained, as the ruins of many are promiscuously mingled with each other. Still these pyramids are small when compared with those of Middle Egypt, as the height of the largest is not more than eighty feet. They are formed of granite; consequently the decay into which they have fallen, suggests the idea that they must have been constructed in a very remote period. The larger class have generally attached to them a small building in the shape of a temple, finished in the Egyptian style, with a propylon and door which lead first to the portico, and thence to the sanctuary. It is therefore evident, that if the real entrance be where it is indicated, that it was not the intention of the Ethiopian architects to conceal the approach to the inner part of them, as appears to have been the object of the architects of the pyramids below the Cataracts. The corners of the pyramids of which we are now speaking are partially ornamented, and the walls of the pylones are decorated with sculptures, in some of which the figures appear to represent offerings for the departed; a design which has given birth to the supposition, that they are tombs of kings, and other distinguished persons." This supposition, from what we know of those examined in Egypt, appears to be well founded, and is not at variance with the remark of Strabo, who says, that the Egyptians did not embalm their dead, but buried them in an earthen vessel, near the sanctuary.

Mr. Heeren is of opinion, that pyramidal architecture was native in

* M. Cailliaud, as also, one of his countrymen, M. Letorzeo, accompanied the expedition which Ismael Pasha on the order of his father, Mahommed Ali—Pasha of Egypt—undertook about twenty-seven years ago, into these sequestered regions of which anterior to that time, we had but a very limited knowledge.

Ethiopia, from the very earliest ages ; and also that, if we compare this style of building with the similar one adopted in Egypt, we shall find, most probably, that it had its origin in the former country, and was brought to perfection in the latter.*

The antiquities of Naga and Messoura consist chiefly of temples. Those of the former place lie about six leagues south-east of Shendy, and nearly the same distance from the Nile ; presenting a larger one in the centre, and various smaller ones scattered about in every direction. The remains of the principal edifice clearly prove to what deity it was dedicated. An avenue of statues, being rams crouching on pedestals, leads into an open portico of ten columns, out of which, after passing through a smaller gallery, we arrived at the pylone. Adjoining this is a colonnade, consisting of eight pillars, beyond which there is a hall leading into the sanctuary. The doors, the columns, and the walls, are of hewn stone, the remainder of the structure is composed of brick, with a coating, upon which traces of painting are still visible. The gateways and pillars are sculptured in a style of great beauty ; exhibiting gods, kings and queens with attendants, sacrifices and oblations. The building is of vast size, extending in length, from the first pylone to the opposite extremity, not less than eighty feet. There is also something peculiar in the portico. The duplicate gallery of rams, before entering and after passing it, is not common elsewhere ; and the plan of the whole seems, as Mr. Heeren says, to show that the art of architecture had not, when this building was constructed, attained to that degree of perfection, which is displayed in the great works of Egypt.

The western temple is smaller, but still more richly embellished. On the pylones or gateways the same scenes are represented, as on the pyramids of Assour, a male warrior on the one side, and a female warrior on the other, destroying a number of captives whom they have bound together by their hair. They appear to be king and queen, as they have both the emblem of dominion on the head-dress, over each of which is a spread eagle with a globe. They are both magnificently dressed.

It is evident, as observed by Mr. Heeren, that these representations possess many peculiarities, and are not altogether similar to those found on the Egyptian monuments. The principal point of distinction is found in the human personages who are discharging their religious duties. The queens appear together with the kings, and not merely as presenting offerings, but as heroines and victorious warriors—a circumstance which has not been discovered, as far as I know, in any of the sculptures of Egypt and Nubia. They are, therefore, presumed to relate to the rulers, female as well as male, of Meroë, and to have been intended to commemorate their deeds.

* See Heeren's *Historical Researches*.

This confirms also the words of Strabo, who tells us that among the Ethiopians, "the women are also armed;" and we are told by other writers that women ruled here with the same authority as the kings. It appears as if a succession of queens, under the name of Candace, had reigned here; and we know that when at length the seat of the empire was removed from Meroë to Napata, near Gebel-el Berkal, a sovereign of the same name wielded the supreme power. It is, therefore, quite agreeable—as Dr. Russel justly remarks—to the customs of the Ethiopians, to see a queen in a warrior's habit near her consort.

M. Cailliaud says, that the ten colossal figures found at Naga, are very remarkable for the richness of their drapery, and the character of their drawings, and that their feet and arms are stouter than those of Egypt; yet that they are in the same style. Mr. Rüppel also extols, quite as highly, the excellence of the reliefs at Kurgos.* This causes Mr. Heeren to ask: "Are we to suppose that Ethiopian artists themselves had attained this degree of perfection? Or do these monuments rather belong to that brilliant period of the empire of Meroë—the eighth century before our era—when the dynasty of Tirhako and Sabaco ruled over Egypt, and who had good opportunities of sending artists from below the Cataracts to adorn their metropolis and immortalize their fame."

At the third station, called Messaura, we find, according to what M. Cailliaud relates, very considerable ruins at a distance of eight hours' journey from Shendy toward the southeast, and six leagues from the Nile. They consist of eight small temples, all joined by corridors and terraces. The whole is an immense edifice, formed by the junction of a number of chambers, courts and temples, and is surrounded by an enclosure. From the main building in the centre to the others, the passages are through galleries or along terraces, varying from three hundred to one hundred and eighty-five feet in length. Each temple has its peculiar chambers; and all the buildings are placed in an exact order, consisting, as has been observed, of eight temples or sanctuaries, forty-one chambers, twenty-four courts, three galleries, and fourteen stair-cases or flights of steps. These remains cover a spot of ground two thousand five hundred feet, or about half a mile in circumference. M. Cailliaud† believes, and, as it appears, with good reason, that a seminary of learning was established on this spot,—an opinion that is indeed supported by the very arrangement of the buildings. Mr. Heeren, however, thinks that here was the "Oracle of Jupiter Ammon." "A mere glance at the ground

* See writings by Edward Rüppel, from the Camp near Kurgos, 29th February, 1824, in *Europaische Blätter*, quoted by Mr. Heeren.

† *Lá étudiant mieux la distribution des différens corps de bâtimens en ruine que j'avais sous les yeux, je demeurai convaincu que ce lieu fut jadis consacré à l'enseignement, un collège enfin.* Cailliaud, vol. iii, p. 142.

plan," he says, "leads to this idea. It is only in this way that the singularity of passages and courts which were to be wandered through before arriving at the very sanctuary of the god in the midst, can be accounted for. Scarcely could there be a better introduction contrived for reaching this sacred building."^{*}

For the support of this opinion, he relies chiefly on the authority of Diodorus, who relates that the temple of Jupiter did not stand in the very city of Meroë, but at some distance from it, in the wilderness. When the ruler of that kingdom resolved to free himself from the dominion of the priests, he went, says the same historian, with a company of soldiers to the sequestered spot where the sanctuary with the golden temple stood, and surprising the inmates, put them to death. It must be admitted that the smallness of the edifice is no objection to this view of the subject—as the same remark might be equally well applied to the Ammonium in the Libyan desert. Its situation, too, in the waste, seems also to corroborate the opinion of Mr. Heeren, as to its similarity with that of the sanctuary last alluded to, which will appear not very extraordinary, when we reflect that these ruins point out one of the great trading routes between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Persuaded of the reasonableness of his conjecture, Mr. Heeren says: "Thus we stand on the remarkable spot which the ancients viewed as the cradle of the arts and the sciences; where hieroglyphic writing was discovered; where temples and pyramids had already sprung up, while Egypt yet remained entirely ignorant of their existence."[†] The opinions of M. Cailliaud and Mr. Heeren are not in opposition to each other, as the same buildings might well have encompassed a seminary of priests, and a sanctuary of Jupiter.

From what has now been related, it seems almost certain that the city of Meroë was situated, as I have said before, not very far from Shendy, and also that a number of dependent establishments, founded on the basis of religion, were scattered over the neighboring desert.

The ancient splendor of Meroë will appear to us less improbable when we reflect that it was a place sanctified by religion, and enriched by the contributions of the merchants who, traversing the desert in all directions, met here; that it was a place possessed of water-communication northward and southward; that it was the centre of trade between the interior of Africa and Arabia, between distant India and the populous cities of Egypt; that gold, slaves, spices, and sumptuous stuffs, swelled its marts; and that the multitude who were engaged in these lucrative transactions, liberally repaid the protection they found within its sacred territory, and lavished a part of their wealth on the shrines of its gods.

Continuing our course along the eastern bank of the Nile, we proceed

^{*} See Heeren's *Researches*,

[†] *Historical Researches*

to survey the country which now bears the name of Abyssinia,* and which is generally admitted to be the Ethiopia of ancient writers.

Although it is admitted that the term Ethiopian is of Greek origin, and was a term used to designate any people of a very dark complexion, it must be observed that the Abyssinians call themselves Itiopawian, and their country Itiopia. But they are said, nevertheless, to prefer the name of Agazi or Ghez for the kingdom and Agazian for themselves. The name of Habesh, given to them by the Mohammedans, and from which is derived the European appellation, is an Arabic word, denoting a "mixed race;" and on this account the natives consider it an opprobrious epithet, which they contemptuously disclaim.†

Abyssinia is, as I have said in another place, an extensive table-land, gently inclining to the north west, and having two great steppes, one on the east and the other on the south; the first extending towards the Arabian Gulf and the second towards the interior of Africa. It was occupied by a population which appears to have been divided into several states; as for instance, Ludolf mentions nine kingdoms. Thevenot, from the information he had received from a native ambassador, says that there are seven kingdoms and twenty-four provinces. Bruce speaks of nineteen provinces, and Petit la Croix enumerates thirty-five kingdoms and ten provinces, once belonging to the monarch of Abyssinia, of which, however, he then retained but six kingdoms and a half, with the ten provinces.

I have mentioned this, as it might warrant us to presume that even in ancient times there existed several small states; as indeed from other reasons appears quite probable.

On entering Abyssinia, we meet at first with nothing worthy of particular notice, but as we approach the shores of the Arabian Gulf, we discover traces of former civilization, and remains of structures bearing some similarity to those which excite our admiration in Egypt, and our surprise in Nubia. It is the province of Tigré which contains some of those cities which make no inconsiderable figure in the history of Ethiopia, as for instance, Axum, Dixon, Chelicut, and Antalo.

At Axum we find remains of ancient works, which, differing as they do

* We have indeed not very much authentic information of this country. The accounts with which we have been furnished by the Arabian writers, Bakoi, Edresi, and Macrisi, are very inaccurate, and abundantly show that they had no very correct knowledge of Abyssinia. The sole authorities, until lately, on this subject, have been the works of the Portuguese travelers Alvarez, Bermudez, Paez, Almeida, and Lobo, which were abridged by Teller, and illustrated with considerable ability by Mr. Ludolf. There exists, however, in the Library at Leyden, in Holland, a MS.—by M. Petit la Croix, dated in 1700, and partly drawn up from information furnished by Abyssinians, whom the author had known in Egypt—which contains much valuable information on this subject, as do also the volumes of Mr. Bruce and Mr. Salt.

† See Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. lib. 1.; c. 1.

from those we have admired in Egypt, nevertheless are sufficiently grand to attract the attention of every intelligent traveller, and also to carry to his mind the conviction that here once stood a large and flourishing city. Its origin, some of the native chroniclers carry back to the days of the patriarch Abraham, while others are disposed—as I think with much truth—to claim for it a far higher antiquity. It must, however, be observed that the existence of this city seems not to have been known, either to Homer or to Herodotus, or to any other writer, before the time of Strabo. It must also be admitted, whatever its antiquity may be, that there is every reason to presume it was greatly improved by the Ptolemies, who appear to have marched their armies southward along the Red Sea and even to have established a temporary throne at Axum.

“It is believed,” says M. Poncet, “that this was the country of the queen of Saba; several villages depending upon this principality bear to this day the name of Sabaim. They obtain marble in the mountains which is not inferior to that of Europe; but what is of more importance, is, they also find a quantity of gold even in tilling their ground. They brought me privately some pieces which I found to be very fine.”* The same writer relates also that in the middle of the spacious place before the church of St. Helena, are to be seen three pyramidal and triangular spires all filled with hieroglyphics.

About half a mile from the church, is an upright slab eight feet in length, three and a half broad, and one foot in thickness, which contains an inscription in the Greek language, illustrative of the ancient history of the country. The characters are said to be deeply cut, and nearly two inches long. The translation, as given in Mr. Salt's work, is as follows :

“(We) Aezanas, king of the Axomites and
of the Homerites and of Raedian, and of the Ethi-
opians, and of the Sabæans, and of Zeyla,
and of Tiamo, and the Boja, and of the Ta-
quie, King of Kings, son of god,
the invincible Mars—having rebelled
on an occasion the nation of the Boja,
We sent our brothers
Saiazona and Adephos
to make war upon them; and upon
their surrender (our brothers) after subduing them,
brought them to us with their families,
of their oxen 112, and of their sheep
7424, and their beasts bearing burthens;
nourishing them with the flesh of oxen, and giving them a
supply of bread, and affording them to drink
beer (sowa) and wine (maize), and water in abundance
who (the prisoners) were in number six chiefs,
with their multitude in number . . .
making them bread every day of wheat-

* A voyage in Ethiopia, during the years, 1698.—1700. p. 108.

on cakes '2' and giving them wine for a month
 until the time that they brought the whole body to us,
 whom therefore supplying with all things
 fit, and clothing, we compelled them to change their
 abode, and sent them to a certain place of our
 country called M——a, and we ordered them
 again to be supplied with bread, furnishing
 to these six chiefs, oxen 4.
 In grateful acknowledgment to him who begat me,
 the invincible Mars,
 I have dedicated to him a golden statue, and one
 of silver, and three of brass, for good."

This inscription shows, as many of those on the Egyptian monuments also do, that the kings in these regions generally bore among their other high-sounding titles, that also of a son of god; still we should be greatly mistaken were we therefore to presume that these kings imagined themselves to be in reality the sons of gods. They might, however, perhaps have wished to inspire the minds of their subjects with the belief that they were the offsprings of ancestors who were of divine origin. We see also from this inscription, that the captive chiefs were treated with some regard to their former dignity, and that they appear to have been subjected to no wanton humiliations. The precise time when the monument itself was erected, might also be ascertained from this inscription. Because we know that Aizana was king of the Axumites in the reign of the Roman emperor Constantius; and there is still preserved in the works of Athanasius, a letter from that popular monarch to the Ethiopian prince, at the time he was reigning conjointly with his brother, Saizana, whose name is also mentioned in the above inscription. Therefore, from comparing the date of the imperial communication with the circumstances to which it is known to have had reference—the disgrace of Frumentius and the orthodox clergy—it appears that the inscription must have been engraved about the year three hundred and thirty of our era.

Mr. Salt says that all the information which could be got concerning the ruins at Axum was obtained from the priests, who, on the authority of their sacred books, related that their ancient monuments and obelisks, originally fifty-five in number—of which four were as large as the one still standing—were erected by Ethiopus, the father of Abyssinia, about one thousand five hundred and fifty years ago. They said also that the great reservoir, from which every house in the town was formerly supplied with water, was constructed during the reign of king Isaac, by the Abuna Samuel, who died at Axum four hundred and two years ago, and was buried under the daroo tree, which still remains near the church. From the same source we have also the interesting fact, that in the year 1070 a woman, by the name of Goudit, or Judith, who had great authority, came from Amhara, and, excited by a superstitious motive, destroyed as far as

she was able, these remains of ancient art; threw down the obelisks, broke the altars, and laid the whole place in ruins, an account which seems not improbable, as we are told that there is every appearance of many of the largest altars having been scattered by great force, and removed from their place.*

Mr. Salt thought himself justified in pronouncing the great obelisk—which has excited the admiration of all travellers who have visited Arum—as the most perfect monument of its kind, and displaying in its construction both consummate skill and ingenuity.

There are, in these regions, many other monuments, all of which indicate that here once lived a civilized nation. There is a prominent feature we cannot pass unnoticed, which is common to almost all the monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia, and which consists in the evidently religious purposes for which they were constructed. This circumstance bears strong testimony to the development of the religious sentiment—at least as far as public worship can be an evidence of this quality in man—of the ancient inhabitants of these countries.

There is every reason to suppose that the people of these countries, of which we have now taken a rapid review, entertained in its chief points the same religious tenets as were generally prevalent in Egypt.

In regard to the form of government which prevailed in Ethiopia in the most ancient times, we find from the account given by Diodorus, that it was hierarchic, as the chief power was in the hands of the priesthood, who chose a king from among their own order. The laws of the Ethiopians, says this historian, differ in many respects from those of other nations; but in none so much as in the nomination of their kings, which is effected in the following manner: the priests select some of the most distinguished of their order, and whomsoever of those selected the god chooses—he is carried in procession, and forthwith proclaimed sovereign by the people, who falling down adore him as a divinity, because he is placed over the government by the choice of Jupiter Ammon. The person thus appointed immediately enjoys all the prerogatives which are conceded to him by the laws, and is supplied with rules for the direction of his conduct; but he can neither reward nor punish any one beyond what ancient usages and the royal statues allow. It is a custom among them to inflict upon no subject the sentence of death, even though he should be one of the worst of criminals, but they send to the malefactor one of the servants of justice, who bears the symbol of mortality. When the criminal sees this he goes immediately to his house and deprives himself of life. The Greek custom of escaping punishment by taking refuge in another country is not there permitted. It is said that the mother of one who would have attempted

* See Valentia's Travels, vol. III, p. 98.

flight, strangled him with her own girdle, in order to save her family from the greater disgrace of having one of its members denounced as a fugitive. But the most remarkable of all their institutions is that which relates to the death of their kings. The priests at Meroë, who attend to the service of the gods and hold the highest rank, send a messenger to him with an order to die. They make known to his majesty, that heaven requires this sacrifice at his hands, and that mortal should not attempt to oppose its decrees; and perhaps add such reasons as could not be controverted by weak understandings, prejudiced by a reverence for ancient customs.

We know, however, from the same author, that in the reign of the second Ptolemy, when the light of Grecian philosophy had already penetrated into Ethiopia, that the sovereign of Meroë, whose name was Ergamenes, resolved to shake off the domination of the sacerdotal caste. At the head of an armed band he proceeded to their principal temple, and caused all the priests there present to be killed; by which bold measure, adds the historian, he rendered himself a monarch in reality as well as in name.

Mr. Heeren very judiciously observes, that in a country whose government so widely differed from anything to which we have been accustomed, it is reasonable to suppose that a similar peculiarity would apply to the people who could hardly bear any similitude to the civilized nations of modern Europe. Meroë, he presumes, rather resembled in appearance the larger states of interior Africa at the present day; a number of small nations of the most opposite habits and manners, some with and some without settled homes, constituting what is called an empire; although the general political band which holds them together is loose, and often scarcely perceptible. In Ethiopia, however, this band was of a twofold nature; first, religion or a certain worship resting upon oracles; and secondly commerce; unquestionably the strongest chains by which barbarians could be bound, for the one gratified the superstitious, and the other the covetous and sensual. Eratosthenes relates, that in his time the island comprised a variety of people; of whom some followed agriculture, others a nomadic or pastoral life, and a third class the more active pursuit of hunting. All chose what seemed best adapted to the respective districts in which they lived.*

Before we enter on a historical narrative of Ethiopia, we will say a few words of the country of the *Troglodytes* or cave-dwellers,—a country which is formed by the high grounds that divide Abyssinia from the coast

* Historical Researches. — The account given by Pliny of the peninsular tract of Meroë corresponds remarkably with the indications which still remain of its ancient greatness. "Ipsam oppidum Meroën ab introita insula (i. e. loco ubi, conflunt Nilus et Astaboras) abesse lxx millia posuimus. Juxtaque aliâ insulam Tadu dextro subeuntibus alveo que portum faceret. Edificia oppidi paucæ. Regnare feminam Candace, quod nomen multis jam annis ad reginæ transit. Delubrum Hammonis et ibi sacrum. Et toto tractu sacella." Lib. vi.

of the Red Sea. The soil and the climate itself have in all ages kept the inhabitants in a savage state. Separated into small tribes, and subject to hereditary chiefs; they lived formerly, and in many points still continue to live, on the produce of their flocks, consisting of goats, and also in some degree on fish. The caves and openings in the rocks are their ordinary dwellings, a kind of lodging which, in ancient times was adopted in many other countries of the world. We find traces of such a usage in Mœsia, in Italy, in Spain and in France, and even at the foot of Caucasus and of Mount Atlas. In Sicily there is an example of a whole town formed by the excavation of the body of a hill. But of all the races that have dwelt in caverns, the Troglodytes on the shores of the Red Sea have the longest preserved the habits and the name.

If we now direct our course northward, following the coast of the Red Sea toward the confines of Egypt, we shall observe that the coast makes a great concave sweep, and forms what is called by ancient as well as modern geographers Foul Bay. At the bottom of this gulf is the port of the Abyssinians, and behind is the country known by the name of Baza or Bedja. Arabian writers tell us that it is a kingdom separated from Nubia by a chain of mountains, rich in gold, silver and emeralds. The accounts which we have received from the ancients respecting the name and boundaries of this province, are very discordant. The term Beza, it is presumed, may be found in that of the promontory called Bazium by ancient writers, and now Ras el Comol. The inhabitants, who are called Bugeha by Leo Africanus, Boguites on the inscription at Axum, and Bedjah by the most of the Arabian historians, lead a nomadic and savage life. They derive an abundant substance from the milk and flesh of their camels, cattle and sheep. They have no government but that exercised by every father over his own family: thus propagating the primeval form of government among men. They are said to be very strongly attached to each other, and hospitable to strangers, but at the same time carrying on robbery as a trade, continually plundering the neighboring agriculturists, and the trading caravans. Having thus accepted the moral code of the Arabians, Bruce asserts that they speak a dialect of the Abyssinian language, but Abdallah entertains the opinion that they belong to the race of the Berbers. M. Quatremère has endeavored to demonstrate the identity of the Bedjahs with the Blemmyes of the ancients;* but Dr. Russel thinks that the descriptions of these writers apply perhaps with greater precision to the Ababdehs, the people that inhabit the desert which expands between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf.

Suakin is chiefly worthy of our notice as being one of the principal ports which now connect Abyssinia with the opposite coast; having in this

* Quatremère *Hist. Geog. sur l'Égypte*, vol. xi.—Strabo lib. xviii.

respect superseded the more ancient harbor of Aodad—the Gidid of Portuguese writers.

The portion of the shore which we have now surveyed is generally called the Midre Baharnagash, or the land of the Sea-king, whose government formerly extended from Suakin, to the Straits of Bab el Mandel, Baroa, its ancient capital, is considered as the key of Abyssinia towards the Gulf. If we retrace our steps, and direct our course further to the south, the coast we then traverse bears the name of Dancali, or, according to Niebuhr, Denakil; it consists of waste lands, and is void of all valuable productions except salt. Beyond the Straits of Bab el Mandel, which terminates the Red Sea, we find the kingdom of Adel, a country of which we have but an imperfect knowledge. On the shores of the ocean live the Somaules, a people who are supposed to possess the land which in ancient times belonged to the Macrobian Ethiopians spoken of by Herodotus, and famed for their longevity.

Though the ancients applied the name of Ethiopia as a general term, not only to the interior of Africa, but also in consequence of their erroneous geographical knowledge to a part of Asia, yet the regions of which we have now taken a cursory view, they, in a specific sense, named Ethiopia; of which the kingdom of Meroë was known to those earliest Greek writers, whose works are still extant, while the Greeks appear not to have been acquainted with the existence of that of the Axumites* until the time of the Ptolemies.

From the knowledge we have of these regions, I think we may concede that there is ample evidence of an ancient civilization, which cannot easily be refuted, particularly in regard to the kingdom of Meroë. There may be, however, those who entertain a doubt whether it was an indigenous plant, or whether it was transplanted from a foreign soil; still I think when we consider the high antiquity of the civilization of the Hindoos, and all the circumstances already alluded to, connected with this subject, we may be assured, as I have before said, that Ethiopia was civilized by a Hindoo colony, the chief seat of which was Meroë.

There has nevertheless been much variety of opinion between modern writers in regard to the origin and language of the early colonists who occupied the countries now surveyed by us, and which extend from the border of Egypt to Sennaar, and from the Nile to the Red Sea, yet I deem it superfluous to repeat opinions which are mere conjectures. Still we may be assured none can deny, that this people consisted in general of a mixed race; confirming the opinion that foreign colonists in times immemorial settled among the aborigines. The Abyssinians themselves, although

* The finest ivory was exported from the port of Adulis with which a commercial intercourse was maintained with the shores on the other side of the Red Sea, and also with India

fully ignorant of the time and circumstances which marked the settlement of their foreign ancestors in these regions, have insisted upon connecting their ancient faith, their civil polity, as well as the pedigree of their royal family, with the visit of the queen of Sheba to king Solomon at Jerusalem. The events now alluded to are embodied in a treatise called the "Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinia;" the author of which says, "We write the law and government of Ibn Hakim, (Menilec,) the son of Solomon. With him there came twelve doctors of law, that form the right hand bench in judgment." He then mentions some of the high officers who came along with this prince; such as the master of horse, high chamberlain, and he "who carried the ten commandments and holy water." This work, the authority of which is not high, is sometimes entitled, "Kebir Zaneguste, or Glory of Kings." Still it is regarded by the natives as a faithful record of their ancient history.* A nation is always ready to believe what flatters its vanity.

This chronicle begins with a list of the emperors, from Arwe, or the serpent, to the above-mentioned Menilec, the pretended son of Solomon. Of these monarchs, some are said to have reigned several centuries. From Menilec downwards, the succession bears a somewhat more probable aspect, still no reliance at all can be placed upon its accuracy. Equally meagre are the accounts given to us by the Greek, Jewish and Roman writers, respecting the ancient inhabitants of Nubia and Abyssinia. The praise, however, for justice, which the Greeks awarded to the Ethiopians, seems to me to be evidence of the reverence which the priesthood of Meroë had inspired in all the neighboring nations, by means of the protection they afforded to trade, by the impartiality with which they decided the disputes that happened to arise among the merchants that gathered on this sacred spot, and by the solemn worship they performed in honor of the gods. In treating of the history of Egypt, I have shown the intimate connection which existed between that country and at least a part of Ethiopia; hence, I think, we may justly infer that the power of the priesthood in Egypt, as well as the high reputation of the Ethiopians for virtue, originated in the influence that the priests of Meroë exercised, and in the respect paid to their just and wise conduct. The abrogation of the punishment of death by Sabaco, during the time of his dominion over Egypt, speaks highly in favor of the humanity and good sense of the Ethiopians. I will here observe that attempts have been made to prove that the Ethiopians of Meroë were not black, but, as I consider without success; still there is every reason to suppose that they were not of the unmixed negro race, though it does not follow, therefore, that they differed in color from the negro; for, even at the present day, as mentioned before, we

find people in these regions who are black, and still not negroes. The probability is, they were a mixed race; being more or less dark, and perhaps some even quite white; but in many there undoubtedly flowed negro blood.

We know from the Jewish writers, that the kings of Ethiopia sometimes joined their forces with those of Egypt in warlike expeditions; still they do not inform us whether as allies or vassals. We know, however, from sources already mentioned, that there were Ethiopian kings who were subjected to the supremacy of some monarchs of Egypt, and also that this country at other times was ruled by Ethiopian princes.

That Ethiopia was inhabited by powerful nations in ancient times, we have not the least cause to doubt, and among other evidences, is a very prominent one furnished in what Herodotus relates in regard to the expedition undertaken by Cambyzes, the Persian conqueror of Egypt, against the Macrobian Ethiopians, whose country was said to possess vast quantities of gold. This account possesses much interesting information, and is in substance as follows:

Cambyzes, who had resolved to send an embassy to the Macrobian, selected for that purpose, from among the Ichthyophagi, or fisheaters of Elephantine, who understood their language,* some persons that were to carry to the monarch of that distant nation presents, consisting of a purple robe, a golden necklace, bracelets, perfumes, and a cask of palm wine. But the Macrobian prince either only suspected that these ambassadors were but spies, or discovered that they really were so. He looked at the gift of which they were the bearers, but immediately returned the robe, the perfumes, the bracelets, and the necklace, taking these last for a species of fetter. The wine, however, he found very delicate, and was pleased therefore to retain it. He asked what age the Persians generally attained, and what their king was accustomed to eat. The ambassadors informed him that the monarch of Persia subsisted chiefly on bread, describing at the same time the nature of corn; and added, that the greatest age to which the Persians attained was eighty years. He answered, that he was not surprised at their living no longer, considering the rubbish on which they fed, and that probably they would not live even so long were it not for their good drink, in which he allowed that they certainly excelled the Macrobian. Upon being asked in his turn to what age his people arrived, and upon what they subsisted, he replied a hundred years, and sometimes longer, and that their food was boiled flesh and milk. He sent to Cambyzes in return for his presents, a great bow, and told the ambassadors to

* If this be true, a glance at the map will persuade us, if the Macrobian Ethiopians really lived where the Somaules now dwell, that there must have existed a common language between all the Ethiopian tribes, and that the Ichthyophagi must have had an Ethiopian origin.

inform their master, that when he could bend it as easily as one of the Macrobian, he might undertake an expedition against that people.

When the ambassadors expressed surprise at the longevity of the Ethiopians, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which, after having bathed, they became shining as if anointed with oil, and emitted from their bodies the perfume of violets. But they asserted that the water was of so unsubstantial a nature, that neither wood, nor anything still lighter than wood, would float on its surface, but everything instantly sank to the bottom. If their representation in this respect was to be relied on, the constant use of it, concludes Herodotus, may probably explain the extreme length of life which the Ethiopians attain.*

There was shown to the ambassadors, as one of the most remarkable things in that strange land, what was called the Table of the Sun. This was a meadow, in the skirts of the city, in which much boiled flesh was laid, placed there by the magistrates every night, and free to all who might choose to eat during the following day. The inhabitants, whose inquiries were not allowed to be very profound, were taught to say that the earth brought it forth. The envoys were next conducted to the prison; where the captives were bound in golden chains; brass among the Ethiopians being one of the greatest rarities. Finally, they were conducted to see the sepulchres or tombs, which were represented as being made of glass, in the following manner: The corpse, after being prepared, as in Egypt, was covered over with plaster, upon which was painted the *portrait* of the deceased, as like to the original as possible. It was then placed in a case of glass or native crystal, which they dug up in great abundance. The dead body remained in this frame, without any disgusting appearance or smell, a whole year; the nearest relation keeping it in his house, and offering it sacrifices; after which it was taken into the city, and deposited with the others.

After executing their commission the envoys returned, and Cambyzes, we are told by the same historian, was so irritated at their report, that he took the resolution to proceed instantly against the Ethiopians, without even providing for the necessary sustenance of his army, or taking into consideration that he was about to visit the utmost boundaries of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the envoys, like one deprived of all the powers of reason, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but such Greeks as had accompanied him to Egypt. On his arrival at Thebes he selected from his army about fifty thousand men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the

* It is related by a traveler who visited Senegal in the fifteenth century, that the natives made use of a certain oil in the preparation of their food, which possessed a three-fold quality, viz. that of an odor like violets, a taste like oil of olives, and the power of tinging the victuals with a color more beautiful than saffron.

Ammonians, and to burn the place from which the oracles of Jupiter were delivered; he himself with the remainder of his troops marched against the Macrobian. But ere he had advanced a fifth part of the way on his intended expedition, the provisions he had carried with him were totally consumed. The soldiers then began to slaughter the beasts which carried the baggage, but these also soon failed. If, observes the historian, after these incidents, Cambyses had permitted his passions to cool, and had led his army back again, he might, notwithstanding his indiscretion, still have deserved praise. But instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. His men, as long the earth afforded them any sustenance, were contented to feed on roots and plants; but no sooner had they arrived among the sands of the desert, than some of them were induced by famine to proceed to the most horrid extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest. When the king was told of this fact, he became alarmed at the idea of his troops devouring one another, and resolved to abandon his purpose. After losing a great part of his army, he arrived in due time at Thebes, from whence he proceeded to Memphis.

The Macrobian, or long lived Ethiopians, must have been a very celebrated people in the time of Cambyses, because that proud monarch would not have otherwise condescended to send any ambassadors to them. Though it is generally thought that this people occupied the country which extends eastward of the Straits of Bab el Mandeb along the coast, I must say that I have some doubt whether this really was the case; because I think that Cambyses would then have undertaken a naval expedition against them, rather than have attempted to penetrate the desert. It is, however, to be observed, that the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea may have deterred him from a naval enterprise which required the crossing of that water.

It has been supposed that the following extract from Cosmo—generally called Indicopleastes, who lived in the sixth century of our era—alludes to the Macrobian, and thus affords an explanation of the least credible part of the narrative given by the envoys of Cambyses, in their notice in regard to the Table of the Sun. "The land of frankincense," says he, "lies at the farthest end of Ethiopia, fifty days' journey from Axum, at no great distance from the ocean, though it does not extend to it. The inhabitants of the neighboring Barbaria, or the country of Sasu, fetch from thence frankincense and other costly spices, which they transport by water to Arabia-Felix and India. This country of Sasu is very rich in gold mines. Every year the king of Axum sends some of his people to this place for gold. These are joined by many other merchants, so that altogether they form a caravan of about five hundred persons. They carry with them oxen, salt, and iron. When they arrive upon the frontiers of the country they take up their quarters, and make a large barrier of thorns. In the

meantime, having slaughtered and cut up their oxen, they lay the pieces of flesh, as well as the iron and salt, upon the thorns. Then come the inhabitants, and place one or more parcels of gold upon the wares, and wait outside the enclosure. The owners of the flesh and other goods then examine whether this be equal to the gold offered or not. If so, they take the gold, and the others take the wares; if not, the latter still add more gold, or take back what they had already put down. The trade is carried on in this manner, because the languages are different, and they have no interpreters. It takes about five days to dispose of the goods they bring with them."

From this statement Mr. Heeren concludes, that the Table or Altar of the Sun, was the market-place in which the trade with strangers was transacted. When we consider that even at this time almost all the commerce of Africa is carried on under the protection of buildings dedicated to religious worship, we have no reason to wonder that religious notions should have been connected with this mercantile establishment, upon which, perhaps, the subsistence of the inhabitants depended.

This kind of trade, without oral communication, will not seem strange to those who are acquainted with the usages of barbarous nations in other parts of Africa, where the practice is still continued. When it is said that the chiefs of the people laid the flesh down at night, and that during the day any one who chose might eat of it, while the inhabitants at large reported that it sprang from the earth, we are only to infer that this important trade was conducted under the inspection of the public magistrates; that every one took what he thought proper on leaving an equivalent; and that as the merchants who supplied it came from a distant land, and were not seen themselves in the transaction, a vulgar error, like the one mentioned, might very naturally arise. By the boiled flesh, noticed by Herodotus, must probably be understood dried flesh, as this is the usual way it is preserved in those regions,* where, we are told by Mr. Bruce, that it is still considered as a great delicacy.

Lord Valentia who has lately visited the country supposed to be the one now under consideration, gives us some interesting information confirming the views entertained by Mr. Heeren. "The coast from Bab el Mandeb to Guardafui," he says, "is inhabited by the Soumelies, a very dark race with woolly hair, neither completely negroes nor Arabians. They are not savages, as Bruce has depicted them, but a friendly, well-disposed people. Their country is the natural staple for the commerce between Africa and Arabia, and in it the greatest marts are found, gums, myrrh and frankincense, cattle and slaves are the commodities exported, in exchange for which, as well as for gold and ivory, they receive the productions of the East, including those from the remoter parts of India."†

* Heeren's Historical Researches,

† Valentia's Travels, vol. ii, p. 370.

From the time of Cambyses to that of Augustus, history almost loses sight of Ethiopia. There remains, however, some evidence, that Ptolemy Evergetes, one of the successors of Alexander, made an attempt to add Ethiopia to his dominions, but as he appears to have advanced by the way of the Red Sea, this expedition furnished the Greeks probably with but scanty information of that country, or at least if they gathered any, it has not been handed down to us. But during the reign of Augustus, about twenty years before the beginning of the Christian era, the Romans, who then had become masters of Egypt, came into collision with the independent states, which still flourished near ancient Meroë.

We are told by Strabo, and the historian Dio, that the effort made by Ælius Gallus, who appears to have had the chief command in Upper Egypt, to subdue Arabia, was the origin of the war with queen Candace. This expedition is at the same time remarkable for being the only one which the Romans ever attempted against the inhabitants of the desert. The burning sands and the poisonous winds of the desert taught that warlike people, that the most heroic courage, even when seconded by the most strict discipline, cannot overcome such physical obstacles.

As the neighboring provinces of Upper Egypt were left destitute of troops, the soldiers of Candace, after forcing the garrisons of Philæ, Syene and Elephantine, committed great ravages in the low country, demolished the statues of Augustus wherever they found them, and finally collected a very valuable amount of booty. Petronius, who was at that time prefect of Egypt, feeling that it was inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman name to bear such an insult, without inflicting due punishment, hastened to assemble about ten thousand men, and marched against the Ethiopians. These were not, however, qualified to resist in the open field an attack by the formidable legions of Rome, for their armor consisted chiefly of a huge buckler of raw hide, hatchets and spears headed with iron. Only a few were armed with swords, a weapon to which they were not accustomed. The issue of the contest could consequently not long remain doubtful, notwithstanding the superiority in numbers the Ethiopians possessed, who were, therefore, after some resistance, compelled to flee, and were pursued by the Romans into the farthest recesses of their difficult country. The queen, Candace, unable to defend her capital, had sought refuge in a stronghold, whence she sent messengers to make proposals for peace, but Petronius would not listen to any conditions until he had captured and plundered the royal city of Napata, the true position of which cannot now
• with certainty be determined.

The success of the Roman general did not secure to him the advantage of a permanent conquest. Having proceeded about nine hundred miles distant from Syene, and being assured that if he continued his advance, he should have to encounter all the horrors of a sandy desert, without

provisions and water, he resolved to retrace his steps, leaving in Primmis, a town situated on the Nile below the great cataract, a garrison of four hundred men, with supplies for two years. Candace attempted to surprise this fort, but without success. Still Petronius perceived that no object worthy of the expense and the exertions which must be incurred would be attained by the prosecution of the war. Consequently he was induced to enter into a negotiation with the queen, who, finding that she was unequal to match her powerful enemies in the field, had renewed her solicitations for peace. We are told that when she was informed she must send ambassadors to Augustus, she inquired who he was, and where he lived. Guides were supplied to conduct them to the emperor, who then happened to be at Samos. He gave them a favorable reception; and not only granted the request of their mistress, but relieved her from the tribute which Petronius had imposed upon her.

It is reasonable to infer from the facts brought to light by the invasion of Petronius, that about the commencement of the Christian era, there was in Ethiopia an independent kingdom, altogether unconnected with that part of the country now named Abyssinia. The dominions of the queen Candace appear to have extended over the valleys watered by the river, and perhaps over a part of the neighboring deserts with which these fertile plains are encircled. Neither Strabo or Dio makes any allusion to the territories which extend towards the Red Sea; and it is remarkable that, among the various lists of sovereigns, obtained by Mr. Bruce and Mr. Salt, during their residence in the former country, the name of this queen has not been found.

The history of Nubia is, from the time of Candace, for more than a thousand years shrouded in utter darkness. We have no information when the successors of this queen ceased to sway the sceptre over this country, or by what causes their throne was overthrown; whether this event took place by the successive assaults of Abyssinian armies led by ambitious princes, or by the inroads of the savage tribes that occupied the mountainous country on the south, or the wastes of the Libyan Desert. The rays of civilization which once spread their light over the regions about Meroë, may perhaps have been extinguished by the zeal of the Moslems, who, after the triumph of their caliph over Egypt, may have been induced to extend their conquests farther along the banks of the Nile. A similar obscurity prevails for the first eight centuries of our era in regard to Abyssinia, which is only occasionally lighted up by the information—not much to be relied upon—afforded by the ecclesiastical writers, who endeavored to connect its affairs with those of the patriarchate of Alexandria. It is, therefore, not until the time when the Portuguese, attracted by their love of gold, and under the pretence of zeal for religion, penetrated into the eastern part of Africa, that our inquiries in regard to

the history and condition of Abyssinia begin to meet with any degree of success. But we will defer pursuing these investigations until we come to treat on modern history.

The scanty information with which we are furnished by the ancient writers concerning the people that inhabited Ethiopia Proper, prevents us from acquiring that knowledge we would fain wish to obtain of the interesting nations, who, in ancient times, dwelt in these regions. Yet the monuments still extant assure us that this land was once the home of civilization, and that thus far the fame which they enjoyed was well deserved; and when we consider that this fame is as ancient as any of the historical records of any people on the west of the Indus, then I think we can no longer doubt that the antiquity of the civilization which once existed there is very remote, and probably extends to an earlier period than that of Egypt.

LETTER XXVIII.

HISTORY OF THE EDOMITES.

HAVING spoken of ancient Egypt, and of Ethiopia, the probable mother of her civilization, we will now turn our attention to the several tribes who occupied that country, which, in the most extensive meaning of the term, we call Syria, and who appear to have been for many centuries the constant enemies of Egypt.

Our first inquiry will be directed to the Edomites. Esau, who also was called Edom,* is regarded as the progenitor of this tribe. We are told by the Jewish writers that he was a man who delighted in the chase, and thus became a man of the field; and that by plentifully providing for his father's table, he won his particular affection. But happening one day to spend a longer time than usual in his favorite occupation, he returned home, exhausted with fatigue and hunger. Perceiving that Jacob, his younger brother, had prepared some pottage, he begged of him to give him some of it. Jacob, in reply, declared himself willing, but in return demanded the birthright of his brother. Esau, either through heedlessness, or driven by extreme hunger, assented to this ungenerous proposition.

It is related that Esau caused his parents much grief by his marriage with

* The word Edom signifies red. Esau is presumed to have got this name either from his red hair, or from the color of the pottage by which the crafty Jacob bought his birth-right.

one of the daughters of Heth ; but that he afterwards regained, at least, his father's affection. When Isaac, his father, had grown old, and his sight had become dim, he called Esau, and told him that he knew not how long he had yet to live, and therefore should be glad if he would take his quiver and his bow, and go out and procure venison, and dress it for him in a savory manner, that his soul might bless him before he died. Esau did as his father had desired ; but while he was absent, his mother, who was partial to Jacob, and who had heard the words that had been spoken between him and his father, dressed Jacob in Esau's clothes,* and preparing a dish of savory meat, sent him with it to his father, who, thus deceived, pronounced the blessing, deemed by him irrevocable, over Jacob. When Isaac, instantly afterwards by the coming of Esau, was made aware of the deceit practised by his younger son, he evinced signs of bitter regret ; but said, that he neither could nor would recall the blessing. Esau, hearing this, wept bitterly, and justly upbraided his brother for extorting from him first his birthright, and then for robbing him of their father's blessing.† At last, Esau, by his tears and pressing entreaties, obtained the blessing of his father, who pronounced that "the dwelling of Esau should be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above ; that he should live by the sword and serve his brother, but that he should shake off the yoke at last." His anger against his brother, nevertheless, continued, and he felt so strong a desire for revenge, that he determined to kill him as soon as their father should die ; but his mother, who became acquainted with his intentions, sent Jacob away to Padan-Aram, under pretence of getting him a wife among her own relatives. Esau, however, who appears to have been a frank and good-natured, though passionate man, soon forgot his resentment, and, in order to please his parents, went over to Ishmael and took his daughter Mahalath for a wife, in addition to the wives he already possessed. He removed afterwards with his family to Mount Seir, and the spot he occupied was called the Field of Edom ; where, in a few years afterwards, he appears to have become a very considerable person ; for when intelligence came to him that his brother Jacob was on his return from Padan Aram, he went out to meet him on the road with a train of four hundred followers, not to strike his brother with terror, but to honour and assist him. The interview between the brothers was very tender. Esau, forgetful of his brother's unworthy conduct, welcomed Jacob

* As an evidence of the absurdities entertained by a certain class of writers, I will here mention that there have been those who have said that these clothes had been worn by Adam, and that they retained the ineffable fragrantcy of Paradise. Others, with more reason, think that they had been laid up in aromatic flowers, or other perfumes, to preserve them from moths. But the smell of the fields seem simply to indicate the scent which the clothes had imbibed from venison.

† Those who advocate severe punishments ought to remember that Jacob, though robbing his brother under false pretence, was, nevertheless, forgiven.

with tears of generous joy and with the most sincere affection ; nobly refusing the bribes wherewith his brother seemed to have thought to purchase his reconciliation. He urged Jacob to direct his course to Mount Seir, that they might live in each other's vicinity ; but Jacob artfully evaded this invitation, under pretence of the tediousness of the journey ; seeming however, to indicate that he would follow on at a distance. Esau then desired Jacob to accept some of his followers to assist and conduct him on his way, but this also being declined, he, with reluctance, left Jacob behind, and took back with him the presents which had been rejected by his brother, who, instead of following on, deceived him once more, and took another way.*

Esau remained in Seir till he had received information that his father was either dead or about to die, when he went to Mamre, where he assisted Jacob at the funeral of their deceased parent, and took possession of his inheritance ; he afterwards returned to the country of Seir. Being a hundred and twenty years old, he married Aholibamah, a daughter of the country, but originally of Canaan ; and took such measures as would be most conducive to the secure and peaceful settlement of his descendants in that country, which was originally as far as we know, inhabited by a people who bore the name of Horites, or Horim : but whether they were so called from one whose name was Hor or Hori,† is no more known to us, than whether Mount Hor was so called from the same, as some presume. In the Samaritan version this country is called Gablah, and by Josephus,

* It seems from this that Esau was evidently a good man, and in no sense such a wicked person as some have, without any just reason, represented him. I do not in the least hesitate to declare that his character, from the very accounts given by the Hebrew writers themselves, appears to have been much nobler than his brother's. The Rev. Mr. Shuckford, in his *Connections of the Sacred and Profane History of the World*, vol. ii., says : " Esau was a plain, generous, and honest man ; nor does he seem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his speedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and slights he received from him ; and though St. Paul calls him the profane Esau, and says that he was hated by God, it cannot thence be gathered that he was a wicked man, or that God punished him for an immoral life. 1. This sentence could not extend to his posterity, and is not said to be founded upon his actions. 2. God's hatred of Esau was not a hatred which induced Him to punish him with an evil ; for he was as happy in the blessings of this life as Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, if not more. His children became masters of the land of their possession much sooner than the Israelites, and God was pleased to command the Israelites not to disturb them in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was such, why should we despair of his being a partaker of the heavenly ? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the blessing, so was Lot, and Job, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. Paul means no more than to show the Jews, that God had all along bestowed the favors, which led to the Messiah, on whom he pleased ; to Abraham, not to Lot, to Jacob, not to Esau, to the Gentiles, not to the Jews ; and, 5. Though Esau is called *βέβηλος*, or profane, he is never called *κακός*, or *ἀμαρτωλός*, wicked or immoral." I will here observe that the historian's duty is to judge a man in accordance with his actions, and not from inferences which might be drawn from subsequent events.

† Gen. xxxvi, 22—30.

Gobalitis, which appellations are presumed to have been derived from Geboul, signifying a border, for it bordered upon Canaan on the south; but the extent of the ancient country of Seir cannot be determined. After the settlement of Esau and his children, it came to be universally known under the name of Edom; but we know not whether they continued to extend their boundaries until the time they erected their monarchy, when, it appears probable, they built Elath and Esiongeber on the eastern shore of the Red Sea; yet, in the days of Moses, no part of their dominions touched upon that sea. When the ancient kingdom of Edom was in its most flourishing state, it is presumed to have been bounded on the north by the land of Canaan and the salt sea, or Lake Asphaltites; on the east by Midian, on the south by the Red Sea,* and on the west by Amalek, which is by some considered a part or province of Edom, as once may have been the fact. Still Amalek once constituted an independent kingdom. Uz, the country of Job, lay, as we are positively told,† within the limits of ancient Edom; still there have been geographers who have maintained otherwise.

Among the remarkable places of Edom, is *Teman*. It was celebrated for the wisdom of its inhabitants,‡ and is supposed to have been the residence of the kings. This little kingdom had, moreover, some other noted cities, and also the sea-ports Elath and Esiongeber, on the shores of the Red Sea. The latter, however, had a situation which proved very dangerous, and the consequence of which was that Elath soon eclipsed it and became the chief station for the shipping that was carried on between these ports and the Indies. It was taken from the Edomites by David, and was again retaken from his successors by the Edomites when they rebelled against Jehoram;§ then it came into the possession of the Syrians, and afterwards fell into the hands of the conquering Romans. We have here also to note Mount Hor, where Aaron died, and the valley of Salt, a spot on which the Edomites suffered two terrible defeats, and which probably had its name from the salt found there in the springs. The land of Edom is called in the Bible, *Idumæa* or *Idumea*; yet when this name occurs in the works of Greek, Roman, or more modern writers, it must

* It appears from Agatharoides, that the Red Sea, or the Erythraean of the ancients, is the Indian ocean of our days, and that what we call the Red Sea was considered as a branch of it. This writer derives its name from one *Erythras*, an obscure and very ancient prince. Sir Isaac Newton considers this *Erythras* to have been the same as Edom or Esau, but with little probability of truth; still it is very possible that the Red Sea has got its name from Edom, as we know that this name signifies red, and that this water bordered on the land of Edom. By the Israelites it was called *Yam Suf*, the weedy or flaggy sea; by the Arabians, *Bahr Alkolzum*, or the sea of Kolzum, a small town at the northernmost extremity. By the ancient inhabitants it was called the sea of Edom, which is a confirmation of the opinion I have just now stated in regard to the derivation of the name Red Sea.

† August. de Civit. Dei., l. 18, c. 47.

‡ Jerom. XLIX.

§ 2d Kings, viii, 26.

not be understood of the ancient Edom, which, losing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of Arabia Petrea. The southern part of Canaan was sometimes called Idumæa, and the whole nation of the Jews Idumæans.

In regard to the government which existed in this state, in the most ancient times, we can only conjecture that it was patriarchal; the heads of the families exercising their authority. Afterwards it became monarchic—the kings being elected. Still the ancient form is supposed to have been introduced once more; until the better to withstand foreign invasions, the several different tribes coalesced again under one king; the country continuing afterwards to be ruled by native princes until it was subdued by David.

The Edomites are represented to have been a bold and courageous people, fond of wars and tumults, while they took as much delight as others in the allurements of pleasure and the charms of luxury.* But though courage was perhaps one of their chief characteristics, it has been observed "that we are under no necessity to believe the more ancient Edomites to have been of so brutal a nature as Josephus represents; for as they were doubtless a trading nation, it is difficult to suppose they constituted a nest of robbers and incendiaries; fewer such being always found among those that are devoted to commerce, and consequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and slothful nations, and such as despise industry from a vain and ridiculous notion of honor. The latter class is sure to be mean, rude, ignorant and base; the former quite the reverse." I would, however, rather presume that the description which Josephus has given of this people, may more justly be applied to the more ancient Edomites, than to those who lived nearer to his time, and whose manners may with good reason be presumed to have been softened by a higher degree of civilization.

Sir Isaac Newton supposes, but with little probability of truth, that the Edomites were the parents of the arts and sciences; still there is certainly much reason, from the situation of their country, to suppose that they had made great progress in knowledge at a very early period. From the book of Job we find, that when that work was written, they had made no inconsiderable advance in the science of astronomy, and that they were provided with ships. We find there also, many hints to lead us to the belief that they had attained to many sublime conceptions, and were familiar with various branches of knowledge. In regard to religion, they appear at one time to have fallen into idolatry; but in the end to have coalesced in divine worship with the Jews, and afterwards to have been considered as but one nation.

Bishop Cumberland, as well as the authors of the English Universal History, presume that, before the time of Esau, the Horites—the ancient inhabitants of the land now in question—were ruled by several chiefs or patriarchs, until they were subjected by Cherdaloamer, king of Elam, who overcame them, together with the neighboring small nations; and that to secure themselves from the repetition of such a calamity, all the Horites united in electing a common ruler. Among the kings we will mention Jobab, the son of Zehrah of Bozrah, who, from a similitude of names, has been presumed by some to be identical with Job. I will here observe, that there have been others again who have doubted whether such a person as Job ever existed. Some say that the work called “The Book of Job” was written by a person of that name, in Arabic, and translated by Moses into Hebrew; others, that Moses composed it originally, while he was in Midian; others again, that it was composed by Ezekiel. Some hold it to be a genuine history, and consequently founded upon facts; others, that it is a dramatic work, or a religious poem, for the instruction of men in the duty of resignation to the dispensations which Providence pleases to send. Some place the residence of Job in or upon the skirts of the ancient kingdom of Edom; others in the vicinity of the Euphrates. Some reckon him among the most early of Esau’s descendants; others state that he lived about the time of Josiah; but the most probable is, that he lived, or at least that the book which bears his name, was written many centuries before the time of Moses.

There can be no doubt that Esau, as a private individual, settled among the Horites; but it appears very clear, that after his time the elective monarchy was abrogated for a period, and that the people were ruled by several chiefs, among whom were eleven grandsons of Esau, born from his wife Aholibamah; but at the same time there appear to have been seven chiefs, or dukes as they are called, of the descendants of Seir—a Horite prince. It has been inferred from the fact of the number of dukes descending from Esau being superior to those who descended from Seir, that the former drove out the latter, and took possession of the whole country. The next generation of these princes is consequently styled dukes of Edom, and had, if the above supposition be well founded, no rivals of any other family in any portion of that country, which may reasonably be presumed to have been included under the designation of Edom. There were eleven dukes of this second race; but as the inconvenience and weakness of this distribution of power soon became apparent, the Edomites united under a single chief or king. To one of the successors of this nameless prince messengers from Moses arrived, when near the close of his life, to negotiate for the Israelites a passage through the country of Edom. The ambassadors represented to this king that the Israelites were his brethren; that they had been oppressed by the Egyptians; that they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed

habitation ; that God had now delivered them from their bondage, and that having now reached the borders of his kingdom, near the town of Kadesh, they hoped that he would permit them unmolested to pass through his country, on their way to Canaan ; promising that if he would meet the wishes of the Israelites in this respect, they would keep the highway, and not attempt to turn to the right or to the left, to injure the fields or the vineyards, or draw from the wells of water until they had crossed his territory. But the king of Edom, from distrust or some other reason, returned a negative answer, and advised the ambassadors to prevent their brethren from attempting the passage through his country, because if the attempt should be made, they might expect to be opposed by the whole force at his command. The ambassadors, however, urged him still farther to give a more favorable answer, and renewed their promises and assurances of the most peaceful behavior, if he allowed their brethren the free passage they were soliciting ; adding, that they would pay for everything they might be in want of on the way, and that the passage would be performed with the quickest speed possible. But the king, instead of giving way to these entreaties, became, on the contrary, exasperated at their reiterated solicitations ; and from fear, as it appears, that the Israelites might make some desperate attempt to force their way, he collected his troops and marched against them, in order to intimidate them, and to show that he was determined in his resolution.*

From this event until the time of David, history loses sight of the Edomites, with the exception of the conjectures we may reasonably draw from the sculptures on the Egyptian monuments, that this country was often enough the theatre of wars between the people of Egypt and their enemies, and that the Edomites were sometimes the allies of the former, and sometimes of the latter. There is, however, every reason to suppose that the Edomites in the meantime extended their dominions, and occupied themselves chiefly with commerce and navigation, and made themselves masters of the Red Sea ; continuing their trade in pure gold, the gold of Ophir, in the topaz of Ethiopia, in coral, pearls and the like,† and grew very powerful, as is the general opinion of the learned.

The cause of the war which took place between them and king David is supposed to have originated in a negotiation with them for a participation in the advantages they enjoyed by means of the harbors of Elath and Esiongeber, in which they refused to accede to his proposal, and thereby provoked him to wrest from them these important places—the only marts of the rich commodities he desired. Be this as it may, we know that the Edomites and their confederates were defeated in the Valley of Salt,‡ with the loss of eighteen thousand men, and that Joab for six months pursued

* Numb. xx. 14—21.

† 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12.

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† Job xxviii.

the fugitives and cruelly murdered all the males that came into his hands. As many as could escape sought a refuge in foreign countries. Hadad, the king of this conquered people, being a minor, accompanied by a few faithful friends, took the way to Midian. Having there received intelligence that the young king would be well received by the king of Egypt, the fugitive party continued their flight into that country, where Hadad met with a favorable reception from Pharaoh, who supported him with all the dignity becoming his high rank, and at last gave to him the sister of his queen in marriage.* Others of the fugitive Edomites directed their course to the land of the Philistines, and fortified Azoth, by which they added much power to that people. Lastly, those who were engaged in shipping fled still farther away from the rage of their sanguinary conquerors, and sought safety in the countries beyond the Euphrates.

Hadad, though living in splendid circumstances at the court of Egypt, was nevertheless not unmindful of his duty, and remembering the barbarous cruelty of his victorious enemies, meditated revenge, which the subsequent death of David and of his able but sanguinary general, Joab, gave him hope of being able to attain. In this hope he appears to have been confirmed, when he learned that Solomon, in spite of his celebrated wisdom, rioted in every kind of debaucheries. Thinking, therefore, that then the time to take revenge was come, he disclosed his mind to his royal brother-in-law, and requested the king to permit him to make the attempt to recover his kingdom. But the king of Egypt, perceiving the great dangers that surrounded such an undertaking, would have prevailed upon him to desist from the attempt. At last, however, he yielded to the persuasions of Hadad, who afterwards proved himself a troublesome enemy of Solomon; though he did not succeed in recovering his kingdom. But, as the royal family of Syria is found to have borne afterwards the name of Hadad, it is supposed that he became king of that country.

The kingdom of Edom continued to belong to the dominions of the house of David† until the days of Jehoshaphat; being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of Judah. During the reign of this king, a part of the Edomites joined the Moabites and Ammonites in an attempt to surprise him, when he was unprepared for such an attack; but as a quarrel arose between the confederates, the Edomites were butchered by the Moabites and Ammonites, who afterwards slew each other. But during the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, the whole nation of Edom arose, and assassinating, or dispelling, their viceroy, elected for themselves a king. When Jehoram heard of their revolt, he marched against them, but was in the night time surrounded; still he defeated and drove them

* 1 Kings xi. 15—20.

† This is what the Hebrew writers evidently mean with the time *Ben was to serve his brother*.

back to their entrenchments. The Edomites, nevertheless, frustrated his attempt to compel them to acknowledge his supremacy, and victoriously maintained their independence. Thus they regained their liberty, after having been subjected for about one hundred and fifty years to foreign oppression. We do not know the name of the king whom they elected, nor those of them who succeeded him. But after sixty years of independence, they suffered a signal defeat from Amaziah, king of Judah, in the Valley of Salt, where ten thousand of them perished in the battle, and an equal number were made prisoners. After this, their capital, Selah—supposed by some writers to have been the famous Petra—was taken by storm, and the inhuman king of Judah ordered the ten thousand captives to be thrown down from the rugged precipices which surrounded that city. Selah was, from this time, called Joktheel.*

The Edomites sustained, either before or after this catastrophe a war against the Moabites, who took their king prisoner and burnt him, either alive or after they had killed him.

We know nothing more of the Edomites anterior to their subjection to the sway of the Assyrians of Babylon. But when the Jews were overcome by the same conquerors, and were carried away into captivity, the Edomites evinced their revengeful spirit towards their ancient and cruel enemies, because they killed all the Jews who attempted to escape through their country; thus taking vengeance on the innocent for the wholesale slaughter Joab had inflicted upon their ancestors. This people also burnt the temple of Jerusalem, which the Chaldeans and Babylonians had† permitted to stand. The Jewish writers, in accordance with their usual custom, menaced them consequently with the vengeance of heaven. None can but blame the Edomites for the vengeance they inflicted upon their unfortunate foes; but it is only a mark of bigotry to suppose that the Jews were less culpable for their inhuman treatment of the Edomites. If one people be more to blame than the other, certainly it is the Jews, who were the first to inflict these enormous cruelties.

We are informed by Strabo,‡ that a great many Edomites left their own country and settled in the south-western parts of the depopulated Judea, and it is therefore presumed that it was then they destroyed the temple of Jerusalem. Those who remained in Edom, united with the children of Nebeyoth, and were ever afterwards called Nabolæans. Thus the ancient kingdom of Edom lost its name, which was transferred to that part of Judea where the Edomites had settled, and which, as far as we know, had never formed any part of their old kingdom, but had belonged to the tribes of Simeon and Judah. This is the Idumæa, and these the Idumæans spoken of by Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny, and other ancient writers.

After the time of Alexander, when the Selucidæ had extended their sway

* 2d Kings, xiv. 7.

† Psalms, cxxxvii. 1 Red. iv.

‡ Lib. 16.

over Judea, the descendants of those Edomites who had settled in that country, showed that they still retained the aversion their ancestors had felt towards the Jews, as under Gorgias, their governor, we find them warring in behalf of Antiochus Epiphanus against the Jews. They were, however, defeated by the heroic Judas Maccabæus, who at last took and sacked their chief city Hebron,* and other of their strongholds, killing twenty thousand of them. Nine thousand fugitives sought their safety within the walls of two strong cities, and made full preparations to sustain a siege; but by means of a bribe of seventy thousand drachmas, a great part of them were suffered to escape. The Jewish commander resolved to punish this treachery, and at last taking their town by storm, he put no less than twenty thousand Idumæans to the sword. This revenge has been lauded by many Christian writers, yet I do not feel myself bound to imitate such an example; on the contrary, I deem it my duty to condemn the vindictiveness of the Jews, as I have before the revengeful acts of the Edomites. It is a matter of astonishment that Christian writers can deem themselves required blindly to follow the authority of the Hebrew writers, who, in questions concerning their own nation, often prove themselves very partial, and therefore, so far at least, unworthy of trust.

We know nothing further of the Edomites or Idumæans, except that they appear to have been exposed to continual internal agitations and external wars, until they were conquered by John Hyrcanus, who reduced them to the necessity of either quitting their country, or embracing the religion of the Jews. They chose the latter, and became incorporated with the descendants of Abraham.† Consequently the name of Idumæans disappears during the first century of the Christian era.

LETTER XXIX.

HISTORY OF THE AMALEKITES.

THE country of the Amalekites was named from Amalek, who is said to have been the son† of Esau's first born, Eliphaz, by his concubine Timna.

* 1 Maccab. v, 65—68.

† Joseph. Antiq., lib. xiii. and xiv.

‡ The Arabians, however, make him some generations older than Abraham, deducing his genealogy in the following manner: Noah, Ham, Aram, Uz, Ad, Amalek. They also say that his descendants, in ancient times, possessed the country in the vicinity of Mecca. It has been observed, that as Oherdoloamer made war on a nation of the name of Amalekites, this nation must have existed before the time of Abraham; and that thus it is an error to suppose Esau's son to have been their ancestor.

This Amalek is reckoned among the dukes in the land of Edom,* which is all that we know of him. There have been several writers who have attempted to account how it happened that the Amalekites formed a separate state from the descendants of the other sons of Esau; but I consider these speculations not worthy of notice. It is also worthy of mention, that these two tribes appear to have held each other in aversion, as there remain no proofs that they ever entered into any mutual alliances. They must, however, have been neighbors, as Josephus divides the whole land of Edom into Amalekites and Gebalites.† It has also been observed that the position of the kingdom of the Amalekites may be very nearly ascertained, when we consider that it had much commerce and intercourse with Egypt; that there was a way through it leading to the country of the Philistines, and also into that of Canaan. From these circumstances it has been inferred that this kingdom must have been bounded by Canaan on the north; by Egypt, or its dependent territory, on the south; by Edom on the east; and by the deserts towards the sea on the west; or perhaps by the sea itself.

We know nothing of the cities of this country, except that Josephus places the city of Petra, under the jurisdiction of the Amalekites;‡ nor have we any means by which to inform ourselves of their progress in the arts and the sciences, though we may infer from the situation of their country, that they must have had opportunities of acquiring a considerable degree of knowledge. In regard to religion, it is possible that they at first worshipped the God of Abraham; but subsequently, as we know from the Hebrew writers, they were idolaters. Their form of government appears always to have been monarchical, and their kings to have borne the surname of Agag: at least one of their first kings had this name, as also their last.§ There is also good reason to suppose that the Amalekites were once a powerful tribe; for Balaam predicts, when speaking of the future greatness of the Jewish state, that their king shall be higher than Agag, and styles the Amalekites the first of the nations. The Arabian historians say that the Amalekites conquered Egypt, and took possession of that country, in the time of a queen to whom they give the name of Dhalká, or Zalká, under the leadership of Walid, the son Thardan, king of the Amalekites. Hence it has been inferred by some European writers, that this people was identical with that to whom the Egyptians gave the name of Shepherd Kings.||

Josephus relates that there existed at the time when Moses had

* Gen. xxxvi, 12; 1 Chron. 1.—36.

† Joseph. Ant. l. ii, c. i.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. l. ii, c. ii.

§ 1 Sam. xv, 8

|| There are also some of the Arabian historians who ascribe the building of the Pyramids to Chatham, the last of the kings of the Amalekites that reigned over Egypt; and who, they say, became very famous for causing these structures to be erected.

crossed the Red Sea, five kings among the Amalekites, who joined their forces with a view to obstruct the passage of the Israelites. In Exodus, however, it is only related that Amalek—but whether this name indicates a king or the whole people, is uncertain—had taken this resolution. However this may be, it is known that the Amalekites made an attack upon the rear of the Israelites as the latter were in their march from *Rephidim* to Mount *Horeb*. They inflicted some loss upon the Israelites, but as soon as Joshua had brought his fighting men into order, his enemies were put to precipitate flight, and the victor decreed that for this outrage their name *should be put out from under heaven*.* Nevertheless, Providence made them, somewhat later, in conjunction with the Canaanites, the means of inflicting a severe defeat on the Israelites in the vicinity of *Harmah*. Afterwards they formed an alliance with *Eglon*, king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites*; and afterwards with the *Midianites* under *Zebab* and *Zalmunna*, to root out the Israelites; but by a stratagem of *Gideon*, of which I will speak in another place, the confederates were made to destroy each other. From this time we know nothing of this tribe until the time of *Saul*, who is said to have invaded their country with an army of two hundred and ten thousand men. Overcome by the number of their enemies, they were mercilessly massacred, except those who could save themselves by flight. Their king *Agag* was a very graceful person, of noble bearing and address, and on that account we are told that his life was spared in the general massacre of his people. The cruelty of the Israelites went so far, that neither women, nor infants at their mother's breasts, were spared. The captured monarch of the Amalekites was soon to experience that no personal accomplishments could mitigate the wrath of *Samuel*; for this celebrated person was no sooner informed that *Agag* was a prisoner, than he sent for the unhappy prince. The relentless old man, who seems to have had at this moment a tiger's heart, then hewed the captive monarch in pieces at *Gilgal*, *before the Lord*, as *Samuel*†himself, or the author of the books that bear his name, tells us, as if to inspire in us the belief that such an inhuman and barbarous act could be pleasing to the merciful Father of men. We who are Christians ought to know better, than to permit ourselves to be led so far astray by revengeful priests, as imagine that a great crime ever can gain the approbation of God. The undeniable truth is, that *Samuel*, as well as *David* and many other eminent men among the Hebrews, who in their general conduct deserve our admiration, were liable, as we all are, to commit errors and crimes. This should teach us never to judge a man by any of his isolated actions, but by the general tenor of his whole life. Were this principle adopted in

* Exod. xvii.

† 1 Sam. xv.

criminal legislation, a great improvement would be effected, and we should not so often see a man condemned to cruel punishments solely for a momentary deviation from the path of rectitude.

The few of the Amalekites who escaped the sword of Saul, again took possession of their devastated country, and appear to have gathered some strength soon afterwards, as we hear them spoken of as the associates of the *Gesharites* and *Gazerites*,* at the time when David was driven, by the jealousy of Saul, to ask for protection of Achish, king of the Philistines, though they were afterwards attacked by David, who inflicted upon them cruel sufferings. The Amalekites meditating revenge, collected in a considerable number, and went to Ziklag, the abode of David, who happened then to be absent, having left the town without defenders. The Amalekites, consequently, without any opposition, took possession of the place, and destroyed it by fire; though sparing the lives of the inhabitants. This conduct was unquestionably more humane than that displayed by Saul and David against them.† Among the captives were David's two wives, *Ahinoam* the *Jezreelite*, and *Abigail*, who had been wife to *Nabal* the *Carmelite*. The Amalekites hastening to return with their captives and spoils, resolved to encamp first in a place some distance from Ziklag, where there was water and a refreshing shade; but they were obliged to leave behind them one of their number, an Egyptian by birth, who, from some unknown cause, was too weak to keep pace with them. In the meantime, David receiving information of this calamity, hastened to pursue the Amalekites, and found on the way the Egyptian, who told him of the place where they intended to rest.

The Amalekites appear, after having arrived at the destined place, to have remained there some days, spending their time in pleasures, and without any precaution against surprise by David, who they ought to have known could but be anxious to regain his wives, and to revenge the burning of Ziklag; consequently, David was permitted, without being detected, to approach them. This able warrior having, towards the close of the day, from a neighboring hill, descried them in this unguarded posture, resolved not to disturb them as long as they were awake and reveling in pleasures. But about the break of day, after they had retired to rest, he led his men against their camp, and commenced a furious slaughter, which continued, as we are told, until the setting of the sun;

* The origin of these tribes we do not know, but they have generally been considered as relics of the Canaanites.

† I know well that bigoted and narrow-minded admirers of the ancient Israelites have said, that the Amalekites showed this act of humanity from selfish interests, as it is to be supposed that they intended to sell the prisoners, and thus make money, thinking this more profitable, than to kill them and get nothing. Poor excuse for the cruelty of covetous Israelites!

so that not a soul of them escaped the edge of the sword, except four hundred young men, who, mounting the dromedaries that were at hand, saved themselves by flight. I suppose that even the most revengeful heart would have been satiated with such a scene of carnage!

From this time the power of the Amalekites was broken, and at last, in the days of Hezekiah, the fatal blow was given by the Simeonites,* who totally depopulated, and then took possession of their country.

LETTER XXX.

HISTORY OF THE MOABITES.

THE Moabites are said to have been the descendants of the son of Lot, by his eldest daughter, and their country appears to have been bounded on the west by the mountains; on the east by the Lake Asphaltites, or Dead Sea, and by the River Jordan; on the north by the country possessed by the Ammonites; on the south by the brook, or the little River Zered, which flows into the Dead Sea, and by the countries of Midian and Edom; and on the east by the deserts of Arabia; a territory presumed to be about forty miles long, and as many broad. This country is chiefly mountainous, and intermixed with valleys covered with good pasturage. We are informed by the Hebrew writers, that the Israelites were forbidden to disturb the Moabites in their possession, notwithstanding the great provocations they received from them. Still at the time of Moses, the Amorites, who had made themselves masters of great part of the land of Ammon, took also the adjoining part of the land of Moab, reducing their frontiers on that side to the brook. Arnon, called also the river of Gad,† which empties itself into the Dead Sea, formerly ran through the midst of their territories. The Israelites thought themselves, therefore, justified in seizing on this part, under pretence that it belonged to the kingdom of Sihon, which was theirs by right of conquest, and in retaining it for several centuries, until it was recovered by the Moabites, when they overran the territories which were inhabited by the tribes of Reuben and Gad, on the decline of the kingdom of Israel.

The chief city of Moab was Ar, situated on the bank of the river Arnon,

* 1 Chron. iv, 40—43.

† 2 Sam. xxiv, 5.
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and called also *Rabbah*, or *The Great*; and to distinguish it from a city of the same name in the land of Ammon, it was generally denominated *Rabbath Moab*. In later times it was called *Areopolis*.

We know very little of the manners and customs of the Moabites. They appear to have practiced circumcision, and to have occupied themselves chiefly with the breeding of cattle, wherein their chief riches principally consisted. Their form of government was monarchical. They were undeniably worshippers of idols, though they at the same time might have entertained the idea of a supreme God, as appears from the Pentateuch.* The idols of the Moabites as mentioned there,† were Chemosh and Baal-peor, sometimes simply Peor; or, in accordance with the Septuagint version, Pegor.‡ Of the religious ceremonies of the Moabites, not much is known to us. But we are told that they sacrificed both in the open air—on mountains dedicated to that service—and also in temples built to their idols in their cities; they appear, besides oxen and rams, to have offered on extraordinary occasions, human victims, in accordance with the Phœnician custom.

The first inhabitants of the country, afterwards called Moab, were as far as we know, the Emims,§ a mighty people, comparatively speaking.‖ But having been much weakened by the invasion of Cherdorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allies,¶ they were unable to withstand the Moabites, who expelled them from their country; but at what time is uncertain. In the days of Moses, however, Sihon, king of the Amorites, after a victorious war, compelled them to give up all their conquered land on the north of the river Arnon.

When afterwards the Israelites had subdued Sihon, and had pitched their camp in a part of their new acquisitions, called the plains of Moab, because they had lately belonged to the Moabites; the king of the last mentioned people, whose name was Balak, became much dismayed at the approach of the Israelites—whom he is said to have been in no condition to resist, should they have attempted to invade his country—and assembled the most eminent men of the nation, and also the princes of the Midianites—as some of this nation lived within the borders of Moab; acquainting

* Numb. xxiv. 11.

† Numb. xxi. 29; 1 King. xi. 7; Jer. xlviii. 13; Numb. xxv. 1, 3, 18.

‡ St. Jerome supposes that these two names indicate, however, but one and the same deity. Several others, both modern and ancient Christian writers, have represented them as obscene deities, similar to Priapus, from the debaucheries which were attendant on their worship. This opinion they have endeavored to prove from the etymology of their names; imagining that some indecency is implied in them. Others, however, have said, that though the Israelites, and Solomon himself, were induced to worship these divinities by their amorous intercourse with Moabitish women, it does not thence follow that any immodest ceremonies were used in the worship paid to them. It is also to be observed that any such imputation is not made by any of the most ancient writers on this subject.

§ This name signifies *terrible*.

‖ Dent. 2—10.

¶ Gen. xiv. 5.

them with his fear that the Israelites should "*lick up all that were about them, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field.*" An expressive expression if not very eloquent. After having consulted together, and having no confidence in their arms, it was resolved to send for Balaam, who appears to have been celebrated as a mighty exorcist, as the reason why he was to be sent for was, that he should curse the Israelites.*

Balaam acceded not to the wishes of the Moabites at the first message, but on the second, in consideration of liberal promises of reward, he set out towards their country, and when arrived at the borders, he was received by Balak, who induced him to go with him to Kirjathbuzeth, where sacrifices were offered, and Balaam entertained with a feast. The next day Balak induced Balaam to go up to the high place of Baal, where he might have a full prospect of the camp of the Israelites, whom he was hired to curse.† This Balaam, however, is said not to have done, or if he did it without the Israelites being ever acquainted with this circumstance, the effect was what was naturally to be expected, not sensibly felt by the cursed. Balaam, nevertheless gave advice to Balak and the Midianites, which, wicked as it was, proves the sagacity of the adviser. He told them that it was in vain to expect that God would ever desert the Israelites, so long as they continued to do what was pleasing to Him; and, therefore that the only way to injure them would be to tempt them to disobedience and idolatry, which he thought no means so proper to effect as by alluring them to sensual intercourse with the Moabish and Midianish women. Consequently, he advised them to send the most beautiful virgins they could select to the camp of the Israelites, with instructions suitable to effect their purpose.‡

This stratagem was put into execution; the chief men among these people not hesitating to prostitute their daughters on this occasion.‡ The result answered to their expectation. For the Israelites were so enamoured with the charms of the beautiful idolatresses, that they could not withstand the allurements to participate in the irreligious worship. The consequence was what was anticipated: dissensions at once broke out among the Israelites themselves. They appear also, through their debaucheries, to have been infected with a deadly plague which destroyed twenty-four thousand of them, besides those whom Moses caused to be put to death.

The next circumstance recorded of the Moabites, except those indicated in the Egyptian sculptures, is that they were the instruments of the

* All of my readers are probably acquainted with what is related of Balaam's ass; but I will here observe that an ass speaking, seemed somewhat too questionable even to some of the Jews; that Philo in relating the story of Balaam, judiciously omits this circumstance; and Maimonides presumes that it happened to Balaam in a dream.

† Num. xxii, 36—41.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. l. 4, c. 6.

§ Num. xxv. 15.

second oppression of the Israelites after their settlement in the land of Canaan. For when that people, on the death of Othniel, the son of Kenaz, had no leader, and besides by the returning of a great many of them to idolatry, being probably divided among themselves, they were attacked by the Moabites and their allies, the Ammonites and Amalekites, and as it appears with great success on the side of their enemies, who seized on the eastern part of their country, and particularly on a city, called by Moses the city of Palm Trees, by which is generally understood Jericho, which was in the lot of the tribe of Benjamin; and having left garrisons to keep the inhabitants in subjection, obliged them to pay tribute, and treated them in a very tyrannical manner for a period of no less than eighteen years. At the expiration of this time, a Benjaminite, by name of Ehud, stood forth as the deliverer of the Israelites from the yoke imposed upon them. This man commissioned by his countrymen to carry the tribute which was exacted from them to Eglon, formed a resolution to attempt their deliverance, by assassinating the king. For this purpose he provided himself with a dagger, which he concealed beneath his garments; and being left-handed, he girt it on his right thigh, which also gave less suspicion of his being armed. Having delivered the tribute to the king, he returned with those who had borne it thither; but when, on his way homeward, he had reached as far as Gilgal, he turned back again and asked for admittance to the king, on pretence of having something to communicate to him. Ehud was conducted into the presence of the king, and after the attendants had been withdrawn, announced that he had a message to deliver from God; and when the king rose to hear what he had to say, Ehud stabbed him with a dagger in the abdomen so violently, that the haft entered as well as the blade; and Eglon being a fat man, and the fat closing upon it, the assassin had to leave the weapon in his body. Having thus accomplished his foul purpose, he locked the door of the apartment upon his victim and went out without exciting any suspicion.* The servants of the king attempted, after Ehud was gone, to enter the room, but finding the door locked,† concluded that the king was taking some rest, and therefore waited outside. At last, however, they entered, and found the body of their assassinated master upon the floor. Ehud, in the meantime, escaped beyond the Jordan, and hastening to gather his countrymen; attacked the

* There have been many who have attempted to justify this act of Ehud, by bringing forth various excuses, surely of no validity at all. His conduct was unquestionably in the highest degree culpable; though the motive which appears to have prompted him, was such as to make us the more regret that an apparently noble man could sully his reputation by so criminal an act.

† This is a proof that already at that time locks with keys were invented; because had the door only been bolted outside, the servants would naturally have suspected something wrong had taken place.

Moabites that were garrisoned on the west of the river within the land of Canaan, and killing ten thousand of their best men, delivered the Israelites from the supremacy of that people.*

In the time of Saul, we find that monarch warred against them with success; and the enmity which consequently existed between the Moabites and Saul, probably induced David, when persecuted by that prince, to ask protection for his parents of the king of Moab, until his affairs should take a better turn.† This request was readily granted, and the Moabites treated his parents with great hospitality, while David was concealed in the cave of Adullam. But when David had mounted the throne, this people entered into a confederacy with several of the neighboring nations against him; whereupon he declared war; and having obtained a signal victory over them, he, with usual royal ingratitude, put two-thirds of them to the sword, and compelled the remainder to become his vassals, and to pay to him tribute.‡

The Moabites continued from this time to be subject to David and Solomon, till the revolt of the ten tribes, when they appear to have been tributaries to the king of Israel; but they nevertheless had all along nominal kings of their own, but who, in reality, were nothing more than viceroys. But Mesha, king of the Moabites, rebelled against Abaziah, whose short reign did not permit any attempt to subdue the Moabites. But his brother and successor, Jehoram, assisted by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the king of Edom his tributary, made an expedition for that purpose, and took a march of seven days over the desert of Edom, in order to surprise the enemy. In the ensuing battle the Moabites were defeated, their land wasted, and their cities demolished, except Kir-haraseth, in which the king of Moab shut himself up. But being besieged and closely pressed, Mesha made a sally with seven hundred choice men, endeavoring to escape by breaking through the quarters of the Edomites, who were the weakest: but failing in this attempt, in the height of despair, he took his eldest son—or, as some will have it, and with more probability, the son of the king of Edom, whom he had taken in the sally—and offered him for a burnt sacrifice on the wall: which inhuman act, it is said, raised such commiseration and perhaps horror among his enemies, that they immediately raised the siege and returned home.§

The Moabites soon afterwards attempted to revenge the losses they had suffered in this invasion, on Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, by whose assistance chiefly, Jehoram had been enabled to undertake it. In order to strengthen themselves, they had entered into an alliance with the Ammonites, and the Edomites of Mount Seir, and some other neighboring nations, and

* Judges iii. 12—30.

† 1 Sam. xxii, 3, 4.

‡ 2 Sam. viii, 2.

§ Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix., c. iii.

thus collected a very large army: carrying their plan into execution with such secrecy and dispatch, that they entered the kingdom by the way of Edom, and arrived at Hazazon-tamar, or Engedi, on the west of the Dead Sea, ere the king of Judah had received any intelligence of their undertaking. But the confederated people are said to have destroyed one another, by falling into the ambushes which they themselves had set against the Jews, so that the Ammonites and Moabites first fell upon the Edomites, and having utterly defeated them, began to kill each other until none were left alive. We may fairly presume that there is some exaggeration in the narrative of this event; nevertheless it appears evident that Jehoshaphat, and the men who were with him, had little to do, except to seize what their enemies had carried with them, and had before gathered by plunder.

The Moabites appear to have at last been subjected by Nebuchadnezzar to the dominion of the Assyrians, and had from that time to partake of the fate of the other people who lived within the borders of Syria. Josephus, however, mentions, that even in his time, they were a populous nation;* but in the third century of the Christian era they lost their name, and became comprehended under the general appellation of Arabians.

LETTER XXXI.

HISTORY OF THE AMMONITES.

THE Ammonites are said to be the descendants of Ammon, the son of Lot, by his youngest daughter. They are also said to have come into possession of the land which derives its name from them, by driving out the ancient inhabitants, called Zamzummins who are described as giants. I presume that in such a case they had quite a difficult task to perform.

The country of Ammon, as well as that of Moab, is by some writers considered as a part of Cœlo-Syria; by others, as belonging to Arabia. It was, when at first occupied by the Ammonites, bounded on the north by the river Jabboc; or, perhaps, still more northward, by the mountains of Gilead; on the east, by the deserts of Arabia; on the south, by the river

* Joseph. Ant.

Arnon, on the confines of Moab; and on the west by the river Jordan. But in the days of Moses, the Amorites had driven them from the western part of their possession, into and across the mountains; which probably served them for an immediate defence against the further pursuit of the Amorites. We cannot, however, after this expulsion, define the exact boundaries of their country; which, however, appear to have been of small extent. It seems to have been rich in corn, if we are allowed to judge from the tribute which was imposed upon them when conquered by the Jews.

The capital of Ammon, bore, as we have before observed, the name of Rabbah of Ammon, or of the city of Ammon;—but was also known under the name of Ammona. Rabbah was famous for being the place where the great iron* bedstead of Og, king of Bashan, was to be seen.† In the course of time this city was called Philadelphia, from Ptolemy Philadelphus, who rebuilt it in a sumptuous manner; and long afterwards it was a city of so much note, as to impose its name upon the countries of Ammon and Moab, which were comprehended under the name Arabia Philadelphica.

In regard to religion, the Ammonites practised circumcision, but were otherwise idolaters. Their chief and peculiar deity, is by the Jewish writers called Molock, or Moleck. He is considered also to be understood under the names of Baal, Miliam, Melech, Adramelech, and Ahomelech; which names, however, signify nothing but king or lord; or, as the two last, mighty or rich Meloch, Meleck, or king. The image of Molock is said to have been hollow, and to have been divided into seven receptacles. The first was opened for an offering of fine flour; the second for an offering of turtles; the third for a sheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the sixth for an ox; and the seventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man stretched out as if to receive something. Molock appears not, therefore, so very terrible at a closer view. He was naturally insatiable; but no wonder, his priests wished also to live, as they probably received not the tenth part of all the products of the land. The children offered to him, we may reasonably hope, were saved by the priests, and probably, when educated, became in their turn his servants.

As the seven receptacles correspond with the sun, moon, and the five planets, supposed to have been known to this people, it has been presumed, that the worship of Molock had some connection with their astronomical knowledge. This conjecture seems, however, to have too little foundation to deserve any farther attention.

As it is often said in the Bible that the *Ammonites passed their seed through fire to Molock*, most Christian writers have presumed that they burnt their children, by way of sacrifice, to this idol; Jewish writers, how-

* This proves that iron was known in more remote times than generally has been supposed.

† Deut. iii., 11.

ever, generally, with much more probability, have thought that the children were merely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification.

We do not know the names of the first rulers of the Ammonites; still they appear to have had a monarchical form of government from the earliest times. We know that they joined Eglon, king of Moab, against the Israelites, and shared the success of that war. About two hundred years later we find them as principals in a war, under an unknown leader, against the Israelites. This prince attempted also to recover the ancient country of the Ammonites: and invading it, he succeeded in overcoming all obstacles, and reducing the land to his subjection, which he thus held for eighteen years. Encouraged by this success, he crossed the River Jordan, and insulted, or pillaged, the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim.* Returning to the other side of the river, he prepared to make a complete conquest of the country on both sides of the river, or at least to get a large portion of it. For it is related that the Philistines also, at this time, invaded the land of the Israelites; but whether with separate views, or in combination with the Ammonites, does not appear. As the king of the latter was the encamped Gilead, the leader of the Israelites, Jephthah, sent messengers to him, asking him his reasons for persisting in his enmity against them, and threatening them with further calamities. He answered, that the remembrance of the injuries his forefathers had suffered, when the Israelites dispossessed them of their country, had excited him to it. As soon as Jephthah had received this answer, he sent new ambassadors to the leader of the Ammonites, to make an historical remonstrance to him for his mistake in saying that the Israelites had driven out the Ammonites, and to expatiate upon the truth of this remonstrance throughout its several particulars; but the leader of the Ammonites was not to be persuaded, being resolved, at all hazards, to continue the war. Therefore, when he had pitched his camp near Aroer, he was attacked by Jephthah, who inflicted upon him a total defeat; and being put to flight, he was pursued with great slaughter, even into his own dominions, to Minnith, and from thence as far as Abel, of the vineyards; so that not only was his army cut down, but also a part of his country pillaged and wasted.† This was the issue of the war, which put an end to the tyranny or dominion the Ammonites for eighteen years had exercised over the Israelites on the other side of the Jordan.

The next of the kings of the Ammonites, that we find mentioned, is called Nahash, and lived in the time of Saul. This prince revived the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the Israelites on the other side of the Jordan. The war, he consequently made upon that people, was in the beginning attended with great success. At length he laid siege to

* Judges x. 8.

* Judges xi. Digitized by Google

the city of Jabesh. The terror his name inspired in the inhabitants was so great, that they were willing to throw themselves at his feet, acknowledging him for their king and lord. But insolent from his victories, and burning with revenge and hatred towards the Israelites in general, he would not accept the submission of the inhabitants of Jabesh upon any other condition than that of their consenting each one to the loss of his right eye. In order to gain time, they declared they would submit to his terms, if within seven days they could not find means to deliver themselves from so fatal a necessity. He granted them this respite, as he seems to have felt assured that after the lapse of this time, he would enjoy the cruel satisfaction he longed for. We may here, however, observe, that what we know of this affair is related by his enemies.

The seven days passed without the besieged having been able to do anything that promised a release from the fate which menaced them. Nahash is therefore said to have hoped to see them come out to him as they had deceitfully promised to him on the preceding evening; but on that very morning, his camp was assaulted in three several places by Saul. Taken by surprise the Moabites were thrown instantly into such confusion, that they made very little resistance to the Israelites, who continued to slay them till the heat of the day; at which time the surviving remnant of the army of Nahash was so completely dispersed, that there were no two of them to be seen together.* Josephus, however, gives a very different account of this war. Though a zealous Jew, he appears evidently either not to have considered the historical account given in the Bible always to be relied on, or to have used a version in many instances at great variance with that which has come down to us.

We are told that David lived on good terms with Nahash, the father of Hanun, king of the Ammonites; but it has been doubted whether this Nahash was the same as the one who was defeated by Saul, because Josephus tells us that this Nahash was killed upon the breaking up of the siege of Jabesh. Be this as it may, we are told that David, when he heard that the father of Hanun was dead, and that Hanun had succeeded him, sent ambassadors to the young king to condole with him for his loss, and to congratulate him upon his accession, and to offer a continuance of the friendship which had been cherished between the late king and himself. Hanun seems, however, to have been incapable of appreciating this friendship, and to have been surrounded by mischievous counsellors; for, instead of receiving David's ambassadors with becoming politeness and hospitality, he suffered himself to be persuaded that they were only spies; and accordingly forgetting the sacredness of their character, he shaved off half their hair, cut away their garments in the seat, and in that shameful situation sent them back to their king. This unworthy conduct and open

* 1 Sam. xi.

contempt of David himself, caused, as was very natural, a war between the two kings.

Hanun soon received information that David was greatly incensed against him, and made preparations for resenting the affront offered to him in the persons of his ambassadors. Thus perceiving himself on the brink of a war, to which he considered himself unequal, he dispatched ambassadors to the neighboring princes to solicit the assistance of troops from them, to enable him to defend his country against the dreaded invasion of the irritated king of the Israelites. We do not know clearly, either the quality or number of the troops, or of what tribe they were, whom he thus procured, inasmuch as the Jewish writers vary much among themselves. First, we are told that Hanun sent to the Syrians of Beth-reboh, and to the Syrians of Zobah, from whom he got twenty thousand footmen; to the king of Maachab, who furnished one thousand men; and to the king of Ishtob, who sent twelve thousand men.* With this account Josephus agrees in regard to number, excepting only as to the one thousand men supplied by the king of Maachab, saying that he and the king of Ishtob together, contributed twelve thousand men.† Again, we are told, that Hanun sent a thousand talents of silver, wherewith to hire chariots and horsemen from Mesopotamia, from Syria-Maachab and from Zobah; and that he actually hired thirty-two thousand chariots besides the king of Maachab's men.‡ Between Josephus and this passage of the Bible, there is a more material difference than in regard to the former passage; as he says, that those who came out of Mesopotamia, were footmen. The difference in the two passages of the Bible, is equally great. This is a new proof that the historical records of the Bible, are in some points liable to the charge of error. It were to be desired that all our divines would concede this point; as they may be assured that it does not in the least degree invalidate the religious truths of the Bible; while, on the contrary, they injure the cause of religion, by their blindness in advocating what is at variance with probability, and in claiming infallibility for the historical part of the Old Testament.

Hanun having gathered a considerable force from foreign countries, as well as from levies among his own subjects, marched out of Rabbah against Joab, whom David had sent at the head of the army of the Israelites to invade his country. The Ammonites and their auxiliaries formed themselves in two distinct bodies; the Ammonites under the walls of their city, and their allies at some distance on the plain. By this disposition they hoped to be able to charge Joab's front at the same time they fell upon his rear; but their plans were frustrated by that able commander; for Joab formed his army also in two divisions, one of which he led himself against the Syrians, while his brother Abishai, with the other, attacked the

* 2 Sam. x. 6.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. c. vi.

‡ I Chron. xix.

Ammonites; who, however, sustained the charge of Abishai with great courage, until perceiving their allies overpowered by Joab, and seeking safety in a speedy retreat, they withdrew into their city.

We find, however, that the Syrians, ashamed of their defeat, came again the next year to the aid of their allies, but with no better fortune; for, attacked by David in person, they suffered a still severer defeat. The Ammonites had consequently to sustain the contest alone against their powerful and irritated enemy.

In the third year of the war, Joab entered their country, which he wasted far and wide; and at length laid siege to its capital, Rabbah. This place, defended by Hanun himself, held out for two years, during which the besieged made a desperate sally, and killed many of the besiegers, and among the rest Uriah, the husband of Bathsheba. At length the city was reduced to the utmost extremity of famine, and was stormed by David in person, who came to earn for himself the honor of terminating this long siege. In the assault Hanun was slain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold* and was adorned with precious stones, was taken from off his head by David.

This otherwise generous king sullied his victory by treating the conquered with inexcusable severity, as he caused them to be put to death with the most excruciating tortures; they were torn, sawed, or hewed to pieces with axes, and then passed through machines used for making brick. The inhabitants of the remaining, or at least of some of the other cities of Ammon, were treated in the same cruel manner; the very cities sharing the fate of the capital, which was laid level with the ground. Who can have the hardihood to say that David was justified in slaying many thousands of his fellow-men, in punishment of the rashness of a young prince and the folly of his advisers? None but narrow-minded bigots, who think that whatever David did was necessarily right! I do not forget David's great merits, nor do I refuse to admit the generosity of his heart, as illustrated by many of his acts; yet I will not attempt to conceal the frailties and barbarous inhumanity of this too-highly-praised and overrated monarch.

After the dreadful vengeance David had inflicted upon the Ammonites, we cannot be surprised that there is nothing more said of this people until the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, against whom we find them, as before mentioned, confederated with the Moabites and the inhabitants of Mount Seir; the particulars of which contest are already related.

Afterwards Uzziah, also king of Judah, defeated them, and made them his tributaries. They bore this yoke as long as he lived, but in the reign of his son Jotham, they made an unsuccessful attempt to recover their

* Which seems exaggerated, as a talent was somewhat more than one hundred and thirteen pounds.

independence. They were defeated, and reduced to the necessity of purchasing peace by the payment of a tribute of one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley; that is more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels—and this same tribute they had to pay for three successive years.

In the attempt of Zedekiah to throw off the supremacy of Nebuchadnezzar, Baalis, the last king of Ammon, seems to have joined him; but when the king of Judah had become a prisoner and Jerusalem destroyed, the Ammonites exulted over the ruin of that city,* for which they were denounced in threats of vengeance by Jeremiah. Indeed, scarcely any other language could be expected from the prophet, when we consider the implacable hatred that had so long existed between these two people, and the inhumanity with which the Ammonites had been treated by the Jews. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that Baalis received all the Jews, that, to avoid being made prisoners, fled into his dominions; among whom was one Ishmael, of the royal family, whose interest he seems to have had, or pretended to have, very much at heart. Baalis, therefore, in order to show his readiness to assist Ishmael with his counsel at least, unfortunately advised him to return to his country, and assassinate Gedaliah, who had been appointed, by the king of Babylon, to rule over the poor remnant of the Jews. It has been conjectured that Baalis intended by this advice to cause the extirpation of this nation, either from motives of revenge, or personal interest. I cannot think the former could be his aim, as if he had harbored such a feeling he could most easily have gratified it, by destroying those who had sought their safety within his territory. Self-interest might, on the contrary, have prompted him to induce Ishmael to commit the heinous, and at the same time, the unwise act of assassinating a vassal of the powerful ruler of Babylon. The assassination of Gedaliah was accomplished by Ishmael, who, however, gained no advantage by it, as he was obliged to seek again his safety of Baalis, who readily granted it to the assassin. The king of Ammon was soon punished for the wicked advice he had given; for a short time afterwards he was attacked by Nebuzaadán, a Babylonian general, who wasted his country by fire and sword, and destroyed his capital, Rabbah, carrying away Baalis himself, and the foremost men among the people of Ammon, into captivity.

We find the Ammonites, a long time afterwards, united with the Arabians, Moabites, and Samaritans, in attempting to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Still much later we find them under the leadership of their governor Timotheus, fighting against Judas Maccabæus, who in several battles defeated them. At last the city of Jaser and the neighboring town were captured by the Jews, who relentlessly killed the men,

* Jerem. xxviii. 3.

and carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and set on fire the city of Jaser. Thus ended this, as it appears, their last war with the Jews.

In the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, we find them mentioned as a numerous people;* but soon afterwards their name was absorbed in that of the Arabians.

LETTER XXXII.

HISTORY OF THE MIDIANITES.

THE country of Midian was a part of Stony-Arabia, or Arabia-Petræa. We cannot determine with certainty its boundaries; but it appears from the Hebrew writers, that it must have been situated in a south-eastwardly direction from the Dead Sea, and that it was bounded on the north by Moab, or rather intermingled with it.† Its boundary on the east is not known; but on the west and partly also on the north, it was bounded by Edom or Idumæa, constituting a part of Stony-Arabia; it was consequently mostly rocky and sandy. It was, however, not void of pasture, as we find that it was well stocked with cattle, and particularly abounded in camels and dromedaries—animals well adapted for the use of the inhabitants of so rugged and dry a soil. We know the names of two of the cities of this country; but both called Midian, or Madian; the one situated in the north towards Rabbah of Moab, or Areopolis; the other on the south by the Red Sea, and is presumed to have been the same city to which Ptolemy gives the name of Modiana. Within this country was also situated the famous Mount Sinai.

The Midianites are presumed by many antiquarians to have derived their origin from Midian, the fourth son of Abraham, by Keturah. However this may be, the Midianites during the earliest period of their existence appear to have been confounded with the Ishmaelites, and many centuries later they are mentioned in conjunction with the Nabatæans and Kedarenes, the descendants of the sons of Ishmael.‡ We find them at

* Just. Mart. in dial. cum Tryph.

† Exod. iii. 1. Judges vi. 3.—vii. 12, 24, 25. Numb. xxii. 4.

‡ Isa. lx. 6, 7.

another time so blended with the Moabites, that Moses appears almost to have considered the two as one nation.* They had the same religion and acted jointly against the Israelites.

The Midianites appear to have been quite numerous, and may be considered as divided into two classes, the shepherds and the merchants. The former lived in tents, and had their cattle by them, even when carrying on war.† The merchants of these regions, as even at this day, again traveled from place to place in caravans,‡ and left the care of the cattle to the women, as seems from the story of Jethro's daughter. They appear to have grown rich by trade, because we read of their jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets, the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains and collars around the necks of their camels.§

It is evident from what we read in the book of Job, that the art of writing was early known in those regions, among the descendants of Abraham;|| and as the Midianites were among that number, it has also with good reason been supposed, that they even thus early were acquainted with this art. It has even been attempted to prove that Jethro was acquainted with the art of writing from these words: "*I thy father-in-law, am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her*," which appear to have been contained in a letter, as it is further said, that Moses "*went out to meet his father-in-law*," which could not have been properly said, if the former words had been uttered verbally to him by Jethro.¶ This hypothesis seems to be well founded. Sir Isaac Newton thinks that Moses was instructed in the art of writing by the Midianites; but this is evidently an error, as Moses, without the least doubt, was taught this art in the sacerdotal college in Egypt, where he was educated. But we may be assured that the Midianites had not only acquired a knowledge of writing prior to the time of Moses, but had also made some progress in science; as for instance, in arithmetic, mathematics, mechanics, and astronomy; for as we know that there were ships on the Mediterranean already, in the time of Jacob,** we cannot reasonably doubt that the Midianites and the Edomites, who were commercial people, had practised ship building and navigation, for crossing the Red Sea on which their countries bordered.

The Midianites appear to have been divided, no less in their occupations than in their religious worship; at least in the time of Moses. Those who lived in the southern parts seem to have worshipped God in an enlightened and rational mode; while their brethren had become gross idolaters. Thus we find the former offering up praises and thanksgivings

* Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11, c. xi

† Judges vi. 5. ‡ Gen. xxxvii. 28. § Num. xxxi. 50, 51, 52. Judges viii. 24.

|| Job xix, 23, 24.

¶ The English Universal History, p. 300, Note B.

** Gen. xlix, 13.

to God; though they could not bear circumcision.* The latter, on the contrary, attempted to persuade the Israelites, while they lay on the plains of Moab, to bow to Peor,† which idol was chiefly worshipped by the Midianitish women.

We do not know much of their form of government, and though their rulers bear the name of kings, it appears to have been more aristocratical than monarchical.

The most ancient record concerning the Midianites, except what is related of their origin, is an account of their war with Hadad, the Horite, when Midian was slain by him in the field of Moab.‡ The next is that of their purchase of Joseph from his brethren for twenty pieces of silver, and their transporting him with them into Egypt, where they sold him to Potiphar, one of the king's chief officers.

Many ages afterwards, there lived a priest or prince—the Hebrew word *chohen*, signifying a prince as well as a priest—among the southern Midianites, called Reuel, or Jethro; or, in accordance with the Septuagint version, Raguel, or, the Kenite the father of Moses. This Jethro lived in the city of Midian by the Red Sea.§ It happened that one day his daughters, who were seven in number,|| were insulted by certain shepherds. Moses, who had a short time before taken up his abode in this city, perceived the outrage of the shepherds, who drove the maidens and their cattle from the water they had just drawn; and, hastening to their aid, he assisted them so valiantly that they were enabled to accomplish their purpose.¶

When the maidens arrived at home, their father wondered to see them return sooner than usual; but on inquiry, they told him of the insult they had received at the well, and how an Egyptian had protected and assisted them. Jethro instantly inquired where the chivalrous stranger was, and blaming his daughters for being so impolite as not to bring him home with them, instantly sent them to invite their protector to come and refresh himself. They obeyed—and we may be allowed to surmise, without any objection—and brought Moses to their father, who was so pleased with the stranger, that he retained him in his family, committed to him the care of his flocks, and in the course of time, gave to him in marriage, his daughter Zipporah. Moses remained there forty years. At length Jethro, however, was induced to part with his daughter and his grand-children, when Moses set out on his return to Egypt; but on the way, a dispute arising between Moses and his wife, about the circumcision of a child, she returned, or was sent back by her husband, who pursued his destined course without her.**

* Exod. xviii. 10—12.

† Numb. xxv. 18. Joseph. Ant. l. iv. c. vi.

‡ Gen. xxxvi. 35.

§ Exod. iii. 1. Judg. i. 16.

|| Joseph. Antq. l. ii. c. xi.

¶ It has justly been observed that the shepherds must have been the strangers, else it would appear not very probable that Jethro was a man of any importance, though he might have been a priest of a lower order.

** Exod. ii. iii. iv. xviii. 2.

But when Jethro had learned of the mighty deeds of Moses, in bringing his brethren out of Egypt, he took his daughter Zipporah and her two sons, and his own son Hobab, and hastened to congratulate his son-in-law, and reconcile him with his daughter Zipporah. They met with a very affectionate reception from Moses; and Jethro is said, when hearing from him the wondrous works which had been accomplished, to have paid worship to Jehovah, acknowledging him to be superior to all other Gods. The next day Jethro had an opportunity of proving that he was a man of wisdom. Observing that the people crowded all day long about Moses, he asked him the reason of it. Moses then told him that he had been sitting in judgment. Upon this, Jethro said that he did very wrong in charging himself with such a troublesome duty, as it was too heavy a burden for any man long to bear; that it would be enough for him to learn the will of God, to form the laws, and to instruct the people how to live; and that he should commit the charge of deciding in their litigations to a select number of the most just men among the multitude, who should, according to their abilities, be appointed over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens; and thus relieve himself from every business that was not of the greatest importance. This advice was given to willing ears, and Moses knew how to make a proper use of it.* Nothing more is said of Jethro; but when he left the Israelites, he appears to have left his son Hobab with them, with the friendly intention that he should serve them as a guide through the desert; but it was with reluctance that Hobab discharged this office, and he was not prevailed on to do it, except by means of the promise of a rich recompense. We are further informed in regard to the descendants of Jethro, that they were called Kenites, and that joining the Jews, they marched with them from the city of Palm Treest into the wilderness of Judah;† that upon the capture of Hebron, they were rewarded with a large portion of territory, in consideration of their having forsaken their native land and endured with the Israelites all the toil of the wars, and the distresses of the wilderness; and that for the reason already mentioned, many years afterwards they were warned by Saul to remove from the land of the Amalekites, when he intended to extirpate that tribe, lest they might suffer harm, and probably also, lest they might aid his enemies. Thus the Kenites were saved, and fixing their seat in a mountainous country, where they found a stronghold, they grew insolent; but, notwithstanding, they were at last carried away into captivity by the conquering Assyrians, at the time the very same misfortune befel the tribes of Israel.

The Midianites, whom we find on the contrary at enmity with the Israelites, have been presumed to have been those who were the neighbors of, or

* Exod. xviii. 17—25

† Judges i. 16.

‡ Jericho.

rather lived as it seems in common with the Moabites. At the time Moses overcame Sihon, the Amorite, they had five leaders or dukes, who, as they began to fear for their own safety, conferred with Balak, king of Moab, as to what should be done to avoid the dangers that threatened them. We have before mentioned that the king of the Moabites sought aid from Balaam, and that the Midianites seemed to have done everything in their power to execute Balaam's insidious advice, which was to take the most beautiful of their young women, and clothing them in the richest style, send them to the Israelites, with instructions to demean themselves in such a voluptuous manner as to captivate the hearts of their admirers. So sanguine of success, by means of these seductive syrens, were the Midianites, that we find Zur, one of their chiefs, not in the least hesitating to send his daughter Cozbi with the other young women; though it proved fatal to her, as she was killed by a wound in the abdomen, given with the same weapon and by the same blow that took the life of her husband or friend Zimri. I have mentioned before that this stratagem succeeded. Many of the Israelites were seduced to worship Baal-peor, and much bloodshed ensued, in consequence of this division, among themselves, so that it must be admitted that Balaam proved by this advice, that he was no less sagacious than corrupt.

The Midianites, however, had not reason to exult long over the success of this stratagem, for Moses sent against them twelve thousand of the Israelites, under the conduct of Phinehas. Being informed of the approach of this army, they prepared themselves for resistance, by fortifying their castles and collecting their forces; but they were defeated and every man of them put to the sword, including Balaam,* and all their towns and castles were burnt. So severe was the revenge inflicted upon them, that not one male of any age or rank was spared, and even all the females except the virgins, were put to death. The country was laid waste, and all the cattle driven off before the victors, to the number of six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand beeves, and sixty-one thousand asses. The virgins who were carried away captive were thirty-two thousand in number; and the spoil of gold, silver, iron and other metals was immense.†

About one hundred and fifty years later, we find the two kings Zebah and Zalmunna at the head of an army, consisting of Midianites, Amalekites, and Arabians, waging a cruel war against the Israelites, whom they compelled to seek refuge in the mountains, where they attempted to hide themselves from the fury of their enemies, in caves or other natural strongholds. As the Israelites for seven years were unable to turn the tide of war in their own favor, the enemy, every summer during this period,

* Num. xxxi. 8.

† Num. xxxi. 9, 10. Josephus Antiq. lib. iv c. 7.

wasted their fields of all the fruit, and drove off an immense number of cattle of every kind. But at last Gideon obtained a complete victory over the Midianites, who seem to have entertained the design of extirpating the people of Israel. This change of fortune was brought about in the following manner.

One night, when the King of Zebah and Zalmunna had pitched their tents in the valley of Jezreel, on this side of Jordan, and had spread their camp over a vast space, it was reconnoitred by Gideon, who is said to have been the more encouraged by overhearing the interpretation of a dream of one of the camp-followers, to execute a stratagem that had been formed for their destruction, with only three hundred men, each armed with no other weapons than a ram's horn in one hand, and in the other a light concealed in a pitcher. Accordingly about midnight, the Midianites were alarmed in three different quarters of their camp, by the sound of three hundred horns, or trumpets, and starting from their sleep, perceived also as many lights breaking in upon them on three different sides. The discordant sounds of the horns, the glare of the lights, the darkness of the night, and the loud shouts that fell upon their ears, struck them with terror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their first consternation, they fell into the greatest confusion; and as they were of different languages and therefore unable to discern friends from foes, they began to kill each other, and at last suffered a dreadful slaughter chiefly through themselves. Zebah and Zalmunna found, however, means to escape, together with a body of about fifteen thousand men. Oreb and Zeeb, two princes, or kings, of Midian,* escaped also, but soon afterwards fell into the hands of the Ephraimites, who smote them. In both these massacres there fell, as it is said, one hundred and twenty thousand men. Zebah and Zalmunna with their party, meanwhile crossed the river and fled to Karkor, where they thought themselves safe; but being hotly pursued by Gideon, they were again taken by surprise, put to a precipitate flight, the remainder of their army dispersed, and they themselves taken prisoners and brought back again by Gideon, who, when arrived home, asked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly slain at Tabor; they answered that they were just like himself, of majestic deportment. To this he replied, that these very men were his own brothers, and consequently he must revenge their death by taking the lives of them. In accordance with these words, he ordered his son to stand up and kill the two kings; but they, perceiving the youth to be too weak and timid, requested, as a favor, Gideon himself to kill them; which request he complied with. Thus the Midianites for the second time suffered a direful massacre, and were plundered of every thing valuable. This defeat is

* Joseph. Antiq. l. v. c. 6.

termed the day of Midian, and the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb.* This tribe was many ages afterwards mentioned for its industry and wealth, and for the magnificence displayed in their tents; but in the course of time their name was lost in that of the Arabians.

LETTER XXXIII.

HISTORY OF THE CANAANITES.

THIS nation is generally presumed to have received its name from Canaan, the fourth son of Ham. Sanchoniatho says, that Chua was the first Phœnician, or the first who was called a Phœnician.† It is also supposed that the sons of Canaan were the ancestors of the Sidonians or Zidonians, the Hettites or Hitties, the Azkites, the Emonites or Amenites, the Gergasites or Gergasehites, the Hivites or Hevites, the Jebusites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zamarithes, and the Homathites. The five first of these nations are known to have lived in Canaan. To these are to be added two others, the Perizzites and Canaanites;‡ but we do not know how the former of these came to be a distinct people, or why the latter were particularly called the Canaanites. These seven nations have, from the language of the Hebrew writers, been supposed to have suffered under an evil influence, in consequence of the curse uttered by Noah against Canaan. It would carry us too far from our subject to prove, from what really took place and from the evident desire to justify the cruelties with which they treated the people of Canaan, that the Hebrews were led to insinuate that these events were the ill-fated consequence of the curse of Noah; and though bigoted and narrow-minded writers, professing the Christian faith, have attempted to give to these Hebrew pretensions, a prevalency among Christians; yet more enlightened ideas, and a worthier conception of God who surely could never be made the instrument of executing the rash curse of any frail man whoever he may be—justify us in entirely discarding

* Isaiah ix. 4. x. 26.

† Apud. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. i. c. x.

‡ Some think that these names do not signify two distinct tribes, but denote the two different classes in which all the people that inhabited Canaan were divided, in consequence of their different means of preparing their sustenance; some of them being merchants, and the other shepherds, as the two names nearly import.

this prejudice. We are, nevertheless, assured, that the Israelites came into the possession of Canaan by the wise ordination of God. The destinies of nations are decided by His will, and not by any human curse, or human blessing. We are Christians, and it is our duty to form our opinion upon principles which are in accordance with the religion of Christ, and not upon misrepresentations of partial and prejudiced Israelitish writers. I trust before I shall bring this work to a close, that I may be able to show how inconceivably more solid than the historical records of the Bible, is the rock on which are built the sublime doctrines of Christ.

The limits of the territory of Canaan cannot be decided with certainty. The country is said, however, to have extended from Zidon to Gaza, from thence to Sodom, and to Lasha;* but this is a very indefinite account of its boundaries. But we may infer at least—as is evident from the Hebrew writers—that no part of the country on the other side of Jordan, not even that inhabited by the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, belonged to the land called Canaan.

The cities of Canaan were Hebron, Jabus—afterwards Jerusalem—Jericho, Bethel, Shechem, and Beth-shean.

In regard to the manners and degree of civilization of the Canaanites, there can be no doubt that they were very early a partially polished and a very warlike people, as testified to by the sculptures on the walls of the Egyptian monuments. Some of them carried on a lucrative trade and consequently became rich, and hence also luxurious; and these constituted that portion of the people living on the sea-coast, whom Greek writers called Phœnicians. We read, therefore, in the Septuagint version: “the kings of the Phœnicians on the sea-coast,” instead of “the kings of the Canaanites, which were by the sea.” The Canaanites, of whom we now particularly speak, had an inland situation, and were principally engaged in breeding cattle, in tilling the earth, and in the exercise of arms. Those of them who carried on a roving or nomadic life, occupied themselves in grazing their cattle, and those who had fixed abodes in tilling the earth. Their warlike habits we noticed when treating on the history of Egypt. They had well-fortified towns, and were furnished with all kinds of offensive, as well as of defensive weapons, and had plenty of war-chariots. They were unquestionably a courageous, and, as we shall see, also a crafty people.

It appears, as in the time of Abraham, that some of them had entertained a very rational belief of the Supreme Being; for Melchisedek, who was very probably a Canaanite, is said to have been priest of the most high God. It is however to be observed, that the very Hittites, so seemingly commendable in the lifetime of Abraham, were nevertheless the aversion

of Isaac and Rebecca, who could not endure the thought of their son Jacob's marriage with any of the daughters of Heth, as, to their great grief, Esau had previously done. The cause of this aversion may have arisen from difference of religious opinion, which is generally supposed to have been the reason why Isaac and his wife were unwilling that their younger son should take a wife from among them. In the days of Moses the people of Canaan are represented as gross idolaters. The Israelites were commanded to destroy their altars, break down their images, statues, or pillars, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire. They are accused of having sacrificed human beings. They are on the whole described as a corrupt and *unclean* people; but it is to be observed, that this is an accusation which many of the ancient nations made against each other, wherever they differed in manners and religion. Thus the Egyptians called all other people *unclean* and an abomination. It is not just, then, to take the language of the Hebrew writers as proof that these people, whom they abuse, were worse than the Israelites themselves; it is to be understood as signifying the disagreement which existed in the manners, laws and religious opinions of the respective nations. There can, however, be no doubt that the Canaanites were a sensual people; but the Israelites also gave indeed no proofs of any high degree of abstemiousness. Though so many historians, instead of remembering their duty as impartial judges, have evinced the most flagrant partiality for the Israelites, and represented them as a people of superior virtue; still, that such was not the truth is best proved by what the Hebrew writers themselves have told us concerning this people.

We cannot surely reproach the Canaanites with incest, without including Abraham also in the same charge. But it is to be observed that neither he nor the Canaanites committed any wrong in marrying so near relatives; as such alliances were then not forbidden by any law whatever, and as nothing is blameable which is not contrary either to natural or positive law. But as there is no law of nature, and as there was among these people no positive law, forbidding such marriages, it is idle to reproach either the Canaanites or Abraham with incest; this being made a crime only in consequence of ideas and regulations subsequently called into being.

I doubt not that the Canaanites were a wicked race, but I find it difficult to think them worse than either the Israelites or other nations of the same age and degree of civilization; neither do I doubt that they were conquered in accordance with the will of Providence, who controls the destinies of nations. But though the Ruler of the world often makes use of the wicked-passions of men in accomplishing His plans, still He cannot be charged with the authorship of the crimes, which in His wisdom He sees fit to permit in the affairs of men. Instead of uttering such a blasphemy, we must attribute to men their own bad actions, though we see that through the direction of Providence, they are afterwards made to bring forth good

fruits. There have, however, been many who have deemed themselves justified in excusing Moses and the Israelites from the outrages they committed against the people, under the plea that God himself had ordered these bloody massacres. Those who would not admit this plea as valid, have been accused, by a modern writer,* of indulging in the sickly sentimentalism of infidelity, and have been blamed by many far more enlightened men, than what the writer alluded to appears to be. It seems to me remarkable that it should be a proof of infidelity to be unwilling to accept the phrases "Jehovah said," or "Jehovah commanded," so frequently used in the Hebrew writings—as signifying that God in reality said or commanded this or that. But, as I shall in another place speak of this subject, I will here only add that though the theologians may think themselves justified in accepting such a plea as proof that God commanded Moses to extirpate the people of Canaan, the historian has the less pleasing duty of rejecting such an interpretation of these terms, as he is not permitted to build upon anything but facts. In the eyes of the impartial historian, the bloody policy of Moses will meet the same condemnation as that of any other who has committed outrages on humanity; but without charging the beneficent Being with the wickedness of man, he cannot but admit that Moses was a mighty instrument in the hands of Providence for the accomplishment of His plans. It is at least a consolation to know that the doctrine of Christ is no palliation of the crimes of the Israelites, and that its divine truths are not founded upon the historical records of the Hebrews. I cannot but add, that I know not whether to attribute it to their ignorance and short-sightedness, or to a real attachment to Judaism, that so many divines of our times stand forth as champions of the Jewish records, under the plea that these corrupt productions of a corrupt priesthood are the very bulwarks of the divine doctrine of Christ. I trust, as I have said before, that ere I bring this work to a close, I shall be able, historically and philosophically, to prove that the Christian religion is built upon the solid rock of truth, and not upon the frail structure of partial and doubtful traditions.

The Canaanites appear to have been ruled by limited kings, or chiefs; but their more important business seems to have been transacted in popular assemblies; as for instance, Hamon, king of Shechem, would not conclude what answer he should make to the proposition of the sons of Jacob, until he had consulted the people upon what he should do in the case. Throughout all their transactions, the same tenor of conduct in their princes is easily to be observed in what is related of their public affairs.

As we have seen, when treating on the history of Egypt, there is much reason to suppose that the people of Canaan were among those who were by the Egyptians denominated as Shepherd Kings. There can at least

* See William Osburn's *Ancient Egypt*.—Article, *The Canaanites*.

be little doubt that the Jebusites were among those shepherds who were driven out of Egypt at one time, as well as that the Egyptians, even before the time of Jacob, hated such people as occupied themselves in the breeding of cattle and sheep; the probable cause of which is to be found in the long series of wars and injuries which the Egyptians had had to sustain against nomadizing tribes that had attacked them for the purpose of coming into possession of their fertile land.

We know that the inhabitants of the vale of Siddim, where Sodom and Gomorrah stood—which is generally presumed to have lain within the boundaries of Canaan—was conquered by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and reduced to pay a tribute, which they continued for twelve successive years; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, and drew upon themselves a second war.

Two or three years after this invasion, Abraham, who appears to have been something more than simply a private person, but rather a chief of a large number of vassals or slaves, arrived in this country, and was received with marked distinction; which is also a confirmation of the opinion now given. But soon after his arrival a dearth obliged him to visit Egypt; but as the famine was of no long duration, Abraham returned into this country again, and found that the Perizzites were also in the land; whence, it has been presumed, they are spoken of as new comers; and that about that time they had been expelled from Egypt, or dreading an expulsion, had, from their voluntary resolution, left that kingdom. This opinion is plausible, as far, at least, as that this people had just then immigrated into Canaan, from the circumstance that Abraham and Lot at their return were evidently straightened for room, which was the cause of their separation; thus showing that the country had now become more populous than during their former sojourn in it.

The five kings of Siddim, rebelled in the thirteenth year after Chedorlaomer had subjected this country to his supremacy. Therefore, this king and his allies marched against Siddim in the fourteenth year, and after having reduced some other tribes, as the Horites, the Amalekites, and the Amorites of Hozezontamor, he at last defeated the five kings of Siddim, and carried away many captives, after having ravaged the country and pillaged the cities. Among the prisoners was also Lot, who was, however, rescued by Abraham.

At this time Melchisedek was king of Salem, and priest also of the most high God,* when Abraham, returning from the war, was offered by

* The expression, that Melchisedek was the priest of the most high God, evidently indicates that there were other priests of inferior deities, and is nowise an evidence that the spiritual God of the Christians was worshipped at the altar where Melchisedec officiated, as has been presumed. It had not been needful to say the most high God, had no worship been paid to inferior deities. We say simply God—as it never can come in our mind to make any comparison which requires such an epithet.

this prince bread and wine, which, in the opinion of the most enlightened orientalists and writers, means that the king gave Abraham an entertainment of meats and drinks to refresh him—which seems most probably to have been the fact, as these words would seem to indicate: “and blessed him in the name of the most high God, possessor or creator of heaven and earth.” The king of Sodom was present at this interview, and acted, as it appears, a very generous and becoming part, claiming nothing at all that Abraham had retaken from the defeated enemy, except the persons of his recaptured subjects, leaving the rest to the disposal and discretion of Abraham, who showed no less generosity, but, as far as it was in his power, restored everything that had belonged to the king, goods as well as prisoners. As I have in another place alluded to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, which happened sometime after the event now spoken of, I shall not here make any farther mention of it.

In regard to the Hittites or Hitties, who, in the history of Egypt, we have seen were the enemies of that country—it is related that Abraham purchased of them the cave of Machpeleh for a burial place. From this event there is nothing known of these people—except what we have learned from the sculptures on the walls of the Egyptian monuments, which show that they were waging a continual war with the Egyptians—until the time that Hamor, who reigned in the apparently weak kingdom of Shechem, sold a piece of land to Jacob. It is also related, that once when Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, visited some of her acquaintances in Shechem, the son of this petty king saw the fair damsel, and was so violently smitten with a brutal appetite to enjoy her maiden charms, that he committed a most infamous outrage upon her; but he appears, at the same time, to have contracted a sincere attachment to her, and therefore did all in his power to persuade her to forget this injury, and to become his wife. He even entreated his father to use his influence, in order to assist him to attain his end. Consequently, Hamor went to Jacob to communicate to him the sentiments his son entertained for Dinah, and to ask his consent. But her brothers, who were present, as was also the young prince himself, appeared very angry, as was natural, with the injury and affront done to their sister; but though finding them so exasperated, no promises and persuasions were spared to persuade them to forgiveness for what had been done. From their answer, both he and his father supposed they were willing to do this, as they said if he and all his tribe would consent to be circumcised, his request should be granted. The young prince as well as the father submitted to this hard proposal. To fulfil this agreement, they returned to their town and assembled the people, to whom they represented, that as Jacob and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and that as there was room for them all, it would be prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; but that there was a hard condition required, which was, that they should all be circumcised. The

pain of the operation, they said, would be amply compensated by the great increase of wealth that would flow from their union with Jacob. The people, partly from a feeling of regard for Hamor and his son, as we may reasonably presume, and partly in consideration of the advantages held out, consented to undergo circumcision. On the third day when suffering, and in the pains consequent on this operation, they were suddenly attacked by Jacob's sons, at the head of their servants, and every one of them put to the sword, and their wives and children, with all they possessed, became the prey of Simeon and Levi, the two sons of Jacob, who had committed this inhuman outrage upon these too credulous, and, as it appears—with the exception of Hamor's son—innocent victims.*

The incoherency in the history of this people is a consequence of the scanty materials with which we are provided, and which furnish us only information of detached affairs, without giving us that chain of events which led to them.

When the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses, approached the frontiers of Canaan, the inhabitants of this country united with the Amalekites, and hastened to prevent them from entering it; and when the Israelites made the attempt, they were repulsed with great slaughter, near Hormah.† The Israelites a second time reaching the skirts of Canaan, Arad—or the king of Arad, as some will have it, who ruled in the southeast part of the country—being informed by spies of their coming, hastened out, and attacking them, made many prisoners; but soon fortune frowned upon him, and he was conquered by the invaders, and his country doomed to complete destruction.‡ Soon after the former event, Moses sent messengers to Sihon, the Amorite, who resided in the ancient country of the Moabites and Ammonites, and asked for a free passage through his country on the way to Canaan; but instead of complying with this request, he marched out against the Israelites, who defeated him at Jaazar, and took entire possession of his country. Moses conquered also Og, king of Bashan, who is presumed to have been a king of the Ammonites, and is said to have been of the race of giants or Rephaim, and to have been a terrible enemy.

Intelligence of these events transpiring on the River Jordan, could not but strike the Canaanites with terror; which, in all probability, made the arms of the Israelites the more irresistible. Jericho was the first place exposed to their fury, and in it no person was spared, except the courtesan Rahab, who had saved the messengers previously sent hither by Joshua. This doomed city was destroyed by fire, and curses denounced on him who should ever attempt to rebuild it. The men of the city of Ai and

* Gen. xxiv.

† Deut. iii. 9.

‡ Numb. xxi. 1, 2.

their king were, however, fortunate enough to repulse a body of three thousand of the Israelites; but as the king feared this success would not save him, he sent to the men of Bethel, who were his subjects, to come to his relief. Joshua soon approached, when the king of Ai, fearing a siege, and perceiving that his enemy's force was inconsiderable, at once resolved to go out and give him battle; which had no sooner taken place, than the Israelites turned and fled. On this the king of Ai ordered every one to come out of the city and join in pursuit of the enemy. Consequently, the city being left destitute of all defence, a party of Israelites, who lay in ambush for the purpose, hastened and took possession of it, and set the outskirts of it on fire. The king of Ai, turning his head backward, was seized with consternation at the sight of the smoke of the conflagration ascending to the heavens, and at the sudden rally, at the same time, of the Israelites, whose flight had been but a stratagem to draw him on to his ruin. The retreat to the city being cut off, and the men of Ai seeing themselves surrounded by enemies, and their dwellings in flames, became also disheartened, and were thus easily mowed down by the Israelites. All were slain, except the king, who was taken and led before Joshua. The victorious Israelites now hastened to the city, and butchered the women and those who were found in and about it, and in the place of the city left nothing but a heap of rubbish. The captive king was hung upon a tree till evening, when his body was taken down and buried beneath a pile of stones.*

These cruelties aroused, as was very natural, the whole country against the Israelites; but Gibeon, a city of the Hivites, far stronger than Ai, and renowned for the bravery of its citizens, trembled; and the inhabitants despairing of their ability to withstand the Israelites by force, resorted to artifice. Consequently, they sent to Joshua ambassadors clothed in tattered garments, and clouted shoes, with dry, mouldy bread, and wine-skins or bottles that were old and patched. The ambassadors in this style arrived at the camp of Joshua in Gilgal, and told him that they were come from a far distant country to seek his friendship; and that the fame of Jehovah, and what he had done for Israel in Egypt, and afterwards by the destruction of those powerful kings Sihon and Og, had been the inducements that had brought them thither—being sent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, to express their desire to form an alliance with the Israelites. In corroboration of these words, they showed their dry and mouldy bread, which they asserted had been taken hot from the oven on the day they set out; they said also: "our wine bottles were new, and see how rent they are now; our garments and shoes were the same, but they are worn out in consequence of our long journey." Altogether,

* Joshua viii.

they acted their part so well, as to persuade Joshua and the Israelites—who in this instance appear to have been very credulous*—to make a treaty with them. Thus they cheated their enemies and saved their lives; but they were not so well treated as they probably had hoped, because they were afterwards condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water;† that is, treated as slaves.

When the king of Jerusalem, Adonizadek, heard how Jericho and Ai had been treated, and that the Gibeonites had submitted to Joshua—which intelligence was still more unwelcome—he became agitated by fear as well as by anger. But resolving to punish the Gibeonites, in order to deter others from following so injurious and dishonorable an example, he exhorted Hoham, king of Hebron, Piram, king of Jarmath, Japhia, king of Lachish, and Debir, king of Eglon, to unite with him in a war against Gibeon; and as these petty princes did so, the confederated forces laid siege to this city; the inhabitants of which, in this perilous situation, sent to Joshua notice of what had befallen them, and begged him to hasten to their relief. The consequence of this supplication was, that the five besieging princes were attacked by Joshua, and with such success, that they were compelled to flee in great confusion. But during this flight, they were overtaken by a fearful tempest of hail-stones, which naturally retarded their speed; and consequently, hotly pursued as they were by the victorious Israelites, a great number of them were killed; and in order that the Israelites might have time to accomplish their general destruction, we are told that Joshua stopped the course of the sun.‡

The five defeated kings are said to have taken refuge in a cave near the city of Makhedah, but were soon afterwards discovered, when, by command of Joshua, the mouth of the cave was soon stopped up with great stones. Afterwards they were dragged out on the ground before the Israelites, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks; then they were killed, and their corpses hung, each on a separate tree.

When Jabin, king of Hazor, heard that Makhedah, Libnah, Lachish, and several other cities had been destroyed, and their inhabitants, to the very last person, put to death; and also, that Horam, king of Gezer, and his whole force, had perished in attempting to relieve Lachish—he was induced to arouse all the Canaanitish tribes to resistance against their common enemies, the Israelites, who threatened them with entire destruction. Consequently he sent to Jobab, king of Madon, to the king of Shimron, to the king of Achstaph, and to the kings on the north of

* It is curious that no suspicion arose in regard to their language.

† Josh. ix.

‡ This expression, which we now all know is nothing but an example of the figurative language so often used by the Hebrew, as well as all Oriental writers, was nevertheless believed for thousands of years to denote a real fact. It required the genius of Copernicus and Galileo to prove the absurdity of this notion, ere the voice of reason was heard.

the mountains, to those on the plains south of Cinnenth, and in the valley, and on the borders of Dor on the west, and to the Canaanites, peculiarly so called, on the east and west, and to the Amorites, to the Hittites, to the Perizzites, and to the Jebusites in the mountains, and to the Hivites, calling on them to arise in defence of their common country. These petty kings and tribes responded to the call, and united together against the Israelites. In the hyperbolic language of the Hebrew writers, they are said to have been as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore; they are said also to have been very strong in horses and chariots, and consequently were such enemies as might well excite apprehension in the minds of the Israelites. The confederated forces pitched their camp near the waters of Merom, which was afterwards called Lake Samachonitis. But while resting here and forming their plans, they were taken by surprise, driven out of their camp, and compelled to seek safety in a disorderly retreat. The main body of them appears to have fled towards Sidon and Mizrephoth-Maim, in a westward direction; while another party directed their flight eastward, towards the valley of the Mizpeh. As they were hotly pursued, a great number of them were killed. Jabin himself escaped, but he was killed when Hazor soon afterwards was taken, and all its inhabitants put to the sword, and the city itself destroyed by fire. The rest of the cities which were then captured by Joshua were permitted to stand, but their inhabitants were massacred. Still, in spite of the terrible losses the Canaanites had suffered, they, for the space of six years, made an heroic resistance to the Israelites. It has been presumed, that at last a great number of them left their unhappy country, and directed their course towards Africa, and made themselves masters of Lower Egypt; but in regard to the latter clause of this presumption, there is nothing in the modern discoveries which tend to confirm it.

After the successive defeats and partial extirpation of the Canaanites, the Anakims,*—who also inhabited some of the mountains of the land, a fine and wild race, and of a quite distinct origin from the Canaanites, as it was supposed,—were attacked and annihilated; and thus the whole country of Canaan came so far into the possession of the Israelites, that these undertook to apportion it among themselves; still there existed some Canaanitish tribes, who, being strong, were able to retain their ancient territory. But for the nineteen or twenty last years of Joshua's life, they were very little annoyed by the Israelites, who were occupied in dividing the territory and settling themselves—each tribe in the district appointed to it. When this had been accomplished, and the Israelites began to desire possession of the land still occupied by the remaining Canaanites, these were on all

* These are held to have been the same people that were also called giants, and who are supposed to have been the descendants of a person by the name of Arva, who seized on the city of Hebron, from whom it was called Kirjath-Arba, that is, the city of Arba.

sides invaded by the different tribes of Israel, who wanted each to drive them out of their respective districts. The tribes of Judah and Simeon consequently attacked the Perizzites in Bezek, and slew ten thousand of them. Being defeated in the field, the Perizzites retreated to the city of Bezek, where Adonizebek, the king of that place resided. He was an arrogant and cruel tyrant, according to his own confession, for he boasted that having taken seventy kings prisoners, he had cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and had compelled them to wait for their meat under his table, like so many dogs. His city was now assaulted and taken, and all those within the walls were killed. Though Adonizebek was himself in the city, yet he escaped, but was overtaken in his flight, and after having his thumb and great toes cut off, was carried to Jerusalem,* where he died. He thus probably suffered a much severer fate than if he had been slain at first, as we may suppose that he must have experienced some remorse when he himself was undergoing the same cruel infliction he had often wantonly caused so many others to endure.

The tribe of Benjamin attempted also to subdue the Jebusites, but without success. The descendants of Joseph attacked also those living about Beth-el, who were overcome by fraud; their city having been betrayed by one of the inhabitants, was easily taken by the Benjamites. But those of Beth-shean, Dor, Megiddo, Ibleam and Taanach defended themselves bravely against the tribe of Manasseh, and preserved their independence. The Ephraimites also were unable to expel the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; and those of Kitron and Nahalol withstood successively the attacks of the posterity of Zabulun, though they were compelled to submit to a tribute. The inhabitants of Zidon, Auho, and several other cities seem to have been powerful enough to impose upon the tribe of Asher the conditions by which it was allowed to hold a part of the land that had been apportioned to it.

Those who were in possession of Beth-shamesh and Beth-anath, were long too powerful for the tribe of Napthali; who, however, at last made them tributary. The tribe of Dan were hardly pressed by the Amorites, who confined them to the mountains, refusing them all use of the lower and more fertile country, nor would they allow the Danites to hold all the mountains, but kept Mount Hores in their own hands. They were at last reduced to become tributaries by the united forces of the Danites and the descendants of Joseph.

We see that thus upon the division of Canaan, between the several tribes

* But whether Joshua had formerly, or the tribe of Judah, during these later persecutions against the Canaanites, taken this city, is not certain. However this may be, the Canaanites at least re-took Jerusalem, as well as many other cities. In regard to Jerusalem, Josephus distinctly tells us, that the Jebusites were in possession both of the city and forts at Zion, when David finally subdued them

of the Israelites, the whole land was agitated by wars, which ended with no decisive success on either side. Consequently, although a vast number of the Canaanites perished in the strifes which they waged against Joshua, and as we may suppose many of them emigrated; yet so great was the number remaining, or such their valor, or their superiority in the art of war, that after all the calamities and terrible losses they had suffered, they appear to have been but little inferior to the victorious Israelites. It has also been observed that no tribe of them is afterwards missed, except that of the Gergasites, as the names of all the others occur, even after the events now related.

The remaining Canaanites were in the course of time partly blended with the Israelites, and had so great influence upon the susceptible minds of this people as to induce them to form intermarriages, and also often enough to serve their gods.*

After the lapse of nine or ten years, following these wars, Jabin, whom we may style the second, as we find him residing at the very same place as the former king of that name, begun a war against the Israelites. He is said to have had nine hundred chariots of iron,† and a vast host commanded by Sisera, who dwelt in Hashoreth of the Gentiles. By this force he succeeded in reducing the Israelites, or at least a part of them, to a state of slavery, and kept them for twenty years in subjection; after which intelligence reached Sisera, that the Israelites had been stirred up to rebellion and had actually taken up arms, and were consulting on the means to free themselves from their yoke. On this, he hastened to put his nine hundred chariots of iron in order, issuing at the same time a proclamation, in which he required the men of war to assemble together, and to march out against the Israelites, who were said to have been but ten thousand strong, and commanded by Deborah and Barak. In the ensuing battle, Sisera, however, was defeated, and his routed troops pursued to the gates of Hashoreth of the Gentiles. Being himself hotly pursued, he quitted his chariot, and trusting to his feet, directed his steps to the town of Heber the Kenite, who was a friend of Jabin.‡ He found the wife of Heber, whose name was Jael, standing in the tent door. The woman perceiving his sad plight, entreated him to come in, and assured him he had nothing to fear. He imprudently yielded to her entreaties, being unable to read in her eyes the false heart that beat within her bosom. As he was fatigued, he resolved to obtain some rest, and either that he might not be seen if any one should come, or that he might be kept warm, she covered him with a rug or blanket. After a little while, asking for a draught of water, the false-

* Judges ii. 21, 23; iii. 1—7.

† Josephus gives him with unquestionably much exaggeration, three thousand chariots. Ant. lib. v. c. 5.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 5.

hearted woman brought him a bowl of new milk, which he emptied. Then he requested her to deny his presence, and for the purpose of preventing detection, desired her to stand at the tent-door. As Sisera was greatly fatigued he soon fell into a deep sleep, when the woman took one of the tent-nails and a hammer, and softly stealing up to him, drove the nail into his temples, and thus murdered him. About the same time, Barak reached the tent in quest of Sisera, when Jael, with a triumphant mien, went out and invited him to step in and see the man he sought. After the assassination of Sisera, the glory of Jabin was eclipsed and his dominions taken from him by the Israelites who persecuted him to destruction.*

Nothing is related of the Canaanites for a long series of years. It appears, however, that they had been able to maintain several portions of their ancient possessions, and particularly Jerusalem, until the time of David. When the Jebusites, who held this city, or at least, as some will have it, the fortress of Zion, saw this courageous prince actually advancing against them, to lay siege to their stronghold, they posted their lame and blind to defend it, saying, that they were enough to defend it—relying wholly upon the strength of the walls and of the situation itself. But they were greatly disappointed, as it was carried by storm. But no further circumstances attending this event are related. It was, however, unquestionably a severe blow to the whole body of the Canaanites, who were soon humbled again, when attacked in Gezer by the king of Egypt; for what cause this attack was made upon them by this monarch, is not known; but there are some who think that it was done as a service to Solomon, who had married the daughter of that prince. However this may be, the city of Gezer was rebuilt by Solomon, who received it as the right of the Egyptian princess, who was one of his wives.†

Oppressed, as the Canaanites appear to have been, on the one side by the powerful kings of Egypt, and on the other by the Hebrews, the remnants of the Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Jebusites, and Hivites, were reduced to the miserable condition of bondage and slavery; whence it is presumed that they had now become so weak, as to be unable to pay any tribute, and therefore were employed by Solomon in the drudgery of raising the magnificent works which made him famous, but which, nevertheless, do not seem to have been very considerable in comparison with those of Egypt, Persia, Greece, India, and Rome. Their servility appears to have been entailed upon their posterity;‡ for, although upon their first reduction they evidently embraced the Jewish religion, yet it is presumed that they were distinguished from the Jews, and treated as of a more ignoble origin, and as being the descendants of slaves. They lived among the Jews, and perhaps at last were blended with them. It is, however, to

* Judges iv.

† 1 Kings ix. 16.

‡ 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.
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be observed, that the tribe particularly denoted by the name of Canaanites, are not mentioned among those tribes on whom it is said Solomon levied "a tribute of bond-service." They have, therefore, by some writers, been considered as having defended their independence and their possessions on the coast of the Mediterranean, and afterwards to have become famous under the name of Phœnicians.

LETTER XXXIV.

HISTORY OF THE PHILISTINES.

THE most general opinion is, that the Philistim, or Philistines, were the descendants of the Casluhim and Capthorim, two tribes who are presumed to have descended from Mizraim, and to have lived in Egypt; and that these Philistim migrated from that country into the land which was afterwards called by the Greeks and the Romans—though in a more extensive meaning—Palestinæ, a name which some suppose to have been derived from that of the Philistines.* But the most probable supposition is, that the name of the Philistines, as well as that of their country, is derived from the words *Pali* and *Stan*, which signify shepherd-land.

The Philistines are in general considered to have been of Egyptian origin. But we know from the traditions of the Hindoos, that the Pali-Puhas, who were a powerful tribe, migrated from India, and, as I have mentioned before, are said to have taken possession of Arabia, as well as the coast on the west of the Red Sea, and extended themselves to the shores of the Mediterranean. If such a migration took place, as I have no doubt it did, then it seems more probable that the Philistines were the descendants of this nomadic tribe.

The country of the Philistines—which may be aptly termed, as some historians have done, Palestine Proper—was a slip of land stretching along the Mediterranean, and bounded on the north by the tribe of Dan; on the east, by the tribes of Judah and Simeon; and on the south by the Amalekites, and perhaps also partly by Edom. The length of this territory was about forty miles, exceeding by far its breadth; but though

* Some there are who derive the name of the Philistine from Pelusium, the famous Egyptian city of this name.

insignificant in extent, it had a most fertile soil. Toward the sea the country is level, but three or four miles back, it begins to undulate and rise into mountains, exhibiting a beautiful hill and valley, covered with the most luxuriant pasture, and presenting to the eye on every side the most charming scenes in nature; while the murmuring brooks, that leap from the sides of the mountains, fill the ear with delightful music.

Among the cities in this country mentioned by ancient writers, the most famous was Gaza, which stood upon the skirts of the desert that led to Egypt, and was built but two or three miles distant from the sea. It became a city of much importance in regard to its extent and strength. In the Hebrew language it was called Azza, and by the Syrians Aza—which name is said to have been changed into Gaza—a word signifying, in the ancient language of Persia, treasure. Pomponius Mela says it took this name from the circumstance that it was used by Cambyzes for a magazine in his war against Egypt.* This city was situated in one of the four corners of the Land of Promise, and was in the lot of the tribe of Judah, according to the division made by Joshua of the whole land.† But though it was attacked, and eventually taken, the Philistines came again into possession of it, and continued afterwards to hold it. The seaport of Gaza was called Majuma, and was also called Maritime Gaza. Ascalon, or Askalon, was a large seaport of this country, and was considered by ancient writers to have been about sixteen miles distant from Gaza, though the moderns estimate it but twelve. This was, as I have said before, the pretended birth-place of the celebrated Semiramis. Twelve miles northeasterly of Ascalon lay Azotos, or Ashdod, which had a great fame among the ancients. I have before mentioned the long siege it sustained from Psammeticus. Here stood the temple of Dagon, the chief deity worshipped in this city. Eastward of Azotos lay Gath, which was long the residence of the kings. Nearly northwest of this city, about nine miles distant, was Ekron, the fifth of the chief cities of the Philistines. Here the idol Baal-zebub‡ was worshipped. In these five cities the chieftains who stood at the head of affairs dwelt, and from these cities the whole land was sometimes called Pentapolis.

The most ancient form of government among the Philistines of which we have any knowledge, was monarchical; but the royal power was very limited. All their kings appear to have been honored with the appellation of Abimelech; but in the days of Moses, the monarchy was changed into

* In later times it was also called Jone or Minoa; and the sea between the shore near Gaza and Egypt, is said to have been called the Jonean Sea, as Gaza was named after Jo.

† Joshua xv. 47.

‡ It is curious to observe that the names of many of the idols worshipped by the ancient people who warred with the Israelites, have afterwards been applied by the Christians to denote the Evil Spirit.

an aristocracy of five lords, who appear in part to have been independent of each other, though they were probably obliged to act in concert in cases which concerned the common welfare. But the government was again changed to a monarchy, and the second race of kings are called Achish, though they also were named Abimelech; but the royal power continued evidently to be controlled by the influence of the aristocracy. These kings resided at Gath, during their most flourishing period, and afterwards their residence was removed to Ascalon, and from thence to Gaza.

The Philistines were not only a very warlike, but also an industrious and ingenious people. In the days of Abraham and Isaac they appear to have been very just and hospitable. From the representations upon the walls of the Egyptian monuments, their personal appearance seems to have differed very little from that of the Egyptians. Like them, they are represented to have been a tall and well-proportioned race of men, with regular features, though of a somewhat lighter complexion. They shaved their beards and whiskers, and their arms and accoutrements very conspicuously distinguish them from all the other nations to the east of Egypt.

The Philistines wore a head-dress or helmet of a peculiar form; and their corselet was quilted with leather, or plates of metal, reaching only to the chest, and supported by shoulder straps, leaving the shoulder and the arm at full liberty. At the waist it was confined with a girdle, from which depended a skirt, quilted like the corselet, and hung down nearly to the knee. The shield was large and circular, exactly resembling that afterwards used by the Greeks. Their weapons were the javelin or spear for a distant fight, and the poniard and long sword for close combat. They used war-chariots of a form exactly resembling those of the Egyptians; and carts and wagons of various forms drawn by two or four oxen. Their ships of war were sailing vessels, and not galleys like most of those belonging to the Egyptians. The rigging was a simple mast, with a watch-box at the top of it, which supported one large sail. The form of the vessel approached as nearly as possible to that of a water bird, and the figure-head was that of a duck or goose. These vessels are said to have appeared to stand high out of the water, and to have been barricaded. This is what is learnt of the Philistines from the Egyptian paintings.*

Their arms and accoutrements, as well as their origin, being different from the neighboring nations, and being by the Hebrew writers always denoted as strangers, we cannot but confess that these circumstances, together with the similarity of the names of the Philistines and the Hindoo—emigrant tribes, goes at least very far to prove that the former were the descendants of the latter. It must also be observed that in the time of Abraham and Isaac, their religion seems to have been much purer than

* See *Ancient Egypt*, by William Osburn.

what it became afterwards, when idolatry prevailed among them. It appears, however, evident, that Dagon and their other divinities were idols representing the images of their ancient heroes and great men, the memory of whom was at first probably fondly cherished; but to whom, in the course of time, they had been induced to pay divine honors. The exaggerated praise of the multitude, and the vanity so common among nations, to hold up their great men as somewhat more than human, have been among the chief sources of idolatry. We see proof enough of this in our own day, though in a manner somewhat modified.

In regard to the form under which Dagon was represented there has been much dispute among antiquarians, which has had the effect more to cause us smile, than to impart to us any useful information. I will only say, that this idol stood in a temple at Azotus, and was served by priests of its own, who, I suppose, were fully convinced of the divine nature and great power of the god whose servants they were. Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, appears to have been considered the next to Dagon in power. This is the Beelzebub of the New Testament. Besides these idols there were several others among the Philistines to which divine worship was paid.

This people appears to have erected large and spacious temples or halls for the celebration of their solemn seasons and festivals,* for such they unquestionably had. It seems also that their religious ceremonies were attended with much pomp and by a great concourse of people from all parts; that they presented to their gods the best of the spoils taken in war; and that the idols were carried along with them in their warlike undertakings.

From what I have said before, it appears that the origin of the Philistines cannot with certainty be decided. It seems, however, very probable, that they had not long dwelt in the land, where history finds them, in the days of Isaac, or at least that they then were not a very powerful tribe, as their king would otherwise probably not then have been jealous of the power of Isaac, who cannot be considered as very formidable. I think it has, therefore, justly been presumed that at that time the Philistines were not very powerful. This is still more evident from the familiarity, or rather equality that existed between Abraham and Abimelech; the latter of whom appears to have been the better man. It is, however, clear that Abraham, in spite of the deception he had practised towards this king, by pretending that Sarah was his sister, was highly esteemed by him; but it is also no less apparent that there was not very much difference of power between them; because it cannot be supposed that Abimelech would otherwise have proposed to Abraham an oath, binding his posterity to live in amity with his own, and deal by them justly as he had dealt by him. We know that, after a dispute among their servants, concerning a well, had

* Judges xvi. 27.

been settled, the oath was taken.* How this covenant, as it is called, was kept, the following account will best show.

Abimelech the Second, son of the former king, succeeded his father in that kingdom, and reigned also at Gerar. He appears to have been guided by the same just and noble principles as was his father. In his days, Isaac, pressed by famine, came to Gerar, and brought with him his wife Rebekah, whom, in imitation of his father, but with less reason, he passed off for his sister. Rebekah's charms appear, however, to have been less attractive than those of the fair Sarah, if we are allowed to judge from the indifference with which she appears to have been viewed by the Philistines. Isaac could then have spared himself that falsehood. Abimelech's suspicion that they were not man and wife, was, one day when looking out of his window, excited by seeing, as it is expressed, Isaac caressing Rebekah in such a manner, as convinced him that they stood in another relation to each other than what had been pretended. Whereupon the king calling Isaac to him, asked him how he could act so deceitfully as to pretend that Rebekah was his sister, while she was his wife. Isaac apologized in almost the same manner as his father Abraham had done. Abimelech replied that it was not kind of him; for ignorantly some one might have lain with the woman, and thereby have involved the whole nation in a most dangerous sin.† In order, therefore, to prevent such a calamity, he made their relation publicly known, forbidding any one to attempt to debauch Rebekah, or injure her husband, on pain of death. The conduct of this king was, therefore, equally commendable as that of his father.

When the Philistines, however, beheld the prodigious increase of Isaac's wealth, they began to envy or fear him, and studied how to cause him uneasiness. At last the king himself sent to Isaac, desiring him to seek some other abode, adding, that he could not be at rest while so powerful a man lived in his neighborhood. This request, however, though apparently conceived in very modest and friendly terms, had not the desired effect, for Isaac seems only to have removed from one part of the country to another.

* Gen. xx. and xxi.

† These records give us to understand that the Philistines considered adultery as a great crime, but intercourse with an unmarried woman as a matter of course.

It is very curious that Josephus speaks of the king Abimelech who received Isaac, as the same that had been a friend to Abraham, and does not mention a similar affair in regard to Isaac and Rebekah. Josephus says: Abimelech, the king, received him, (Isaac), because Abraham had formerly lived with him, (Abimelech,) and had been his friend. And though he treated him (Isaac) in the beginning with exceeding kindness, he was, however, induced by envy not to continue in the same treatment to the end.—*Antiq.* Book I, chap. xiii.

It seems to me not very likely that Isaac would have committed the same error as his father did, as he could not, in all probability, be ignorant thereof; and in this opinion I am confirmed by the silence of Josephus in regard to this circumstance, and think myself therefore justified in supposing that an error has been committed by some of the ancient copyists.

After this, quarrels and disputes arose between the Philistines of Gerar and Isaac's servants, who, opening the wells that Abraham had dug, and which the Philistines on his death had stopped up, and wanting still more water, sought for new springs, and dug new wells, which the Philistine herdsmen, claimed as their right. Two wells thus in dispute were called by Isaac *esek* or *contention*, and *sitnah* or *hatred*. Isaac was induced, by these embarrassments, to change his residence a second time. But at last Abimelech was induced to renew the covenant his father had made with Abraham, and for this purpose, taking with him Ahuzzath, an intimate friend, and Phichol,* the chief captain of his host, went to Isaac, who, after what had passed, expressed himself surprised to see them again. They answered, that they saw he stood under divine protection, and that he was rising to a high state of power and prosperity; and they therefore wished to conclude a new alliance of friendship with him, or confirm the old one; desiring no other terms, than that the Philistines and their posterity might be treated and regarded by Isaac and his posterity, as he and his family had been by Abimelech and his people. They were all three then entertained by Isaac, and the wished-for alliance was mutually sworn to the next morning.†

For a long series of years we know nothing of the Philistines, except from the representations on the walls of the Egyptian monuments, which show that they were engaged, as is natural to suppose, in several wars. We are also told, that the men of Gath fell on the children of Ephraim, and slew them, for attempting to drive off their cattle;‡ but though we are aware this event must have taken place many ages after the time of Isaac, we are not informed when it occurred. They appear, meanwhile, to have contracted an aversion or hatred to the Israelites, but still to have escaped the powerful arm of Joshua; but soon after his death, Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, were taken from them by the united tribes of Simeon and Judah;§ but whether they recovered them by force of arms, or whether they were restored by the victors through negotiations, is not related.

But about one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of these three cities, the Philistines held supremacy over the Israelites, until the latter were delivered by Shamgar, who is said to have slain six hundred

* One *Phichol* is also mentioned as the chief captain of his father's host. This is still another reason which induces me to suppose that, through the inaccuracy of ancient copyists, the same circumstances have been given twice in the version of the Old Testament, which has come down to us; and that the version, on the contrary, which Josephus followed, has in this instance been more correct.

† From this circumstance is seen plainly that there must not have existed between Abimelech and Isaac much dissimilarity of power. I suppose that to both would, in our times, the title of Emir be given.

‡ Gen. xxvi.

§ 1 Chron. vii. 21.

of these brave people with an ox-goad.* The Philistines suffered also in common with the Israelites, by the terrible ravages of Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian. I have in another place spoken of the manner in which the Israelites were oppressed, both by the Ammonites and Philistines, in the time of Jephthah. A third time the Philistines overcame the Israelites, which they are said to have done *with the permission of God*—as though anything can take place without His permission—and held them in subjection for forty years. This time the Israelites were delivered by the famous Samson from the Philistines, who afterwards, for a long time, appear to have been humbled.

But they recovered their loss at Gaza, and grew more powerful than ever. The Israelites, however, once more pitched their camp at Ebenezer, while the Philistines assembled in Aphek. Soon both armies came to a general action, which ended in favor of the Philistines, who drove the Israelites to seek safety in a precipitate flight within their entrenchments. But in the midst of their joy over this victory, they heard a joyous shout raised by their defeated enemies; and inquiring into the cause of it, they were told that the Israelites had sent for the ark of Jehovah, and that it had arrived into their camp. This news is said to have made them at first fearful, but exhorted and cheered by their chiefs, they recovered their wonted courage, and fell upon the Israelites with such fury, that they slew thirty thousand of their foot-soldiers, and took also the very ark of Jehovah; which, however, the Hebrew writers tell us, the Philistines, by a miraculous interposition, were soon glad to restore to its original possessors.

Twenty years afterwards the Philistines received intelligence that the Israelites were gathered in a body at Mizpeh, and as they perhaps thought this was done on purpose to throw off their supremacy, they marched against them. The Israelites were at first inspired with fear, but when seeing the Philistines dispersed by a storm of thunder and lightning, they gathered new courage, and boldly attacked the broken ranks of their enemies, whom they put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter to Bethcar. The Hebrew writers attribute this victory also to divine interposition. Considering everything that takes place as a result of the influence which Providence exercises upon the destinies of mankind and upon the material world, we arrive at the same conclusion, without, therefore, being obliged to accept of the superstitious ideas of the Hebrews. Still we ought not to pass unnoticed the praiseworthy gratitude with which the Israelites generally attributed their successes less to their own prowess than to the aid of Jehovah. This, however, is partly to be

* Judges iii. 31. It is, however, to be observed, that Josephus passes over this circumstance in silence.

accounted for by the self-interested motives of the Hebrew priesthood, as in another place I will endeavor to show.

The defeat of the Philistines at Mizpeh re-established the independence of the Israelites, and restored to them the territory on which this hostile tribe had encroached. During the remainder of Samuel's government, the Israelites received no further molestation from the Philistines.

The Israelites, during the whole period of the Philistine supremacy, were completely disarmed, and were not allowed to have a single smith among them.*

Some time after the Hebrew state had been changed into a monarchy, with Saul for king, we find the Philistines had recovered new strength; because, when hearing that Geba—a fortress of theirs—had been surprised by the noble Jonathan, the son of Saul, they gathered together thirty thousand chariots,† six thousand horsemen,‡ and footmen as numerous as the sand of the sea,§ and set out to fight, or rather to plunder, the Israelites, who, in consequence of the tyrannical policy of the Philistines, during their long supremacy, appear to have been still almost destitute of arms.||

The Philistines assembled their forces in Michmash, and inspired great terror in the Israelites, who hastened to seek shelter, wherever they could find it, from the marauding excursions of the Philistines, whose head quarters were at Michmash. But in the midst of their depredations, the Philistines received a check from Jonathan, who surprised and defeated one of their out-guards or advanced posts. This event communicated such a sudden panic in their ranks as to throw them into confusion, and cause them to destroy each other, until their disorder threw them into a precipitate flight. This encouraged the Israelites, who, headed by Saul, pursued and cut off a great number of the fugitives.

Some years afterwards, we find the Philistines again warring against the Israelites. At this time the former had among them the famous Goliath of Gath, who was slain by the heroic David. This unexpected event appears to have been considered by the Philistines as an omen prognosticating their defeat, should they venture to give battle to the

* 1 Sam. xiii. 19.

† I do not hesitate to say that this is an evident exaggeration, and probably caused by the blunder of copyists. Those who have taken the least pains to investigate ancient history, cannot be inclined to allow the Philistines such vast numbers of chariots. The Syriac and Arabic copies, however, give but three thousand chariots; but even this number is too large to signify war chariots.

‡ Sir Isaac Newton being evidently aware of the exaggeration of the number of chariots, attempts to explain it by presuming that the Philistines had been assisted by the shepherds who were driven out of Egypt; but this explanation is not acceptable.

§ An hyperbole. often used by oriental writers, to signify a vast multitude.

|| They had evidently some arms, because otherwise Jonathan cannot be supposed to have taken Geba.

Israelites ; because they had no sooner seen their stout champion fall than they cowardly fled, and suffered from the pursuing Israelites, headed by Saul and David, a severer loss than probably would have been their lot had they manfully defended themselves.

Some time afterwards the Philistines suffered another defeat from David. These misfortunes appear to have induced them to institute a change of government ; for, as ever since the Abimelechs, they are represented to have been ruled by several lords or princes, so now we read of their king, Achish, residing at Gath.* He is, however, also called Abimelech,* the name borne by the ancient kings of the Philistines.

When David, about this time, was in fear of Saul, he sought safety among the Philistines ; and their king, Achish, had the humanity and generosity to accede to this request. This conduct commands our admiration ; as we are told that David, before this time, had slaughtered two hundred of the Philistines, solely for the purpose of getting their foreskins. This was, indeed, returning good for evil, and manifested a truly Christian spirit—a spirit of which the Israelites generally were not possessed.

But there is a circumstance connected with this affair particularly illustrative of the ingratitude of royalty, or, alas ! of mankind in general. Upon David's request for some particular dwelling, Achish very hospitably gave him Ziklag, which was hence claimed by the kings of Judah as their property.

The high qualities which unquestionably adorned David's character failed not to inspire Achish with a high opinion of his guest. Therefore understanding that he had undertaken some predatory expedition, he examined David in regard to it, and received an answer which induced him to think that he had been plundering his own nation. Achish expressed great satisfaction at the result, hoping that David had committed an act which would forever make him odious in the eyes of his countrymen, and that, thereafter, he could trust him in his own service. Consequently, when soon after preparing war against Saul, he told David that he expected him to head his followers and march with him ; promising to recompense him with a high situation in his service. When the Philistines were assembled at Aphek, probably in a kind of review, David and his men followed about Achish ; from whence it has been presumed that the post promised to David was to be captain of the king's guard. The chief officers of the Philistines when they saw this, became offended, and expostulated with the king, who in vain endeavored to persuade them that David was a friend to be trusted. Instead of being convinced of this, they became displeased, and insisted that David should not go a step farther in company with them ; but that he should be sent back to Ziklag, the place appointed

* 1 Sam. xxi. 10.

for his abode, and thus not have it in his power to betray them during the ensuing war—which act would appear to be the only means he had to ingratiate himself with his former master. They seem to have thought it impossible that David, who was the favorite of his countrymen, should forfeit his popularity by aiding their enemies. Consequently Achish, who was unable to resist the decided will of his chief officers, called David to him and assured him, that for his own part, he entertained the highest opinion of his sincerity and great qualities; but as his officers were far from entertaining the same opinion, it would be vain and imprudent to oppose their wishes; he, therefore, desired him to return quietly to Ziklag. David was, however, offended with the opinion which the Philistine lords had expressed of him, and protested his readiness to fight in behalf of Achish.* But the king answered him, with great earnestness, that he was fully convinced of his friendship and his esteem, and that he viewed him as an angel of God;† but that in consequence of the animosity and suspicion entertained by the Philistine lords, he must set out the next morning for Ziklag. David did so; and Achish and his army marched against Saul, who had pitched his camp on Mount Gilboa.

A battle took place on this mountain between the hostile armies. The Philistines prevailed, and drove the Israelites before them with great slaughter. The attack was particularly directed against Saul and his sons, of whom they killed Jonathan, Abinadab and Malchishua.

On the morning after the battle, when the victorious Philistines came to strip the bodies of the slain Israelites, they found not only the corpses of the three sons of Saul, but also of Saul himself, who, in despair, had fallen by his own weapon. They cut off the head of Saul, and hung his body, and also those of his sons, on the walls of Beth-shan; a more striking evidence of their wanton inhumanity than of their victory. The armor of Saul they preserved in the temple of Ashtoreth.

As we are told that the Philistines invaded the territory of the Israelites very early in the reign of David, it has, with good reason I think, been presumed that Achish was then dead. But David met them at Baal-Pera-zim and completely defeated them. They seem, however, to have rallied again in order to retake the idols which had fallen into the hands of the victors; because it is told that a new battle was fought in the Valley of Rephaim, in which they had, however, no better fortune. They were compelled to seek safety in flight, and were pursued with a great slaughter

* When we consider this affair, I think we shall be willing to admit that the Philistine lords had paid David a higher compliment than the king did. The former thought that he would be no traitor to his country, but the latter again believed him ready to be so, on consideration of personal interests or private revenge.

† From this expression it would appear as though the king of the Philistines believed in the divinity of Jehovah.

from Geba to Gazer,* which appears to have been a place situated upon their own frontiers.

A short time afterwards David conquered the Philistines again, and took Metheg-Ammaht out of their hands. Peace was then established and maintained between these rivaling people for some years. But at last a new war broke out in which the Philistines were defeated in four battles; and in the first of which David and Abishai signalized themselves by slaying Ishbi-benob, a son of Goliath; and in the second Sibbechai, the Hushathite, by killing Saph, another son of Goliath; and in the third Jaare-oregim, the Bethlemite, by overcoming a brother of Goliath. All these three Philistines are described as being giants, or men of uncommon strength; and lastly, in the fourth battle, Jonathan, the brother of David, by conquering another son of Goliath's, who is said to have had six fingers upon each hand, and six toes upon each foot, and who, after the example of his father, had challenged the whole army of Israel to send out one of their number to fight him.

These victories of the Israelites enabled them to lay a tribute upon the Philistines, who appear to have been a race no less heroic than their enemies. It seems also that from this time the Philistines applied themselves more earnestly to commercial pursuits. During the time of Solomon, we also find them engaged in transactions of this nature with the Israelites.

But many years later the Philistines were harassed by Nadab,† king of Israel, who laid siege to a city of theirs, called Gibbethon, which, some years later, had also to sustain another siege from Elah, king of Israel. This city had formerly belonged to the Levites, but deserted by them, it was seized on by the Philistines, who also kept it, notwithstanding the many efforts made to deprive them of it.

The tribute which David is supposed, from an expression of Josephus, to have laid upon the Philistines, and which they at least paid to Jehoshaphat, they refused to pay to his son Jehoram; on whom they made an attack so successful as to enable them to plunder his palace, and to extirpate his whole family, with the exception of Athaliah and her son Abaziah, who, by some unknown means, were saved. We learn also that at this time they carried off a great number of prisoners, some of whom they sold to the Edomites,§ and some to the Greeks.|| This success has been presumed, with much probability of truth, to have been caused by the attack which the Arabians at the same time made upon Jehoram. But fortune smiled not long upon them. They were attacked by Uzziah,

* 2 Sam. v. 17—25.

† 2 Sam. viii. 1. It has been supposed that this name, signifying the bridle of Ammah, denotes the city of Gath.

‡ 1 Kings xv. 27.

§ Amos i. 6.

|| Joel iii. 6.

king of Judah, who dismantled Gath, Jabneh and Ashdod, and built cities of strength—that is, fortresses among them—to keep them in subjection. In the reign of Ahaz, they however, waged a victorious war, and took ample revenge for what they had suffered from his grandfather. They destroyed several of the Jewish cities, and added a large portion of Judah to their own country. But Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, brought home to them a severe retribution at the same time that they were attacked by an army far more terrible. Sennacherib, the Assyrian monarch, sent his general, Tartan, to reduce them, and their city of Ashdod was captured. Soon afterwards their country became the theatre of a war between this mighty people and the Egyptians. For when Psammeticus learned of the success of the Assyrians, he grew jealous, or began to fear that Egypt might share the fate of its neighbors, if these conquerors were not checked in time.

I have in another place related that this monarch, after a siege of twenty-nine years—as it is related—took Ashdod from the Assyrians; and it may hence, with good reason be inferred, that during this long time the Philistines were subjected to many vexations, and that their independency was lost. From this time they became tributary to the great empires that succeeded each other; and we know that in the beginning of this servitude they were badly treated by the Egyptians, who, in order to form a barrier by means of them against the Assyrians, took Gaza from them. We are afterwards told of a king of Gaza; but nothing is further said of him, nor is anything more related of the Philistines, who were, together with many other small tribes, swallowed up by the great conquering nations who overrun these regions.

LETTER XXXV.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT SYRIANS

I WILL now speak of *Syria Proper* and its inhabitants, only referring the reader to the geographical description already given of Syria, in the more extensive meaning often given to this name. Syria Proper had certainly not always the same extent, but still we may point out its situation in a more general sense. It lay between the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the river Euphrates on the east; and between the mountain-

chains of Amanus and Taurus on the north, and the desert of Arabia, Palestine, and Phœnicia on the south.* Its length, from north to south, was three hundred miles, and its breadth, from west to east, one hundred and eighty miles.

Syria was very probably, in the most ancient times, divided into many small states; but it appears afterwards to have been organized in four somewhat larger ones—Zobah, Hamoth, Damascus, and Geshur; which states, however, seem to have been sometimes subjected to sub-divisions. In a still later period, the whole country was divided only into two parts, Cœlo-Syria† and Phœnicia, which divisions, however, comprised also Phœnicia Proper, Idumæa, Judæa, and the country of the Philistines.

Among the many remarkable vestiges—to be found everywhere within the boundaries of this country—of the magnificent buildings which in ancient times adorned Syria, I will direct your attention to those of Heliopolis, or Balbek and Palmyra, or Tadmor.

Arabian writers speak of Balbek as the wonder of Syria. One of them says: “Balbek is a city of three days’ journey from Damascus, where are wonderful structures and magnificent vestiges of antiquity, and palaces with marble columns, such as in the whole world are nowhere else to be seen.” Every one who has seen the ruins which here present themselves to the traveler’s eye, will not think the Arabian writer has used much exaggeration in his language. On the south-west of the city, which is situated in a charming plain on the west foot of Anti-Lebanon, lie the ruins of a very ancient temple, together with the remains of some other edifices, and among the rest a truly magnificent palace. These ancient structures have now been converted into a castle, or fort. Among these ruins is a *rotunda*, or round pile of buildings, surrounded with pillars of the Corinthian order, which support a cornice that runs all around the structure—the whole executed in a style of great elegance, but now in a very dilapidated condition. It is for the most part of marble, and, though round on the outside, is an octagon within. It is adorned with eight arches, supported by eight Corinthian columns, each of one single piece. But the Greeks that now live here, and who use this *rotunda* as a church, have spoiled the beauty of the inside, by daubing it over with plaster. Leaving this, the visitor arrives at a large and very lofty pile of buildings, which bear the appearance of having been added in later times. Through this pile one passes into a noble arched walk, or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads to the temple.

This building, which has resisted no less the corroding tooth of time,

* This tract of land extends from 32 to 37 of north latitude, and from 36 to 39 degrees of east longitude.

† Strabo says that Cœlo-Syria, or Hollow-Syria, was the vale between Libanus and Anti-Libanus.

than the destructive madness of superstitious man, is yet in a good state of preservation. It is an oblong square—its length, on the outside, one hundred and ninety-two feet, and its breadth ninety. The *pronaos*, consisted of fifty-four feet of the one hundred and ninety-two, but is now tumbled down, and the pillars which supported it, are crumbled to pieces. The whole body of this temple, as it now stands, is surrounded by a noble portico, supported by pillars of the Corinthian order, six feet three inches in diameter, about fifty-four in height, and each of three stones apiece. Their distance from each other, and from the walls of the temple, is nine feet. There are fourteen of them on each side of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and cornice, which are supported all around by these pillars, are exquisitely carved. When one walks around this temple, between its wall and the pillars which surround it, he has over his head a solid arcade all the way, of great stones, carved out arch-wise; in the centre of each of which is a god or goddess, or a hero, struck out with an expression of life that seems almost inconceivable; and all around the foot of the wall of the temple itself is a double border of marble, the lowest part of which is a continued basso-relievo in miniature, expressive of religious and mysterious ceremonies; where, without any confusion, are seen a surprising mixture of men and beasts, in a most charming variety, and still not without harmony.

The ascent to the temple is by thirty steps, on each side bounded by a wall, which terminates in a pedestal, on which, in former times, probably stood a statue. The front is composed of eight Corinthian pillars, as already described, fluted as are the others that surround the temple, and an ample and well-proportioned triangular pediment. Within these eight pillars, at the distance of about six feet, are four others like the former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate in the walls of the temple that extend a considerable distance from the body of the structure. All these form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty-four feet, and in breadth some sixty. Through these pillars is seen the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; the whole appears with great majesty, and without the least confusion; so nice are the proportions of the pillars, their distance from each other, and the recess of the door itself.

The door-case or portal is square, and of marble, in proportion and construction just like the great marble portal of the west end of St. Paul's Church, in London, but far richer in sculpture. The whole height of it is about forty feet, and its whole width about twenty-eight, with an opening of about twenty feet wide. The visitor has no sooner got under its portal, than, looking up, he sees the bottom of the lintel enriched with sculpture, which is among the most skilfully executed in existence. It is a vast eagle in basso-relievo, with outstretched wings, and bearing a caduceus in

his talons, on each side of which is an image of Fame and of Cupid. These, each of them, support the one end of a festoon by a string or ribbon, the other being held in the eagle's beak.

The temple inside is divided into three aisles, two narrow on the sides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of many modern churches, being formed by two rows of fluted Corinthian pillars, of between three and four feet in diameter, and in height, including the pedestal, about thirty-six. These pillars are twelve in number, six on a side, at the distance of about eighteen feet from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilasters, one over another, and between each two of the lowermost is a round niche about fifteen feet high. The niches are upon a level with the base of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the style of a Corinthian pedestal, the niches themselves being Corinthian in all their parts. Over these round niches are a row of square ones between the pilasters of the upper order; the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment. Towards the western end of the middle aisle the visitor ascends to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen steps. This choir is distinguished from the rest of the temple by two large square columns adorned with pilasters, which form a fine entrance, exactly corresponding with that of the temple itself. Here is a great profusion of admirable sculpture, but the architecture is the same as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedestals, and the niches stand upon the pavement. In the bottom of this choir is a vast marble-niche, where stood the principal deity here worshipped. In this choir are seen very fine sculptures, representing birds, flowers and fruits; and basso-relievos, representing Neptunes, tritons, fishes, sea-gods, and other marine figures. The ceiling or vault of the temple is bold and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle, but whether a cupola or lanthorn stood there for the admission of the light, or whether it was always open, cannot now be determined. In short, the beautiful symmetry, the admirable and elaborate carvings—at a height where rich and elegantly wrought ornaments would be thought superfluous—were finished with a skill and taste that have been thought almost unsurpassable. The whole stands upon vaults of such excellent architecture, and so bold in design, that it has been presumed they served for something more than merely to support the superincumbent weight; and thus might well have been dedicated to some particular service in the pagan worship. The ruins that surround this temple prove that here once stood other buildings which were no mean rivals of the temple itself.

Within the walls of this castle, as it is now termed, are also vast remains of what is supposed to have been a palace, which the very ruins indicate to have been inferior to few royal seats in the world. This palace is, how-

ever, not by far so well preserved as the temple. We will, therefore, only take a cursory view of it.

When going through the long arched walk, which is already spoken of as leading to the temple, and which looks like a subterraneous passage, adorned with many busts, that, for want of light, cannot be well discerned, the first object that strikes the eye is a spacious hexagonal building, or wall, which forms a kind of spacious theatre, open at the other end, and presenting to you a terrace, to which you ascend by marble steps. The aperture admits you into a square court, larger than the first, around which are buildings more magnificent than what you have before seen. Here, on each hand, you have a double row of pillars, forming porticos or galleries, of sixty-six fathoms in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was occupied by a third building, of greater depth and more magnificent than the others, and seems to have been the body of the palace, fronting on the east, as is true of all the fronts in this castle. The columns belonging to this structure are of such size, that they have been compared with those of the hippodrome at Constantinople. Nine of these columns are standing, and a large piece of the entablature, which prove it to have been one of the wonders of Asia; it is also to be observed, that each of these nine pillars was formed of but one block. The Corinthian order prevails chiefly throughout the whole. The fine taste of Greece, and the magnificence of Rome, are said here to meet; statues without number, busts of all kinds, proud trophies, curiously wrought niches, walls and ceilings enriched with basso-relievos, incrustations, and other works of the finest marble, judiciously placed. Underneath the whole are vast vaults; where, from time to time, you discover, through the ruins, long flights of marble stairs, nearly two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of these vaults are bold and surprising; and in these subterraneous vaults you find entire many rooms, halls, rich apartments, and many marble tombs. The walls here are also adorned with niches, basso-relievos, and inscriptions in Roman characters; but these inscriptions are quite effaced by the hand of time. Some of these vaults are quite dark, and must be visited with lights, either because of their great depth, or because the passages which may have given them light are stopped up by rubbish; but others receive light through large windows, which stand on a level with the ground above. All these edifices are built with stones of enormous size, without any visible mortar, cement or binding whatsoever.

The old wall which encloses these buildings is built of such monstrous blocks of stone as exceeds all belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil; which tradition is proof enough of the incapacity and ignorance of those, who, in later times, have inhabited these regions, in comparison with those generations that in ancient times reared these stupendous structures.

But astonishing as these ruins are, they do not surpass those of Palmyra, to which we will now turn our attention.

The situation of Palmyra, in the south-eastern part of Syria, I have alluded to in the geographical description. Surrounded by deserts, it stood, however, on a fertile spot. The first object that meets your eye, as you approach this famous place from the north, is a castle of mean architecture, about half an hour's journey distant from the city. From thence you descry Palmyra or Tadmor,* enclosed on three sides by long ridges of mountains; but to the south is a vast plain, extending as far as the eye can reach. This once magnificent city is now inhabited by only about five hundred poor Bedouins,† who have erected their miserable huts in a spacious court, which once enclosed a splendid temple. This court, which is situated near the south end of the city, is two hundred and twenty yards on each side, with a high and stately wall of large square stones, adorned with pilasters within and without, to the number of about sixty on each side. The beautiful cornices are said to have been purposely beaten down, and the perpetrators of this wanton spoliation thereby deprived the world of one of the finest works of the kind that perhaps was ever seen, as here and there a fragment, which has been spared, abundantly evinces. The west side of this court, by which you enter, is mostly broken down; and towards the middle, there are remains of an old castle, built by the Mamelukes, as is supposed, out of the ruins, which are here in such an abundance. This castle shrouds the remains of an ancient structure of exquisite beauty, as appears by what is still standing of its entrance, being two stones of thirty-five feet in length, carved with vines and clusters of grapes, exceedingly bold and true to nature. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears that the door or gate was fifteen feet wide. In this large court are the remains of two rows of vast marble pillars, thirty-seven feet high, with capitals of the finest carved work; and the cornices must have been of equal beauty, though quite destroyed by the wanton violence of ignorance. Of these pillars, fifty-eight are entire. They must, however, have been once far more numerous; for it appears that they went quite round the court, and supported a most spacious double piazza. The walks on the west side of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, seem to have been the most spacious and stately of all; and at each end are two niches for statues full length, with their pedestals, borders, supporters and canopies, carved with the greatest skill, and after the most curious designs. The space within this once beautiful enclosure is conceived to have been an open court, as we have already called it, in the midst of which stands the

* Tadmor it was called by the Hebrews, and so it is now called by the Arabs and Syrians; but by the Greeks and Romans it was called Palmyra.

† Ali Bey's Travels in Syria. 1803—1807.

temple, encompassed with another row of pillars of a different order, and for *excepting the former* in dimensions being fifty feet high. Of these *columns* are now standing; and it is supposed there must have been double that number: though whether they formed an inner court, or supported the *roof* of the piazza, is quite uncertain. One great stone lies here, which seems to have reached from these pillars to the walls of the temple: so that the latter conjecture may probably be correct. The whole space contained within these pillars is one hundred and seventy-seven feet in length, and in breadth eighty-four. In the midst of this place is the temple, extending ninety-nine feet in length, and in breadth about forty. It has a magnificent entrance on the west, exactly in the middle of the building, and by what remains, seems to have been one of the most remarkable works of architecture. You here see vines and clusters of grapes executed with an expression of perfect naturalness; and over the door you can trace out a spread eagle, as at Balbek, which occupies the whole width, with some angels or cupids accompanying it on the same stone, and several eagles are seen upon stones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is standing but the walls, in which it is observable that the windows, though not large, are narrower at the top than at the bottom, but richly embellished with sculpture. It has been awkwardly patched up to serve for a mosque, all but the north end, where are precious relics; but whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or for some other purpose, is impossible to decide. They are beautiful, with the most curious fret-work and sculpture; in the midst of which is a dome, or cupola, six feet in diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the solid rock, or moulded of fine cement, or composition, is doubtful.

Leaving this court and temple, your eyes meet with vast piles of broken marble pillars, scattered over a space of nearly a mile of ground, but in such confusion, that it is impossible to determine for what purposes they were made. But there is a tall and stately obelisk, or rather, pillar, which attracts the particular attention of the traveler. It consists of seven large stones, besides its capital, and is encircled by wreathed work; it exceeds fifty feet in height—being twelve feet and a half in compass just above the pedestal—and a statue is supposed to have once stood upon it. There is also another pillar, but not quite so high. On both of these pillars are Greek inscriptions.

At the distance from the last pillar of about one hundred paces, is a magnificent entrance, vast and lofty, and of exquisite workmanship, but in a very dilapidated state. It leads into a fine piazza, above half a mile long, and forty feet broad, formed by two rows of stately marble pillars, twenty-six feet high, and eight or nine in circumference. Of these pillars about one hundred and twenty are yet standing; but they are presumed, on a moderate calculation, to have been at first no less than between five

and six hundred. Upon most of these pillars are inscriptions in Greek and Syrian characters. It is presumed that this was a much-frequented and most conspicuous part of the city, and was dedicated to the commemoration of such persons as had deserved well of their country, and friends or relatives. It seems, however, that besides these inscriptions, there had also been statues; because there are pedestals jutting out from these pillars, whereon, very probably, statues stood, but which have long ago been destroyed; upon these pedestals there are also inscriptions. The upper end of this spacious piazza was shut in by a row of pillars, standing together closer than those on each side.

On the west side of the above piazza are several openings, supposed to have been for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of these gates look as if they had been the most magnificent and beautiful in the world, both for the elegance of the work, and for the stately porphyry pillars wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four of these pillars; not standing in a line with those of the wall, but placed in couples in front of the gate facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other. They are about thirty feet in length, and nine in circumference. The palace itself is so completely demolished, that it is impossible to obtain from the ruins anything like an accurate idea of what it had been when in an entire state. It appears evidently to have been destroyed originally by violence, which, together with the effects of the time that has subsequently elapsed, has defaced almost every trace of its former grandeur; leaving only here and there a broken piece of its wall standing. But it is said there is much reason to suppose it fronted this magnificent piazza, and that it was surrounded with rows of pillars of different orders—many of which are still standing—some plain, and some carved and fluted, like those immediately encompassing the temple. These pillars have also pedestals with inscriptions on them.

On each side of this very piazza, you find a vast number of marble pillars, some perfect, and others deprived of their beautiful capitals, but so scattered and confused that it is impossible to determine what use they formerly served. In one place are eleven together, forming a square, paved at the bottom with broad flat stones, but without any manner of roof.

But of the remarkable remains here met with, none more attract the admiration of the visitor than the costly sepulchres, which are square towers, four or five stories high, and extending a mile along each side of a narrow vale, towards the north end of this now desolated place. At a distance they look like the steeples of decayed churches, or the bastions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have sunk beneath the mighty hand of time, or submitted to the destructive and wanton violence of man. They are all of one form, but of different size, in proportion probably to the rank and fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them that was entirely marble, were, far more than a hundred

years ago, found fragments of two statues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a sitting or rather leaning posture. Of all these sepulchres, there are two which seem to be more entire than the rest. They are square towers, five stories high, their outside of common stone, but their partitions and floors within of marble. They are embellished with very rich carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breast and shoulders, but much defaced. Under them, or on one side, are Syrian characters, which are thought to indicate the names of the persons there deposited. In the two uppermost rooms, these buildings being divided into stories, it is presumed that no bodies were deposited, except that of the founder himself, whose statue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a recumbent posture, is placed in a niche, or rather window, in the front of the monument, so as to be visible both from within and from without.*

The monuments of Balbek and Palmyra, testifying as they do to the former magnificence of these cities, indicate, however, more taste and elegance than vastness. Thus it is very probable that the buildings which once adorned Balbek and Palmyra, awakened more admiration by the exquisite workmanship and taste bestowed upon them, and by the harmony that existed between their several parts, than astonishment by the magnitude of their dimensions.

Syria is generally considered to have been first peopled by the descendants of Aram, Shem's fifth and youngest son. I do not intend to enter into any dispute with those who embrace this opinion, but will only observe that it is a question which is not settled beyond all doubt.

But however this may be, sure it is that the Aramites, from a very remote period, inhabited this country, though they were not its sole inhabitants. Here dwelt also the Hamathites and some other tribes. This country, as well as all other countries in ancient times, being divided between smaller communities ruled by their own chiefs.

That Syria was among the first inhabited countries, at least to the west of the Indus, I think is very probable, almost certain, though it would be a futile labor to attempt to determine the precise time.

Syria was unquestionably divided among several tribes, at the head of whose affairs stood chiefs, to whom the name of kings are given; it seems, however, in the time of David, that Damascus had no such chief, but that its affairs were managed by the people themselves, and conse-

* The description here given of the ruins of Balbek and Palmyra is taken, for the greatest part, from the English Universal History, as given from Maundrell's Voyage from Aleppo to Jerusalem, compared with De la Roque's Voyage de Syrie. When treating on the modern history of Syria, we will observe the changes which have since taken place.

† This name some derive from one Syrus, the son of Agenor. Others from one Syrus said to have sprung from the earth. A third opinion is, that it is contracted from the word Assyria. Be this as it may, it was called Syria by the Greeks, while the Orientals called it Aram.

quently that a kind of republican government must have existed there. We may at least be justified in entertaining such an opinion, from the circumstance, that it is said the Syrians of Damascus,*—not their king—sent an army to the relief of Hadadezer, king of Zobah. Still there can be no doubt that a monarchical, or perhaps rather, a despotic government was soon after introduced in Damascus.

Of the laws which existed among the Syrians we have very little information; but in regard to their religion we have a more satisfactory account. We know that they were very early idolaters, and that they also paid divine honors to some of their greatest princes.

The principal idol worshipped, at least in Damascus, was called Rimmon.† But this ancient god had, in time, to give place to another by the name of Adad or Ader,‡ whom the Syrians considered as their chief god; and who is said to have been identical with the Syrian king, Benhadad, the Second, to whom, in consequence of his great merits, this people were induced to pay divine honors. But from the time Syria came under the sway of the Assyrians, the gods of the latter people are presumed to have been worshipped there, which is very probable, as we know that Syria was repopled by Assyrian colonists.

In regard to the manners and customs of the ancient people that inhabited Syria, we know very little; but there can be no doubt that they were, from very remote times, in possession of a no inconsiderable degree of civilization. They are, by ancient writers, mentioned as jointly with the Phœnicians to have invented letters; but though we may entertain doubts in regard to the justice of attributing to either of these people this invention, we have every reason to believe the Syrians had early made considerable progress in knowledge and learning generally. I think that their civilization is of about the same date as that of the Assyrians and the Egyptians.

Trade has always been one of the means of disseminating knowledge among nations; and as there can be but little doubt that the Syrians were among the most ancient commercial people—as for instance, Ctesias tells us that Syrians were among the mariners employed by Semiramis in her Indian expedition—I think we have here a confirmation of the opinion I have given of the antiquity of their civilization. The easy navigation of the Euphrates in comparison with that of the sea, has induced many to assume that the Syrians were more ancient navigators than the Phœnicians, and even than the Edomites. This is, however, an opinion at variance, at least as far as what concerns the former, with what Herodotus

* 2 Sam. viii. 6.

† This idol probably represented either some power in nature or some of their most ancient heroes.

‡ Adad is interpreted one; but Adad is also called Adod, the king of the gods.

tells us; as he says, that the Phœnicians were more ancient navigators than both the Syrians and the Egyptians; but as he adds, that the Phœnicians carried on the commerce of Assyria and Egypt by their shipping, it appears as if he had extended the name of the Phœnicians also to a portion of the Syrians. It is, however, very probable, while the Syrians were more eagerly pursuing their trade with the eastern countries, that they neglected the Mediterranean navigation, which was consequently, as we know, chiefly engrossed by the Phœnicians. Besides the commercial intercourse and exchange of products which naturally existed between the Syrians—trading with the countries north of Mount Taurus, as well as with those east of the Euphrates and Tigris—and the Phœnicians engaged in commerce with the countries on the Red Sea, and with Egypt, and with all those that bordered on the Mediterranean, might well have suggested to Herodotus the language he uses, as above alluded to. But when the Syrian king, Hazael, seized on the famous city of Elath, on the Red Sea, the Syrians came into possession of a commodious place, from which to carry on trade with the southernmost part of Arabia, with Ethiopia, and with Egypt. But the Syrians kept too brief a possession of this place to gather any fruits from this conquest. They had scarcely settled themselves in it, when the death of Hazael caused the loss of Elath; and, though they recovered it under their last king, Rezon, it was not of much use to them, as a short time afterwards they were subjected to a foreign power. We will here, therefore, only observe, that a Syrian colony remained in Elath, which was made subservient to foreign interests.

As it is quite impossible to dissipate the clouds that surround the remotest history of Syria, we must satisfy ourselves by presuming that this country was subjected to the various changes incident to other nations, and that a long series of years must have passed away before it could have risen to that degree of civilization it possessed at the time its affairs became a matter of history. But even subsequently to this, we know almost nothing more of the Syrians for many centuries, than that they appear to have carried on wars with several nations, and among others, with the Egyptians. But about the time that the monarchical form of government was introduced among the Israelites, they began to come more into contact with this people, and from the historical records of the Hebrews, we are enabled to gather more correct information of the political affairs of the Syrians.

Thus we know something of the kings that after that period reigned in Zobah, or Sephene, in Damascus, in Hamath, and in Geshur. Of these four kingdoms, Damascus was the youngest, and rose upon the ruins of Zobah.

We know that Saul conquered the kings of Zobah,* and it has there-

* 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

fore, with much reason, been supposed, by some modern historians, that the people had come to the resolution of electing a single supreme ruler, as they saw that the affairs of the Israelites appeared, by that means, to have taken a prosperous turn.

Rehab,* king of Zobah, who was contemporary with Saul, King of
Zobah. has, therefore, by those historians, been presumed to have been the first sole ruler of that part of Syria, and the founder of the graudeur of his son, *Hadadezer*, or *Hadarezer*,† who succeeded his father, and was a warlike and ambitious prince. He had carried on a successful war against the king of Hamath, and is presumed to have aimed at the universal monarchy of Syria; but when warring against David, who was bent upon extending his dominions, he met with a different fortune. In the first battle he fought with the heroic David, he suffered a loss of one thousand chariots, seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. Reinforced by the Syrians of Damascus, he fought another battle against David, but with no better success, as he lost twenty-two thousand men. The victor took possession of Damascus. Hadadezer now lost his golden shields; his two cities, Betah and Berothai, very rich in brass, were plundered,‡ and his dominions were considerably diminished and impoverished. But it is very probable that his greatest loss was caused by the defection of Rezon, afterwards king of Damascus, who, commanding either the forces from that province, or a part belonging to Hadadezer himself, deserted him in the midst of his adverse fortune, and assembling a band of men about him, lived as an outlaw,§ by means of plunder.

But, though defeated twice, Hadadezer appears not to have ceased to resist the progress of David; for he is said to have furnished Hanun, king of Ammon, with twenty thousand men against that prince; but they, together with the other auxiliaries, were put to an ignominious flight by the valorous Joab. In this war he had not been the principal mover, but had been paid for his twenty thousand men. In the next year, however, he seems to have been the chief party, because he assembled all the petty princes that owed him homage on the other side of the Euphrates, and everywhere else as far as his power extended, he levied troops. By these means he assembled a very considerable army, the leadership of which he committed to Shobach, his general, with orders to conduct them again to the assistance of Hanun against David. But this expedition was attended with no better success. This numerous army was routed at a place called Ram, and about forty thousand Syrians, and among them Shobach himself, were killed. The petty princes which had served Hadadezer in

* Josephus gives him the name of Arach.

† Called Adrazar by Josephus.

‡ 2 Sam. viii. 3—9.

§ 1 Kings xi. 23, 24.

this war, concluded a peace with David, upon condition of becoming his tributaries, but nothing farther is related of Hadadezer,* or of the kingdom of Zobah.

King of Damascus. *Rezon*,† of whom we have above spoken, made himself king of Damascus, but whether in the lifetime of Hadadezer, or afterwards, we do not know ; but as nothing is further said of the kingdom of Zobah, it is reasonable to suppose that he or his immediate successor joined it to that of Damascus.

Hezion succeeded *Rezon*, but it is not said whether he was *Rezon*'s son, or in any other way related to him. He maintained peaceful and friendly relations with the princes that reigned over the then divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

Tabrimon, son of *Hezion*, appears to have followed the same policy as did his father, at least in regard to the kings of Judah and Israel.

Benhadad, son of *Tabrimon*, was induced by large gifts—which the ambassadors of *Asa*, king of Judah, presented to him—to make war upon *Baasha*, king of Israel ;‡ from him he succeeded in wresting several towns, and all the land of *Naphthah*, and at last extended his conquests to the city of *Samaria* itself. He was succeeded by his son.

Benhadad II. prosecuted with vigor the hostilities which his father had carried on with so much fortune against the kingdom of Israel. When he first marched his army against this state, it appears that his forces were indeed formidable for their strength ; because we are made to understand that they were composed of war-chariots, and of a vast number of horse and foot, commanded by thirty-two vassal-kings. After having arrived before *Samaria*, he summoned *Ahab*, the king of Israel, to acknowledge himself to be his vassal, and all that he possessed to be at his disposal. To this hard proposition he received a submissive answer ; but arrogant by success, he caused *Ahab* to be informed that he intended the next day to send officers into the city to search it, as well as the king's palace, for all the riches, women, and fine children they might find, and to seize and carry them away. To this insult the king of Israel would not accede, but gave a bold refusal that highly exasperated the king of Syria, who expected a far different reply. He sent however for the third time, ambassadors to *Ahab*, with the hope of inducing him by menaces to comply with the hard conditions he had prescribed. Among other instructions, his envoys were commissioned to say, that their master wished himself in a worse condition than the king of *Samaria*, if he did not bring before the besieged city an army so large, that every soldier taking but a handful of

* 2 Sam. x. 15—19.

† All the ten kings of Damascus, including Hadadezer, are named Adad by Nicolas of Damascus.

‡ 1 Kings xv. 18.

it, could completely remove it, so that no trace should be left behind. Ahab, nevertheless, refused to listen to these cruel conditions, and advised Benhadad to wait the result of his measures before he could surely count on such success.

The army of Benhadad was now ordered to invest the city of Samaria in the usual way, and to make everything ready for a general assault. Meanwhile, however, Benhadad, who seems to have been a prince fond of voluptuous pleasures, and also much addicted to drinking, on this occasion neglected his military affairs, and spent his time in debaucheries. While in the midst of these indulgences, he was told that a party was advancing from the city; intelligence which first caused a small alarm in the camp, and even uneasiness to the Syrian king himself. When he, however, understood what had occurred, he ordered that those of the enemy who were advancing should be brought to him alive, whether their designs were for peace or for war, and then carelessly returned to the carousal. The party which was advancing from the city, was in fact Ahab, with a select band of followers, who, though it was in the middle of the day, had formed the daring resolution to attack the numerous host of the Syrians, probably in the hope that, thus taken by surprise, they would be routed by a panic. It so happened that the Syrians did not suspect any attack, but thought the Israelites were only to be led before the king. Therefore, when Ahab and his followers attacked them on a sudden, a panic spread itself instantaneously over the whole camp, so that no one thought of resistance, but all sought safety in a precipitate flight; and even Benhadad himself, instead of attempting to rally his army to repulse the aggressors, mounted his horse, and fled in the greatest haste. Consequently, the Israelites had nothing to do but to pursue the fugitives, of whom they slew a vast number.

The Syrians, ashamed of such an ignominious flight, would gladly have discovered any plausible excuse for it. They pretended, therefore, that the gods of the Israelites being the gods of the hills, it was then no wonder that such a misfortune had befallen them; but in order to console the king, they assured him, that if he could but draw out the Israelites upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they presided over the plains. They, moreover, blamed the thirty-two petty kings as not exerting themselves in his cause, and of not being sufficiently submissive to discipline. They requested, therefore, that trusty and skilful officers should be substituted in their places. They then advised Benhadad to levy just such an army as the defeated one, chariot for chariot, horse for horse, and doubted not of victory.

Benhadad, who appears to have desired, even as much as his subjects, to revenge the loss he had sustained, assembled another army, and when the proper season had arrived, he marched against the king of Israel with

a host so large, that he seemed resolved to accomplish what he boasted he would do in regard to the city of Samaria. He pitched his camp in Aphek—which, as has been observed, was undoubtedly in a plain—that he thus might be within the territory over which his own gods were supposed to preside. Seven days he lay here encamped, hoping to draw the Israelites to a battle, which, at last, upon that very seventh day, took place, but with quite a different result from what the Syrians had hoped; because they were defeated, and are said to have lost of their foot alone, one hundred thousand. The rest fled to the city of Aphek, where twenty-seven thousand of them are said to have been crushed to death by the city wall, which fell on them.*

Benhadad, who had in despair concealed himself in Aphek, was induced by his officers, who reminded him of the generous disposition of Ahab, to throw himself upon the mercy of the king of Israel; and to prepare the mind of the conqueror to treat him with leniency, they themselves, with sackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks, went to pay homage to Ahab, whom they entreated in behalf of their king. Ahab proved himself a very generous victor, and worthy of the success he had attained, declaring that he rejoiced to hear that Benhadad was alive, and calling him his *brother*. The Syrians, on hearing this noble sentiment, made the best use of the friendly disposition he thus manifested towards their unfortunate king to strengthen him in this resolution. Whereupon Benhadad was brought to Ahab, who desired him to mount his chariot. While thus together, Benhadad made many protestations of friendly feelings towards his noble conqueror, to whom he also promised to give up all that his father had taken from Israel, and also to consent that Ahab should exercise as great authority in Damascus as his father had done in Samaria.† Upon these conditions peace was concluded, and Benhadad restored to liberty.

However strictly Benhadad may have kept his promise to Ahab in other respects, he still would not give up Ramoth-Gilead, which was the cause of a new war, wherein Ahab was assisted by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. These two princes led their united forces against Ramoth-Gilead, where they found the Syrians prepared to receive them; but as Ahab had good

* It has been supposed that this fall of the wall took place, in consequence of its giving way to the weight of the great number who were gathered upon it to defend the city.

† Josephus says, that Ahab should have as free liberty in Damascus as his father had had in the city of Samaria, which was built but a few years previous by Omri, king of Israel. It is, however, presumed, that, according to the Septuagint and the Vulgate, he promised Ahab that the Israelites should live free in Damascus, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they should have free ingress and egress according to the former, or build them streets to live together, by laws of their own, according to the latter; as the same, it appears, had been enjoyed by the Syrians in Samaria.

reason to suppose that the enemy had marked him out for destruction, he disguised himself before the battle, while the king of Judah dressed himself in his royal robe. The apprehension of Ahab was not without good foundation ; for Benhadad ordered the thirty-two chiefs that commanded his chariots, to direct their arms only against the king of Israel. This almost proved fatal to Jehoshaphat, who had undoubtedly been slain had not the Syrian officers ceased to pursue him, when they discovered that he was not the person whom they were commanded to destroy. But the fate which Ahab thus sought to evade overtook him in another way—for one of the Syrians, whom Josephus calls Aman, drew a bow at random, and shot him between the joints of his armor. Upon this he commanded his charioteer to carry him from the field, and in the evening he expired from his wound. The battle appears to have been fierce and obstinate, as it lasted till night, under cover of which both armies retired from the field, with equal loss and doubtful victory.

The general who in this battle commanded the Syrians is called Naaman. In consequence of the skill which he displayed on this occasion, he was viewed by Benhadad as the deliverer of his country, and treated by him with the greatest favor. It is related of this heroic man, that, being affected with leprosy, he was cured by washing himself in the Jordan seven times, as was prescribed by Elisha ; and that, out of gratitude for this miraculous cure, he renounced idolatry. We find the commentary on this narrative in the following :

Soon after Naaman's return to Damascus, Benhadad took a hostile attitude against the king of Israel, and, as it appears, attempted to attack him by surprise, privately communicating his orders to his chief officers. But being continually frustrated in his plans, he began to suspect the fidelity of some of those who enjoyed his confidence. In order to remove such dangerous suspicions from his breast, he was told that it must certainly be Elisha that disconcerted all his measures, as that person was endowed with such a degree of omniscience, that nothing could be concealed from him, though transacted with the greatest privacy imaginable. From what Benhadad had heard of Naaman, he was disposed to believe Elisha in possession of this power ; but he, nevertheless, took the remarkable resolution to lay hands on him in the first place, and for that purpose sent a strong party to Dothan, where he understood him to be. These emissaries came to the city in the night, and the next morning are said to have been smitten by Elisha with such a deception of sight, that they suffered him to guide them into the very heart of the city of Samaria, where their natural sight returned to them, and they were consequently enabled to perceive where they were. But instead of being in any way ill-used, they were hospitably entertained, and generously and adroitly dismissed. Having returned, they made their report to Benhadad of all that had happened to them, of the power of Elisha, and of the humanity with

which they had been treated. This appears to have had the anticipated effect, as a stop was put to the war.*

The peace, if any such really was concluded, lasted not long, because Benhadad soon marched his army once more against Samaria,† to which city he laid siege, reducing it to the greatest extremity, and was on the point of taking it by famine; whence it is reasonable to presume that the siege was long, or that the place was poorly stored. Be this as it may, he was prevented from taking this city by a panic, which is said to have driven him and his whole army to a precipitate flight.

Benhadad, from some reason, was now obliged to take to his bed. During his sickness he was told that Elisha was coming to Damascus: a remarkable circumstance, indeed, that Elisha should dare to enter the capital of his bitter enemy!

The sick king hearing of the approach, or, as some will have it, of the arrival of Elisha, sent Hazael with forty camels' load of the choicest productions of Damascus, to consult him concerning his illness. Hazael went as he was ordered, and accosted Elisha in the most respectful manner in behalf of his master. The answer he received was, that Benhadad might recover, but he would not. Having uttered this mysterious answer, Elisha fixed his eyes upon Hazael, and then suddenly burst into tears. Hazael, as was natural, amazed at this strange behavior, expressed his wish to know what might be the cause of it. Elisha, in his reply, displayed, indeed, a deep knowledge of human nature; giving as the cause of his emotion, that he saw beforehand that Hazael was to succeed Benhadad, and that he was to be a cruel and merciless persecutor of the children of Israel, and cause them direful sufferings.

Hazael, on his return from this instructive interview, at first flattered Benhadad with the hope of recovery; but the seed of temptation was sown in a fertile soil, for on the following day he stifled his master with a thick cloth dipped in water.‡

So died Benhadad the Second, styled the Great, to whom the Syrians are said afterwards to have paid divine honors. He is said to have adorned Damascus with fine buildings, and to have added much to the glory of Syria.§

Hazael, the assassin, succeeded the great Benhadad. It is to be observed, that Elijah, some years before, had anointed Hazael king of Syria.|| This is a circumstance strikingly illustrative of the events

* Josephus, however, says, that upon the report they made to Benhadad, he discontinued the secret plans he had attempted, and instantly resolved to wage open war with Jehoram. If it was so, it appears evidently that his eyes had been opened.

† 2 Kings vi. 8—29.

‡ 2 Kings viii. 7—17

§ Hazael has by some historians been considered, with apparent reason, to have been the chief promoter of the deification of his victim, in order the better to conceal his crime.

|| 1 Kings xix. 15.

that subsequently took place. They undoubtedly occurred in accordance with the wise plan of Providence, but are we therefore to commit the blasphemy of excusing the great crime which raised Hazael to the throne? Surely not. While we trace God's hand in the events of history, let us, however, never permit ourselves to be imposed upon, by any pretence whatever, to think that those who have planned and committed crimes, have executed His will. Short-sighted as we are, we ought, however, to understand that crimes originate in man, and not in God.

Hazael appears to have observed peace until he was provoked, by the attempt of Joram, king of Israel, and Abaziah, king of Judah, to wrest Ramoth-Gilead out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had tried in the reign of Benhadad the Second. The allied kings succeeded in their attempt to put themselves in possession of Ramoth-Gilead; but Joram received, at the taking of this city, a dangerous wound. Hazael, however, hastened to revenge this loss, by invading both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and on which he almost brought ruin. His first expedition was directed against the kingdom of Israel, and he subdued all that belonged to that state, on the other side of Jordan—being the countries of Gilead and Bashan, the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh.* With the same success he continued the war even against Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, till he left him but fifty horse, ten chariots, and ten thousand foot; and the rest is said to have perished in the battles against the Syrian monarch, who, in the figurative language of the Hebrews, *made them like the dust by threshing*, oppressing Israel all the days of Jehoahaz.†

Hazael was no less successful against the kingdom of Judah; for having crossed the Jordan, he made himself master of the strong city of Gath, which has been, as elsewhere said, the seat of some kings of the Philistines, but which was now in possession of the Jews. Intending to make an attempt against Jerusalem, he was directed from this enterprise by the rich gifts of Jehoash, who then reigned over Judah, and who, fearing the victorious king of Syria, sent him all the treasures and rich moveables that had been set apart and dedicated by his father for sacred and other purposes. These munificent presents appeased for a while the revenge of Hazael; but soon the Syrian monarch sent an army to carry into effect his original plans against that city. Though this corps is said to have been very small, it wrested the victory from the numerous host of Jehoash, captured and sacked Jerusalem, slew all the chief men, and sent to Hazael the spoils that were taken at Damascus.

It appears, also, that Hazael made himself master of Elath, at the Red Sea. This victorious prince was, after his death, deified—from which

* 2 Kings x. 32, 33.

† 2 Kings xiii. 3, 7, 22.

circumstance it is to be supposed that he proved himself a better prince than what could be expected of an assassin; if we are not to presume that the military glory he acquired caused the Syrians to forget his tyranny.

Benhadad III. was the son of Hazael. He met with a different fate from that which had attended on his father. He was thrice defeated by Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel, by which he lost all that his father had taken from the Israelites. We know nothing more of the reign of this prince, who, however, with much reason, has been supposed by some historians to have been made tributary to Jeroboam, the son of Jehoash, king of Israel, who kept Syria in the strictest subjection during the whole of his long reign.

The Syrians appear, however, to have regained their independence, amid the disorders which prevailed in the kingdom of Israel upon the death of Jeroboam; at least, we know that Rezin, the last king of Syria, entered into an alliance with Pekah, king of Israel, against Ahaz, king of Judah, in order to dethrone him, and put in his place a stranger to David's house, called Tabael. For this purpose they laid siege to Jerusalem, but without being able to take that city. Disappointed in this attempt, Rezin marched his army into Edom, and made himself master of Elath; or, as some wish to have it,* restored Elath to Syria. Be this as it may, we know that he planted a colony there, which lasted a long time after the subversion of the kingdom of Syria.

Rezin, in the year after he had taken Elath, together with Pekah, continued the war against Ahaz with such success, that the Syrians, when they returned to Damascus, were loaded with rich spoils, and carried away a multitude of captives.

But this success brought ruin on Rezin; because Ahaz, king of Judah, in his despair, and thirsting for revenge, sent all the valuables he could gather to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, to induce him to lend him his powerful aid against his enemies. The consequence of this negotiation was, that the Assyrian monarch marched a formidable army against Syria, took Damascus, slew Rezin, and carried away numerous captives to Kir in Media.† This was the end of the kingdom of Damascus, which then comprised the whole of Syria Proper.

In regard to the kings that reigned in Hamath and Geshur, our information is very scanty. The former are considered to have been of Canaanitish, and the latter of Aramitish origin. The Hamathites appear, from the representations upon the Egyptian monuments, to have been for

* Whence those who read thus the sentence concerning this event, presume, as is before said, that Hazael had first subjected Elath to the sway of Syria.

† 2 Kings xvi. 6.

a long time a powerful tribe. Still they, as well as the Geshurites, had to submit to the supremacy of the kingdom of Damascus; and were at last, together with it, absorbed in the Assyrian empire. One of David's wives, Maacha, was the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur. It was to him that Absalom, the son of Maacha, fled, after having murdered his brother Amnon.

I will here add what Lucian, who visited those regions in the second century of the Christian era, says of the religious worship then existing there. He was partly an eye-witness of what he relates, and for the rest depended on the accounts communicated to him by the priesthood.

In the province of Cyrrhestica, at Heriopolis, or the holy city, or Magog—as we are told the Syrians themselves named it—stood the temple of the famous Syrian goddess.* It was situated upon an eminence in the centre of the city, surrounded by a double enclosure, or two walls. On the north side it had a court, or porch, before it, of about five or six hundred feet in circumference, where stood the *priaps* of three hundred fathoms, or three hundred cubits in height, as is supposed by some modern writers. The front of the temple faced the east, and before it was a tower raised upon a terrace about twelve feet high; which was no sooner mounted, than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the Ionian buildings of this kind; the porch of it was adorned with golden doors; and the whole temple, especially the roof, glittered with gold. The air around it is said to have been inferior not even to the sweetest of Arabia, and so strongly perfumed the garments of the visitors, that they were scented for a considerable time afterwards.

In the temple there was a sanctuary, into which admission was not allowed even to all of the priests, but only to those who were initiated into the secret service there performed. Within the temple, which was always open, were the stones of a god and a goddess; but we do not know the names given to these divinities by the inhabitants. The Greeks said, however, that the statues represented Jupiter and Juno. The statues were of gold; and Jupiter was supported by bulls, and Juno sat upon lions, and in one hand she had a sceptre, and in the other a distaff; but she was girt with the girdle of the celestial *Venus*. She was also adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been presented to her by several foreign nations, and among them even by the Indians and Ethiopians. Of all these gems, the most remarkable was the *Lychnis* she wore at her side. As this stone is said to shine most by candle-light, we are told that it illuminated the temple by night. Between Jupiter and Juno there stood another golden statue, which was called the *Sign*. Though

* Justin says in regard to this goddess, that she was a deified queen, by the name of Arathia, wife of the king of Damascus, from whom the city of that name derives its appellation.

it is uncertain whom this statue was meant to represent, some think, from the circumstance that it had a golden dove on its head, that it was meant for the image of Semiramis.

When entering the temple, the visitor had on his left hand the throne of the Sun, but without any statue; for the Syrians held it absurd to attempt to represent by statues the sun or the moon, which manifested themselves in so glorious a manner to the eyes of men. Next to this throne was the statue of Apollo, with a large beard. Then came the statues of Atlas, Mercury and Lucina. On the right hand entering the temple, the visitor found the statue of Semiramis pointing out to Juno; for there was an ancient tradition, that that celebrated queen had been so proud as to claim the preference even over Juno herself in the adoration of mankind; but being for this cause severely punished by the gods with diseases and various calamities, in order to humble her pride, she at last acknowledged her inferiority to the queen of heaven, and was therefore figured as pointing to Juno in perpetual acknowledgment of her fatal error, and on purpose to show the people that the goddess, and not she, was to be worshipped. Next to the statue of Semiramis stood that of Helen, and then came those of Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, Achilles, Neriüs, the son of Aglaia, Philomel and Progne; Tereus turned into a bird, another statue of Semiramis, Combabus, Stratonice—said to be a most beautiful work—Alexander, executed to the life, and Sardanapalus, in a peculiar habit and attitude.

Under this temple was a cleft, where the waters are said to have been drained off at Deucalion's flood; and on this place, it was related, that Deucalion erected an altar to Juno.

Within the enclosures of the temple there were kept tamed and sacred oxen, horses, lions, bears and eagles, and adjacent to the temple was a lake, in which sacred fishes were preserved and attended. The lake itself was said, with probable exaggeration, to be two hundred fathoms deep; and in the midst of it stood a stone altar, which appeared to swim, and which was always crowned and reeking with incense. Without the temple there stood a brazen altar, and a vast number of statues of kings and priests.

The statues within the temple were made to sweat and to deliver oracles, as if alive. No mean proofs of the ingenuity the priests displayed in deceiving the people, and in imposing upon their credulity. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the more irrational miracles have been, the greater the number of believers they have generally gained. Apollo was the chief oracle; but the other gods also returned answers, though they did not condescend personally to reply as the Syrian Apollo always deigned. His statue had been shrewdly clad in drapery; as it was with good reason, presumed to conceal the better the machinery by which his miraculous powers were set at work; because, when this god was to return

an answer, the statue spontaneously began to move; upon which the priests immediately stepped up to it to lift it, as it else fell into convulsions, sweating and behaving itself in the manner of a furious maniac. But the priests themselves were unable to keep the statue quiet, as it continued to toss them about from place to place, till the High Priest came and put to the god the question which was to be answered. Was the question acceptable, the statue retired; but otherwise, it urged its supporters onwards.

The income of this temple was in proportion to its splendor, to the great reverence paid to the presiding goddess, and to the wonderful power of the kindred deities that dwelled within her sacred shrine. All the surrounding nations paid liberal contributions to the maintenance of this temple and its priests; who were divided into several classes; each class having their distinct and separate duties to perform. Some slew the victims, some bore the drink-offerings, some carried fire, and some waited at the altar—and the highest order attended to the oracles and the secret services of the goddess.

The number that attended the sacrifices was three hundred, and they were dressed in white habits, with caps or bonnets on their heads. Among the consecrated order were minstrels, skilful in handling several instruments, *Galli*, or eunuch-priests,* and also mad and frantic women. The office of High Priest was annual—and the High Priest wore a purple dress and a golden mitre. There were also sacred interpreters of several nations, whose

* There is the remarkable circumstance connected with these eunuch priests, that they were castrated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. The cause of this is thus given: Stratonice who built the temple had been several times admonished in vain by the goddess to undertake this work; but by a forcible measure she was at last induced to perform it; her husband having consented to permit her to proceed; but committed the care of her to a handsome youth, by name Combabus; who was not much satisfied with this commission, as he dreaded the consequences of being so much alone with the charming queen. In order therefore to make it impossible for him to betray his trust, he destroyed his sex. Having committed this heroic action, he departed with the queen—who herself soon afterwards tempted him to amorous intercourse, but got an answer which persuaded her of the virtuous resolution of her young guardian. Nevertheless it happened that envious and lying tongues brought about an accusation and conviction of Combabus for adultery. But when he was about to be led to execution, he proved his innocence in a manner that could leave no doubt in the mind. The king embraced him most tenderly, and raised him to the highest degree of riches and honor, and he became famed as the happiest and wisest man living. Combabus desired permission to finish the temple; which being granted he passed the remainder of his life there. There stood his statue in brass—the work of Hermolaus the Rhodian. And as it was industriously reported that some of his dearest companions resolved to undergo the same operation for his sake, or that Juno inspired several with a rage for unmaning themselves, that he might not be alone in his misfortune, many fanatics, either in honor of Combabus, or to please Juno, performed the cruel operation on themselves, every year, in the temple. These Galli, or devoted eunuchs bore the habit and performed the offices of women, because Combabus had fallen in love with a strange woman, who knew not the violence he had committed on himself; and to prevent this for the future, he had put on the habit of a woman.

business it was to instruct their countrymen—that from time to time came hither to pay their devotion—in the rules and customs of this sacred place.

Sacrifices were performed in this temple twice a day—to Jupiter in silence, and to Juno with a great noise of minstrels and singers. Every spring an extraordinary sacrifice was made. Then felling some large trees in the court of the temple, the priests garnished them with goats, sheep, birds, rich vestments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and silver, and carried the sacred images around the decorated trees, which afterwards were set on fire, and thus consumed. At this sacrifice there was always a great concourse of people from all the neighboring countries, every one bringing his sacred images with him, made in imitation of those in the temple. There was also a private sacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to the city. The pilgrim killed a sheep, cut up its joints, and feasted on it, spreading the fleece on the ground and kneeling upon it. In this posture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and besought the goddess to accept his sacrifice, vowing her a better.

Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the *priaps* we have mentioned, and there continued seven days. He let down a chain, by which he drew up what was given to him; for many upon the occasions brought their offerings and mentioned their names, which one below took care to pronounce so loud as to be heard by the man sitting upon the top, who thereupon began a prayer, striking a kind of bell at the time. There was also a very barbarous and cruel sacrifice sometimes performed. They first crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the court of the temple, one side of which was a precipice, down which they plunged and dashed to pieces. Some are said to have gone so far in madness as to tie up their own children in sacks, and then to thrust them down the same precipice, cursing them as beasts.

Some of the festivals at Hierapolis were celebrated in memory of Deucalion's flood. Twice a year a large multitude of people, headed by the priests, went to the sea-shore, and thence brought water into the temple, where they poured it out, and it ran off through the cleft or hole already spoken of. This was pretended to be done by the express command of Deucalion—and seems at least very proper, as we may presume that it was an efficient means to clean the floor of the temple. What ceremonies were practised at the sea-side, we are not informed, but it appears as if they had been very extraordinary. Returning with their vessels full of water and sealed up, they carried them first to a sacred person called Alectryo, who received these vessels with water, examined the seals, and taking his due from each votary for his trouble, untied the string, took off the seal, and returned his vessel to each, who carried it into the temple. This Alectryo received a considerable sum for holy uses upon these solemn days.

There was also another festival celebrated, the name of which has been interpreted to signify Descension Days. For upon these days the images of their gods made a visit to the bottom of the lake already spoken of. Juno, or the Syrian goddess herself went down first, for the preservation of her favorite fishes, which if they had seen Jupiter would have died.

Upon these occasions a remarkable farce was acted between the goddess and the god. He was wont to advance to go down first; but she interposed, and after much ado, prevailed upon him to return back again.

Of all the festivals here celebrated, the Great Burning, as it has been interpreted, was the most considerable. Then, there came people from all parts to assist at the great sacrifice already described, and the other religious duties of the season.

This festival continued for several days; and at particular times while it lasted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the priests stood without, some of them mangling their bodies, some thumping violently against each other, while others were occupied in beating upon taburets and drums, in sounding with musical instruments, in singing aloud and in prophesying. And now it was in the midst of this discordant uproar, that the frenzy of castrating themselves seized upon many in the temple, who crying out with a loud voice and drawing their swords, performed the horrid operation, devoting themselves to the service of the goddess. These eunuch-priests, notwithstanding, entertained love for women, and women for them, but it was esteemed as a holy and pure love. It was unlawful for an eunuch-priest to enter the temple. Doves and pigeons were sacred to the goddess Dereeto, and the latter to Semiramis also.

Whosoever undertook the pilgrimage to the holy city of Hierapolis, first shaved his head and eyebrows, then offered a sheep in the manner already mentioned. After which he might bathe in nothing but cold water, and drink nothing but water, or lie upon aught but the cold ground, till he reached the city. The pilgrims having arrived, were entertained at the public expense, and lodged with people of their respective countries, who were paid for informing them, as said before, in the rites and ceremonies of the place. The pilgrims were all branded with marks upon their necks and wrists.

When any of the Galli died, their companions carried their dead bodies into the suburbs, where setting them down they hurled stones at them, and left them lying upon the bier, where they remained for seven days, when they were brought into the temple; but to have done it sooner had been profane.

He that had seen a dead body, might not enter into the temple that day; but on the morrow he was absolved from his uncleanness, if he purified himself: all the family of the deceased must keep themselves from the temple for thirty days, and shave their heads.

We see from this description that the religious ceremonies and ideas

prevalent in Hierapolis were a compound of the Oriental, Egyptian and Greek religions, and that an interested and deceptive priesthood here as everywhere knew how to blind the minds of the people, and make them the slaves of superstition. We will in the continuation of this work see how many of the ceremonies, and even the ideas of the Syrians, were long prevalent even among the Christians themselves, and that even at this day there exist Christian communities where they still exercise some influence. I am sure that this will astonish many of you, but nevertheless I do not harbor the least doubt that you will all be willing to admit it ere I have brought this work to a close.

LETTER XXXVI.

HISTORY OF THE ARABIANS, OR ARABS.

THOUGH the people that inhabit Arabia play no grand part in ancient history, you have surely heard enough of them to be persuaded that there existed a period when they made themselves very remarkable. You will in the course of this work see that their fame is not above their desert, and that they have been in the hand of Providence mighty instruments for executing his plans, which though they often appear at first inexplicable, and even sometimes wrought with injuries to mankind, yet always in the end prove the wisdom and the goodness of their High Framer. Yea, when with the aid of Him, in whose service I have as an historian humbly enlisted, this work has been brought to a close, I am confident that all those who have followed me during my survey of the several nations of the world, will freely admit that few people deserve more the attention of reflecting minds, than the Arabians.

The learned do not agree as to the derivation of the word Arabia. It is however, generally supposed to be derived from a Hebrew word signifying a wilderness, or a land of deserts and plains. Some however think that this word expresses a mixed or a mercantile, or even a western people.* The Arabs themselves trace it to one whom they call Yarab, and whom they claim to have been a son of Joktan, and consequently a Shemith, and whom they consider to have been one of the earliest settlers in their country.

* Western, in distinction from Chaldæa—which was called Kedem, or the East.

As I have spoken of the situation of Arabia in the geographical description, I will only mention that on authority of the celebrated traveler, William Burckhardt, the northern frontier may be considered to be a line running from Suez across the isthmus of that name to the Mediterranean, near El Arish, passing along the borders of Palestine and the Dead Sea, and thence winding the Syrian desert by Palmyra until it reaches the Euphrates above Anah, the course of which river it follows till joined by the Tigris, when the united streams then called Shat, or Shut el Arabi, become its boundary.

The Greek and Roman geographers give it, however, another frontier. Xenophon makes the greater part of Mesopotamia to belong to Arabia, whose limits he thus extends beyond the Euphrates. Ptolemy again makes its boundary the Chaldean mountains on this side of the river, and northward of the city of Thapsacus. Strabo and Diodorus have adopted this limit with little variation. The Arabian geographer Abulfeda* extends the northern boundary somewhat higher than Mr. Burckhardt, placing it at Belis, nearly in the latitude of Aleppo. The length of Arabia from Anah to the Strait of Babel Mandeb, is calculated to be fourteen hundred and eighty miles; and its middle breadth from Suez to Bussora more than nine hundred. Its southern frontier on the Indian Ocean makes about twelve hundred miles.

This extensive country is for the greater part a desert, and its general features present an elevated table-land, sloping gently towards the Persian Gulf. The whole of its southern coast forms a wall of barren rocks, which in several places rise one behind another to the height of from one thousand to fifteen hundred feet. Here and there is a low sandy beach entirely destitute of vegetables or verdure. "On all other sides the Arabian Peninsula is surrounded with a belt of flat and sandy ground, as that is which on the north forms the Syrian Desert, or the Hauran. The interior of Arabia is chiefly composed of burning deserts, of which the sand sweeps along in dry billows, or is whirled into columns bearing the appearance of a waterspout, and sometimes towering to a great height. When not moved by the wind, these sand fields resemble the ocean; and this level expanse for some distance is sometimes mistaken for water; while the intermediate space glows like a furnace, occasioned by the quivering undulating motion of that quick succession of vapours and exhalations which are extracted by the rays of the sun. Every object is magnified to the eye, insomuch that a shrub has the appearance of a tree. The most singular quality of this vapour, sirab, or mirage, as it is termed, is its power of reflection. Objects are seen as from the surface of a lake, and

* Abulfeda wrote in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

† Arabia extends from 12 deg. 45 min. to 34 deg. 33 min. north latitude, and from 31 deg. to 60 deg. 30 min. east longitude from Greenwich.

their figure is sometimes changed into the most fantastic shapes." It is to be observed, that these wastes of sand lie for the greater part under an almost perpetually cloudless sky. The air is consequently dry and suffocating. No cooling breezes here refresh the traveler panting with heat and thirst; but on the contrary hot and sometimes pestilential winds often diffuse their poisonous breath. No lofty tree—no luxuriant pasture here feast the eye, as the waste gives birth only to a straggling and hardy brushwood; while the tamarisk and the acacia grow among the clefts of the rocks.

This mournful aspect is however occasionally relieved by verdant spots or valleys, intersected by small streamlets, which lie among the hills, and have been formed by the alluvial depositions of the winter showers. These wadys, or oases as the Greeks called them, which appear as islands in this ocean of sand, are fertile and beautiful spots. Their rich pasture and groves of date-trees supply the roving tribes of the desert with the most necessary sustenance. On the routes which traverse the deserts in several directions, there are also various wells or watering stations, formed partly by nature and partly by the labor of man. Without these reservoirs the greater portion of this country must have remained an untraversed region. Their salt or brackish waters supply travelers with refreshment, and often enough save them when about to fall victims to a burning thirst. They also enable small communities of the sons of the wilderness to cultivate patches of ground, on which scanty crops are reared. These reservoirs or tanks are frequently built of stone, and form the usual resting places for travelers, and for the great caravans that traverse the deserts. The water is raised in leathern buckets by means of an iron chain passed over a pulley, and drawn by oxen or cows. It is sold to strangers on their journey, and is often transported to a considerable distance on the backs of camels. The possession of such wells constitutes great wealth among the Arabs, and has often caused bloody strifes and wars between the tribes. But the great southern desert is deprived even of the blessings of such wells or fountains of water, for a surface of territory, in length as well as in breadth, above six hundred miles.

But though these are the general features of this vast peninsula, and principally of the central part of it, there are however other parts that present a far different aspect to the eye. In the south, where the land is broken into hills and valleys, there are tracts which are very fertile, and which enjoy a succession of almost perpetual verdure, because so short is the interval between the decay and reproduction of vegetable life, that the change is scarcely perceptible. Notwithstanding the rains and dews that here occasionally descend in abundance, the air is also more temperate. The hills are studded with leafy groves and cultivated fields, or rich pastures, or luxuriant gardens interwoven with the perennial streams descending from the elevations—sometimes in beautiful cascades. Here

grow fruits of the most delicious kind. It is no wonder that among the general dreariness of this region, this part has been described as an earthly paradise !

The division of Arabia, which Ptolemy introduced, gave, as I have elsewhere mentioned, the respective names of Sandy, Stony, and Happy Arabia to its several parts. The first extended north and east as far as the Euphrates. It was separated from Stony Arabia by the ridge of Mount Seir, and was considered to comprise the great central wilderness ; but its limits were very indefinite. The second, or Stony Arabia, was the land which extended from the Red Sea to Palestine, and was in ancient times, as we have already seen, inhabited by the Edomites, the Amalakites, the Midianites, and several other tribes. The third, or Happy Arabia, embraced the region of incense on the coast of the Indian Ocean. The ancients exalt highly the value of its productions, and the wealth and number of its inhabitants ; as for instance, Marcian tells us, that in his time, it was divided into fifty-four provinces, and had one hundred and sixty-four towns and villages, and comprised fifteen ranges of hills or mountains, four great rivers, five bays, two sea-coasts, with twenty-five adjacent islands. Pliny* says that Charmæi, a town of the Minæi, was fourteen miles in circumference ; that a city of the Agarturi was twenty miles in compass ; and that Sabotale, the capital of the Atramitæ, had sixty temples within its walls. Strabo states that this region was divided into five kingdoms, and that its principal cities were adorned with a great number of temples and palaces. The notion prevalent among the ancients, that Happy Arabia possessed an abundance of gold, gems, spices and perfumes, together with many more valuable products, was as we know a great exaggeration, yet it indicates the immense trade which the inhabitants carried on with distant regions, with India, and the countries of the interior of Africa.

Though it happens that occasionally whole years pass away without any fall of rain on the vast deserts, all the highlands and the different ridges which shoot forth into the interior, have the advantage of frequent and abundant showers. These rains occur at different periods of the year, according to the position of the mountains ; as for instance, on the western declivity of Yemen,—Happy Arabia,—and along the shores of the Red Sea, they commence in June, and terminate in September. This region is also refreshed by rain, falling during the spring-time. But on the eastern declivity of the same mountains, the wet season is between the middle of November and the middle of February ; and in Hadramaut and Oman on the coast of the Persian Gulf, this periodical rain falls from the middle of February to the middle of April. It has therefore been observed that it seems as if the rains made the tour of the peninsula every season, accord-

* Natural History, lib. vi.

ing to the prevalence of the winds. Sometimes these rains descend in such enormous masses as to cause much destruction to men, animals, and property.

That the ancients had a very incorrect knowledge of Arabia, appears evident for many reasons; among which the principal is, that the streams and rivers they attribute to Arabia, are nowhere now to be found; as, for instance, Herodotus speaks of one river traversing the desert, through the space of twelve days' journey. Diodorus and Strabo describe several large streams; and Pliny reckoned four rivers in Happy Arabia. But modern travelers have discovered that names which have long been considered as denoting remarkable streams, are either totally imaginary, or denote only temporary currents, which are dried up in the sand, or never reach the sea except after abundant rains.

The Arabian Peninsula is frequently visited by the winds called Simoon, and by the natives Shamiel, or the wind of Syria, which exercise an injurious influence upon men and animals. They prevail chiefly on the frontiers, but more rarely in the interior. It is on the arid plains about Bussora, Bagdad, Aleppo, and in the neighborhood of Mecca, that they are most dreaded, but only during the hot summer season.

I will here say a few words of the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, the length of which is about twelve hundred miles, and whose breadth is about one hundred and twenty. It is interwoven with a number of islands, some of which exhibit volcanic appearances. On the western coast the depth of the water is greater than at the eastern, where the coral rocks are said gradually to encroach on the domain of the water. The bottom is covered with corals, as well as with certain plants, and bears, in calm weather, the appearance of verdant meadows and submarine forests—phenomena which have procured for this gulf the appellation of *Yam Zuph* from the Jews, and *Bahr Souf* from the Arabs, which signify the "Sea of Green Weeds." Strabo has with good reason been presumed to allude to these productions, when he speaks of trees resembling the laurel and the olive, growing at the bottom and along the eastern coast of the Red Sea, which at ebb tide were left uncovered, though at other times they were wholly under water. The narrowest part of the Red Sea is the strait at its entrance, called *Babel-Mandeb*, which is between only twelve and fourteen miles across, and which is intersected by the Isle of *Perim*, situated at a distance of about three miles from the Arabian shore. We are told by Strabo, that the Egyptian merchants who had held possession of this sea, used to draw a chain across to the African side, to prevent foreigners from entering it; but this assertion seems not at all probable. The northern part of the Red Sea separates into the two bays of *Akaba*, or *Ailah*, and *Suez*, called by the Greeks and Romans the *Eleanitic* and *Heroopolitan*, from the cities that were situated at their extremities. The Bay of *Suez* extends about one hundred and sixty miles in length; its depth varying from nine to four-

teen fathoms, with a sandy bottom. The land at Suez indicates that the Sea formerly extended much farther northward, still without making it possible to decide the question, whether the Red Sea was at some very remote period a strait which united the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The tides and medium level of the Bay of Suez are subject to great variation from the influence of periodical winds; and to such a degree too, that Niebuhr says the point near Suez may be sometimes crossed on foot. Mr. Buckhardt says also that it can be forded at low water, while one is obliged to make the tour of the whole creeks when the tide is at flood. Niebuhr fixes upon Suez as the spot at which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. Mr. Buckhardt thinks that this conjecture of Niebuhr is founded on good reasons. But Lord Valentia has stated the hypothesis that the Israelites must have crossed to the northward of Suez: as the presumption is, that the marshes which extend about twenty-five miles in that direction, were at that time overflowed with water. I think either of these hypotheses may be true; though it appears very difficult to determine which deserves the preference.*

The ancient writers dwelt much upon the dangers with which the navigation of the Red Sea was surrounded; but there is no doubt that much exaggeration was used in their descriptions. The manners of the people that inhabited the shores of this Sea are also given in exaggerated colors. They are spoken of as savages who fed on plants and leaves, who inhabited huts built on trees, and who lived on fish, which they roasted on the rocks by the heat of the sun; the latter circumstance being not improbable. They are said to have been expert in climbing, and to have been able to leap from one branch to another with great celerity; to have excelled as marksmen and hunters; to have celebrated their funerals with mirth and dancing; and when weary of life to have strangled themselves as well as their aged parents and infirm relations, by tying a bullock's tail around their necks.

It appears that those who engrossed the trade on these waters, had found it agreeable to their interests to paint their natural dangers in such colors as to inspire others with a reluctance to attempt to brave them. The real and imaginary terrors of antiquity have been perpetuated even in many of the modern names given to towns and other localities in this country; as for instance, the Strait so formidable to the early navigators, and often so

* Diodorus has been presumed to allude to the passage of the Israelites in the following words: It has been an ancient tradition among the Ichthyopagi, handed down to them by their ancestors, that by a mighty reflux of the waters, which happened in former days, the whole gulf became dry land, and appeared green all over, the waters overflowing the opposite shore; and that all the ground being thus left bare to the bottom of the gulf, the sea, by an extraordinary high tide, returned again into its ancient channel. Book 2, chapter iii.

fatal to their inexperience, is called by the Arabs Babel Mandeb, or the Gate of Tears; while the opposite black and rugged coast is styled the Cape of Burials, "on whose rocky steep they fancied that they heard the shrill spirit of the storm, sit in clouded wrath, and enjoy the death of the mariner." But though this navigation is still beset with difficulties, as there are numerous shoals, and fatal mistakes sometimes are made, the skill of modern mariners has considerably diminished the disasters on these waters.

What we know of the ancient Arabs we have to gather from the incidental allusions and remarks made by foreign writers in regard to them, as they have no historical records written by native authors that lived before the time of Mohammed. There have, however, been those who have asserted that the Arabs had historical annals and writings on different subjects before that time, but as no such documents appear to have been consulted by the earliest Arabian historians known to us, these assertions are only conjectures. It is also to be observed, that the most ancient and learned among the Arabian historians agree that the old traditions which had been handed down were not much to be relied on; and that they could gather but an imperfect knowledge of the times antecedent to the Mohammedan era. I must however confess, that I cannot think a nation, who had at least in part risen to an early civilization, and who had existed from so remote a time, can have been altogether without any historical records of their own, though the fanaticism of the first converts to the Mohammedan creed might be presumed to have destroyed them, as being infected with the errors of idolatry.

The Arabian historians, whose works have come down to us, all agree in deducing the origin of the Arabs from Joktan, or Kahtan, the son of Heber, descending from Noah by Shem. Abulfeda* says expressly that the descendants of Joktan inhabited Yemen or Happy Arabia. I will here observe that, according to the Arabian historians, it appears very evident that the Arabs, from a very remote period, had been accustomed to impress upon their memory, from father to son, the genealogical chain of their pedigree. Thus tradition has preserved the names of several of the ancient tribes, who are now extinct, as well as some remarkable particulars concerning their extirpation. Though we place not much confidence in these traditional records, yet the Mohammedans would think it a great sin to doubt their authenticity as they have gained the sanction of the Koran.

According to these traditionary records, the most famous of the extinct tribes were those of Ad, Thamud, Jadis and Tasm, all said to be descended in the third or fourth generation from Shem. Ad, the father of the tribe

* Ismael Abulfeda, prince of Hamah, in Syria, was born in the latter part of the 13th century, and died in 1345.

named after him, is said to have settled in the great desert of Al Akhof. He was succeeded in the government by his son Sheddad, who greatly extended his dominions, and is said to have performed many exploits which are too fabulous to be credited; among others he erected a magnificent city in the desert of Aden, founded by his father, and adorned it with a magnificent palace and charming gardens, in imitation of the celestial paradise, and on purpose to inspire his subjects with a superstitious veneration for him as a god. This sumptuous palace is said to have been built with bricks of gold and silver, alternately disposed; the roof to have been of gold, inlaid with precious stones and pearls; and the trees and shrubs to have been of the same costly materials. We are also told that the fruits and flowers were rubies; and that on the branches were perched birds of similar metals, the hollow parts of which were loaded with every species of the richest perfumes, so that every breeze that wafted by was loaded with fragrance from the bills of these golden images. To this paradise Sheddad gave the name of Arem or Irem. In order to take a view of all this grandeur, he set out with a splendid retinue; but Heaven would not suffer him to enjoy this triumph of pride, for when within a day's journey of the place, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from the clouds. As a monument of divine justice, the city, we are assured, still stands in the desert, but invisible to mortal eye.

Of the Adites and their succeeding rulers nothing is certainly known, but they are said to have been destroyed or dispersed in the course of a few centuries by the sovereigns of Happy Arabia.

The tribe of Thamud is said first to have settled in this part; but having been expelled they repaired to Stony Arabia, on the confines of Syria. They as well as the Adites are reported to have been of a most gigantic stature, the tallest being a hundred cubits high and the least sixty. Their muscular power is said to have been such, that, with a stamp of the foot on the driest soil they could penetrate the earth to their knees. This tribe is considered to be the same which is spoken of by Diodorus, Pliny and Ptolemy under the name of the Thomudeni. The Jewish Rabbis make also Japhet and his son giants; and say that the latter inherited an iron machine from his grandfather Noah, every stroke of which, when rightly aimed, slew a thousand men; and when not aimed at all—which indeed was more curious—slew five hundred.

The tribes Tasm and Jadis are said to have settled between Mecca and Medina, and occupied the whole level country of Yemen, living promiscuously under the same government.

Their history is for the rest enveloped in such darkness that when the Arabs wish to indicate anything of doubtful nature, they call it a fable of Tasm.

The Koran tells us that the extinction of these tribes was very miraculous—as were so many other events of those times—and a signal evidence

of Divine vengeance. The posterity of Ad and Thamud had abandoned the worship of the true God, and fallen into gross idolatry. They had therefore been chastised with a three years' drought, but still their hearts remained hardened. To the former was sent the prophet Hud or Heder, to awaken them to repentance, and to preach the unity of God. But few listened to the words of the prophet, and the destruction of the idolaters was caused by a hot and suffocating wind, that continued to blow for seven nights and eight days without intermission, accompanied by a terrible earthquake, by which their idols were broken to pieces and their houses thrown to the ground. But Lokman, who, according to some, was a famous king of the Adites, and who attained the age of seven eagles, with about sixty others, escaped from this catastrophe. The few that survived gave rise to a tribe called the Later Ad; but in consequence of their crimes they were transformed, says the Koran, into apes and monkeys. The prophet Hud returned to Hadramaut and was buried near Hasel, where a small tower still bears his name.

The prophet Saleh, whom D'Herbelot considers to have been the son of Arphaxad, while Bockart presumes him to have been Peleg, the brother of Joktan, both conjectures which it is difficult to understand, how men of sense could have entertained—is said to have been sent to preach repentance to the idolatrous tribe of Thamud, but was unable to change their minds for the better. The fate of the Adites induced them, we are told, to dig caverns in the rocks, where they hoped to escape the injurious effect of the angry winds and storms. Others assured the prophet that they would believe in him on condition that he gave them a sign in token of his mission, and they challenged him to a trial of power similar to that which took place between Elijah and the priests of Baal, promising to worship that Deity who should gain the triumph. From a rock agreed upon a camel big with young was to come forth in their presence. The idolaters were foiled; for on Saleh's pointing to the spot, a female camel came forth with a young one ready weaned. This miracle had the effect of converting a few; but the rest, so far from believing, hamstrung the camel and killed her young one, dividing the flesh among them. This flagrant act of impiety sealed their doom. "Whereupon," adds the Koran,* "a dreadful noise from heaven confounded them, and on the following morning they were found lying prostrate on their faces and dead." But the caves said to have been inhabited by those idolatrous tribes do not confirm the opinion of their gigantic stature, as their height is in no way extraordinary. Their names and the places they inhabited are held accursed by every true Mohammedan.

In regard to the extinction of the tribes of Jadis and Tasm, we find a different cause assigned. A certain despot, says Abulfeda, a Tasmite, who

* Chapter vii.

was the ruler over both these tribes, had awakened a general detestation against himself by a tyrannical law which claimed for himself a priority of right to twenty brides of the Jadisites. This affront wrought a general conspiracy against him. The prince himself, as well as his chief officers, were invited to an entertainment. The conspirators had concealed weapons beneath the sand ; but in the midst of the festivity they uncovered them, and falling upon the despot and his retinue slew them ; and as a war of extirpation hence arose, the greater part of these tribes destroyed each other.

There are also mentioned several other tribes that flourished in ancient times, and among them the Amalekites, but we are told nothing more of them than that they either destroyed each other in domestic feuds, or became incorporated with other nations.

Such are the traditions handed down to us of the ancient tribes of Arabia. We find here, as well as in all similar records, the truth surrounded with an impenetrable veil of fables. But sanctioned by religion, these traditions are accepted by the Mohammedans generally with implicit confidence. It would be in vain to tell them that these traditions were handed down in poetic and figurative language, and that consequently, though they may have truth for their foundation, their main structure is nothing but fiction. They would not listen to such impious words ; because, as these fables have found a place in the Koran, they must be true in spite of reason and common sense. Everywhere mankind display the same evidence of weakness and credulity ; and lamentable it is that these superstitions are considered as a proof of piety and reverence towards God. Mankind do not seem able to understand that it is blasphemy to attribute to the Deity actions in which he is represented as having permitted himself to become the instrument of the vanity, or at best of the fanaticism of man. Believing as we do, that God is the creator of the world, how can we doubt that anything is impossible to him ? but are we therefore to believe that he has permitted himself to be an instrument in the hands of his creatures ? What unworthy conception of the sublime attributes of God !

The pure Arabs still remaining consider themselves as the descendants of Kahtan, to whom I have already alluded. A member of this genuine stock is generally styled *Al Arab al Araba*—an Arab of the Arabs. According to their genealogical lists, his descendants were divided into two different branches, each deriving their pedigree from one of his two sons—Yarab, who founded the kingdom of Yemen, and Jorham, who laid the foundation of that of Hejaz.

The Arabs are divided into several tribes or large families, and have from a very remote time retained their distinction. The care they have taken in the preservation of their genealogical lists is very remarkable, and has been the means of furnishing history with some knowledge of the events that took place among them before the time of Mohammed.

Besides the Arabs who consider themselves as of the pure race, there

exists also the mixed or naturalized Arabs—the Mostarabi—who are considered as the descendants of Ishmael and the daughter of Modab, king of Hejaz, whom he married, and who was of the ninth generation from Jorham, the founder of that kingdom. There is nothing known of the Jorhamites until the time of Ishmael, except the names of their rulers, and that they possessed the territory of Hejaz.

As Mohammed traced his descent from this marriage, the Arabs have taken much pains to preserve and adorn his genealogy. The want of a pure ancestry appears in their estimation, in this instance, to be fully compensated by a connexion which they consider glorious; and they boast no less than the Jews do, of being the descendants of Abraham.

The Arabs assert that Ishmael settled in the district of Hejaz, and that Mecca, then a desert, was the very spot where his life was providentially saved. The well which the angel pointed out to Hagar, they believe to be that which is now famous under the name of Zemzem, out of which all true Mohammedans desire to drink. They say that God commanded Abraham, in commemoration of the miraculous preservation of Ishmael, to build a temple, and his son to furnish the necessary materials; and that by the joint labor of Abraham and Ishmael, the Kaaba or sacred house was reared and solemnly consecrated by the Father of the Faithful, who uttered the most fervent prayer that his whole race might become good Mussulmans. The form and style of this sacred building, we are told, were an exact type of Adam's oratory, which was constructed in Heaven, and preserved from the destructive influence of the deluge to serve as a model, to the pious architects of the Kaaba. The black stone incased in the walls, and which every pilgrim kisses with the greatest devotion, was that on which Abraham stood, and is alleged to have descended from Heaven, and to have served him for a scaffold, and to have been endowed with the miraculous quality of rising and falling of its own accord, to suit the convenience of the venerable builder. Though this stone was at first whiter than milk, it became black a long time ago by the kisses of so many millions of worshipping votaries.

That the Kaaba is of great antiquity, or at least that a famous temple stood here in times long before the Christian era, is generally conceded; and it has been presumed that Diodorus alludes to this very temple, when speaking of such a sacred building among a people called by him Bizomenians, and which he says was revered as the most sacred by all the Arabians.*

Ishmael is said to have been the first High-priest of Mecca, and that he preached there during half a century—and when he died, which took place forty-eight years after Abraham, and at the age of one hundred and

* Book 3, chapter iii.

thirty-seven years, he was buried in the tomb of his mother Hagar. He was succeeded, we are told, in the capacity both of king and high-priest, by his eldest son Nebat; but Mohammed is said to descend from his younger son Kedar. His family, however, was not permitted long to enjoy the possession of this double dignity, for in the course of time, the Jorhamites usurped the government, as well as the guardianship of the temple—which they are said to have maintained for the space of three hundred years. But having corrupted the true worship, they were attacked by the Ishmaelites, who drove them from Mecca. But before they quitted this sacred place, it is related that they committed every kind of sacrilege and indignity; as for instance, they threw into the well Zemzem all the treasures and sacred vessels of the temple,—the black stone, the swords and cuirass of Koloah, and the two golden gazelles, presented by one of the kings of Arabia; and also the image of the ram substituted for Isaac. But in consequence of their former crimes and these sacrilegious acts, the whole race were punished with several maladies, by which at last they all perished. The posterity of Ishmael kept now for several centuries possession of the supreme dignity.

The period before Mohammed is called by the Arabians the Times of Ignorance, and it is in general a just expression, in regard to the scanty information we have of this people prior to that time. Still several lists of the kings that in ancient times reigned in the several kingdoms in which Arabia was divided, are yet extant; but we know very little of these princes, except their names. In regard to those who ruled over Yemen, we are told that they bore the general name or title Tobboa—equivalent to that of Pharaoh among the Egyptians; and it has been supposed by Pococke, that only those are mentioned who extended their sway over the whole of Yemen, or made themselves conspicuous in some way or other, as their number, twenty-six, or even thirty, as it has been variously given, appears too limited for the period of three thousand years, as some have stated this kingdom continued, or even for that shorter one, two thousand and twenty years, which is the time given to it by Abulfeda. The intervals were, in the opinion of Pococke, filled up with usurpations, or with princes that did nothing remarkable. This opinion seems supported by the evidence of the Arabian historian Hamza, who says, that the twenty-six kings who flourished for this period, were only those who descended from the family of Hamyar.

In the Chronological tables which are to be given at the end of the Ancient History, I will insert the lists of the ancient kings of Arabia, as they have been furnished to us by the best authorities. I will therefore here only relate some circumstances connected with their life, and principally with that of those who reigned in the kingdom of the Hamorites, or Hamyarites. The latter of these names was derived from the fifth monarch, to whom the title of Great King was given by the petty princes

that reigned in some other districts of Arabia, and were dependent upon him.

Kathan, said to have been the founder of their race, is honored by the Arabs as the first of the kings of Yemen.

Yarab, his son, they regard as the first that spoke their language.

Sarab, the third of the kings of Yemen, is considered to have built the capital called after him; and hence the inhabitants were called Sabæans.

Hamyar was, as before said, the fifth king of this kingdom; but upon his death, the family of his brother Cahlan disputed the throne, and caused the division of the kingdom—one branch continuing to reign at Saba, while the other took up their residence at Dhofar, in Hadramaut; but in the course of time these kingdoms were again united by *Horeth*, who was the tenth king after Hamyar, and is surnamed Alrayish, or the Enricher, from the rich spoils he collected during his various expeditions. He assumed the title of Tobboa, or Successor, after having made himself master of all Yemen.

He was succeeded by *Dulkarnain*, who is very celebrated among the Arabians, and whom some have presumed to have been identical with Alexander the Great, though without any good reason, as this prince seems to have ruled many centuries before Alexander. It is more probable that Dulkarnain is identical with some of the Assyrian or Egyptian conquerers; and it may be that Arabia, even in these ancient times, had princes who carried their arms into distant countries.

Dulkarnain, with the exaggeration so usual in oriental traditions, is said to have extended his conquests to the remotest regions of the earth—to have conquered nations of giant stature—to have subdued towns whose walls and towers were of brass and copper of such brilliant splendor, that the inhabitants were obliged to wear masks, to prevent their eyes from being affected with blindness.

Dulmenaar, the successor of Dulkarnain, we are told, marched his armies westward into the unexplored regions of Nigritia, and there constructed a chain of light-houses through the desert, to guide his march; hence his name, which signifies Lord of the Watchtowers.

Afreikus, son of his predecessor, is said to have extended the conquest of his father in Africa, as far as the Atlantic Ocean, and to have given his name to Africa.

Duladaar, or the Lord of Terror, is celebrated as the conqueror of the Blemmyes, or Pigmyes—a nation represented as monsters without heads,—Acepholi,—and having mouths and eyes in their breasts, and whose country is pointed out by Herodotus to be that which is now called Abyssinia, or some other southern country of Africa. But his subjects throwing off their allegiance, raised *Shærhabil*, a descendant of Wathel, the sixth king in this list, to the throne. Shærhabil succeeded at last, after several battles, in establishing himself on the throne.

Belkis, the twenty-second of these rulers, is considered by the Arabs to be identical with the celebrated queen of Sheba or Saba, who visited and afterwards married Solomon, in the twenty-first year of her reign.

Nashirelnain—the opulent—was the successor of *Belkis*. His proper name was *Yasasin*, but he was surnamed *Nashirelnain* from the immense wealth he is said to have accumulated. This prince is described as very warlike, and as having carried his arms into the unknown deserts of the west, and to have lost a great part of his army in the whirlwinds of the sands. Thus compelled to return, we are told that he ordered a brazen statue to be erected on a pedestal of stone, with an inscription in the Hamyaric character, importing that here was the limit of his progress, and that none at the peril of being destroyed, could make the attempt to advance beyond.

Shamar was the successor of *Nashirelnain*, and is also called *Yaraash*, or the Tremulous, from a disease with which he was afflicted. He was also a warlike prince, and is recorded to have undertaken various expeditions into Persia; to have conquered Khorasan and some other provinces; to have penetrated to Sogdiana and to have laid siege to its capital, which he at last destroyed. Samarcand is alleged to have derived its name from him, according to an inscription which it is pretended was engraven on one of the gates. But this conqueror—it is related—with his whole army, was destroyed by a stratagem, when attempting to traverse the desert towards Chinese Tartary, with a view to extend his dominion over this country.

On the death of *Abimalec*, the successor of *Shamar*, the throne of the Hamyarites was usurped by the descendants of *Cahlan*; and consequently the two nearest successors of *Abimalec*, two brothers, by name of *Amran* and *Amru*, are not recognised by several of the Arabian historians as kings of Yemen. Thus we find them omitted in the lists of *Hamza*, *Masoudi** and *Nuvain*.

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether the succession of these kings took place in the order here given, or the time when they reigned; though there is every reason to suppose that they all, or most of them, lived before the time of *Cyrus*; still there have been those who have considered *Abimalec* as contemporary or identical with *Alexander the Great*.

But the greater part of the Arabians in ancient times undoubtedly lived the same roving life as the majority of the Arabians at the present day. It undoubtedly often happened that these wandering tribes made incursions upon the neighboring countries, and kept, for a longer or shorter time, possession of their conquests. But though we have ample evidence in the

* *Masoudi* wrote a history called the "Golden Meadows." He flourished in the first part of the tenth century of our era.

histories of the neighboring people that this was the case, we have no such information in regard to these events as to furnish us with any connected history of them whatever. Yet we know that the Scenite or Nomadic tribes held industry and the mechanical arts in contempt; and that if it happened that any of them abandoned their roving habits for the occupations of a settled life, they were considered as degraded and fallen from the primitive nobility of their birth. The only occupations they considered not beneath their dignity was the tending of their flocks, which constituted their chief wealth, and supplied all their wants. It was their constant boast that little was wanted to sustain a person who lived after their manner of life; their chief nourishment being dates and milk. The camel, the most general and the most valuable of their possessions, furnished them with their chief necessities. They ate the flesh of the young; the dung they consumed as fuel, and the long hair, which fell off annually, was manufactured into various articles of necessity. Thus they had no difficulty in supplying themselves with food and raiment; they would not sacrifice their leisure hours and their liberty to acquire, by vexatious toil and laborious industry, a wealth of which they felt no want, and which they despised. Thus if they remained in a barbarous or half civilized state they preserved their health, and held dormant the passion for the voluptuous and refined enjoyments which have proved destructive to so many nations. Their descendants have generally maintained the same mode of living and the same opinions, and differ but little from their ancestors in any respect. It was an ancient proverb of which the Arabs boasted, that God had bestowed upon their nation four precious gifts, viz: turbans instead of diadems; tents, instead of walls and bulwarks; swords instead of intrenchments, and poems instead of written laws.

But still some of these wandering tribes in parts of the northern desert, were not entirely wedded to pastoral life, but signalized themselves from those who lived in the interior, by residing in towns, and by cultivating the arts. Some of them occupied themselves entirely with agriculture, while others, besides these peaceful occupations, also exhibited the no less laudable wish to live at the expense of others by plunder. There still exists a great many tribes who consider this means of acquiring their livelihood not only allowable but also honorable. Here we have another proof that customs, and manners, and ideas, form the moral codes of the respective nations of which the human family is composed.

But though these predatory tribes shared with their countrymen the same warlike spirit and love of liberty, they had not the same facility of avoiding enemies of superior power, and consequently their independence was more precarious. Thus it happened that they often had to buy their safety by submission or tribute; as, for instance, we know that among those people who were compelled to pay tribute to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, are mentioned Arabs, who are presumed to have been of the tribes

now mentioned. Humiliations of this kind excited among them a yet stronger desire of maintaining their liberty, and continuing in their primeval mode of living. Thus we are told by Diodorus, that "the Nabatæans" as he calls them, "were prohibited by law from sowing, planting, drinking wine, and building houses, and that every transgression of this law was punishable by death." The same law was valid among the Rechabites, an Arab tribe mentioned by Jeremiah,* long after they had become resident in Judæa; and the reason assigned for this law is said to have been the belief, that the possessors of fields and vineyards were more easily brought under the subjection of foreigners.

It was very natural that the different modes of life which the two great divisions of the Arabs followed, should introduce among them very different manners and customs. Consequently, while the nomadizing tribes were satisfied with frugal repasts and necessary comforts, their brethren who had settled in homes, and principally those who inhabited the cities of the seashore, became famous for their wealth and the display of riches. It is also to be observed that, among the latter, the subdivision of the soil was adopted, and that there is no doubt that those who were engaged in agriculture had made no inconsiderable progress in that art; though we are ignorant of the methods adopted by them in their husbandry. Their agriculture, on which they did not, however, rely for their wealth, was much behind that of the Assyrians and Egyptians. But the case was quite different in regard to those occupied in commercial pursuits; as it is very evident that their business was so very lucrative as to make them the wonder of the surrounding nations, and to spread even to distant countries the most exaggerated stories of their riches.

There cannot be the least doubt that long before the times of which we have any authentic history, the Arabs were the carriers of the Oriental products, and had, from the ports of the Red Sea, crossed not only the Persian Gulf, but also, with the aid of the monsoons, visited the coasts of India. We are led to this conclusion, not only by the ancient traditions regarding this subject, and by the inferences we might draw from the locality of their country, but also by the very circumstance that, on the first historical light which dawns upon these regions, we find such a trade must have been carried on to an extent that makes it evident that it was not then in its infancy, but must have existed a very long period ere it could have grown to such an importance.

Mr. Heeren says: In a commercial point of view, Yement† was import-

* Jeremiah xxxv. 1, 2.

† Even if we do not extend the name of Yemen beyond the district on the south-west of Arabia, which is washed by the Indian Sea, it is almost equal in size to France; but the name of Yemen was often applied to the whole of the southern part of Arabia between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf

ant in two respects ; first, on account of its own productions ; and secondly, as the great mart of India's and Ethiopia's merchandize. It has always been, as well as the opposite coast of Ethiopia, from the earliest times, the principal country for spices and perfumes, and especially frankincense.* I have elsewhere mentioned that the very words in the book of Exodus,† show that, anterior to the time of Moses, the commercial intercourse between Arabia and India must have continued for a long time. Even Job, who in all probability lived many centuries afterwards, has allusions that evidently indicate the extensive and ancient trade of the Arabian merchants. We know that it was to a caravan of Midianite merchants, which, laden with spicery, and balm, and myrrh, was journeying from Arabia into Egypt, that Joseph was sold.‡ Ezekiel, in alluding to the trade which was carried on between Tyre and the Edomites, says : "Edom also managed thy trade and thy great affairs ; emeralds, purple, brodered work, cotton, bezoar, and precious stones she gave thee for the wares which thou deliveredst to her."§ But the wares enumerated here, observes Mr. Heeren, seem to be mostly Arabian and Indian ; to these belong the precious stones, pearl, and purple, by which we must understand that of India. These therefore, the Edomites bought of the caravans and brought them to Tyre and the other Phœnician cities. The cotton and embroidered work might probably have come from Egypt.¶ Herodotus, when speaking of the various kinds of perfume imported from Arabia by the Phœnicians, says : "In this land (Arabia) grow frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia and ledanon. The frankincense is collected from trees, in which are found a number of small-winged serpents, which they are obliged to drive away by burning gum-styrax. Cassia grows in a shallow lake, infested by numerous winged insects, like bats ; from these the inhabitants protect themselves by covering the whole body and eyes with skins. Finally, the ledanon is found like filth sticking to the beards of he-goats ; this perfume, however, is used in several ointments, and is that which in general they burn.¶¶ "Mr. Heeren observes that "it may perhaps be doubtful whether the small flying-serpents were anything more than mosquitoes ;** or the winged insects similar to bats, anything more than the winged lizards, so common in that country. The statement respecting the ledanon explains itself, in assuming that it exudes from a shrub upon which the goats are fond of browsing. The frankincense is less a native of Arabia itself than the opposite coast of Zula, in Africa." In regard to the gold, which was said by ancient writers to have abounded in Happy Arabia, Mr. Heeren

* Historical Researches, vol. 2d, chap. iv.

‡ Genesis xxxvii, 28.

¶ Researches vol. 2d, chap. iv.

¶¶ Herod. lib. iii, chap. 107—112.

** I suppose it more likely that these winged serpents were locusts.

† Exodus xxx. 22—25.

§ Ezek. xxvi. 16.

says: "It is impossible reasonably to doubt that Yemen once abounded in gold. Why indeed should not the mountains of Arabia* yield this metal, which was so plentiful in those just opposite in Ethiopia? The minute acquaintance which Job—supposed to have been an Arabian—displays of mining affairs renders this highly probable. Golden ore was also washed down by the mountain-streams, and cleared from the sand by washing.† With regard to precious stones, they were found in the mountains of the province Hadramaut; such at least as were considered precious by the ancients; namely, onyxes, rubies, agates, etc. But in addition to these native productions of Happy Arabia, other wares are mentioned as Arabian, certainly not the proper produce of this country, but either Indian or Ethiopian. To the former belongs cinnamon or cannella; and to the latter ivory and ebony." Cinnamon, as well as cardomomum, mard, and other spices, used in perfuming waters and unguents, are expressly enumerated by Theophrastus as brought from India. This, together with other evidences already given in several other places of this work, cannot but remove all doubt, as I have said before, that there was an established trade between India and the cities on the shores of the Red Sea many centuries before the time the affairs of Arabia became a matter of history.

That the Arabians had made very early progress in some of the mechanical arts is very evident from their works; and there can be no doubt that they also, at a very early date, had acquired some knowledge of mathematics, and of mechanics. That letters were known at least among some of the Arabian tribes in a very remote antiquity, we are justified to infer from the testimony of Job,‡ and from the ancient monuments still existing, and on which the inscriptions are said to be in the Hamyaric character.§

I will here observe that the dialect spoken by the Hamyarites, and that of the Koreish, were the two principal dialects of the ancient Arabians. The first is styled by oriental writers the Arabic of Hamyar, and the other, the pure Arabic. As Yarab, grandfather to Hamyar, is supposed by them to have been the first whose tongue had deviated from the Syriac to the Arabic, they think that the Hamyaritic dialect must have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, and consequently have been more remote from the true genius of the Arabic, than that of any other tribe. The dialect of the Koreish, termed by the Koran the perspicuous and clear

* There have been, however, several of those who have investigated this question who think that Arabia has never produced gold; but it is to be observed, that though it does not now yield this metal, it is no conclusive proof that such has always been the case.

† Strabo.

‡ Chapter xix. 23, 24.

§ Niebuhr is assured that inscriptions in it were to be found among the ruins of Dhafar, and on the walls of a village between Damar and Sanaa. He was prevented from visiting these places himself, but he was shown copies, which in his opinion resembled the Persepolitan or arrow-headed character.

Arabic, is supposed to have had its origin with Ishmael, who, says this writer, was the first to speak it. Pococke hence conjectures that Ishmael, after having contracted an alliance with the family of Jorham, by marriage, formed it of their language and the original Hebrew. But Jallalo'ddin attributes the elegance of the dialect of the Koreish, to the circumstance that they have from the remotest antiquity dwelt in Mecca, and in consequence of its situation, had less intercourse with foreigners—who might have corrupted their language—and that at the same time being the guardians of the Kaaba—they were visited by all the Arabs, of the different tribes, both for religious purposes and for the composing of their differences, and that thus the Koreish had occasion to borrow from them whatever words or phrases they judged most pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became infused into this dialect. The immense richness of the Arabic language is generally acknowledged, and I think may be accounted for on the very reason, that this people has from the remotest periods been divided into hundreds of small tribes, each of whom enriched the language with words from their peculiar dialects; as for instance, we are told that one of the most learned of the Arabic grammarians wrote a treatise, which consisted entirely in the interpretation of five hundred words, denoting a lion; another, collecting all the words signifying a serpent, found that they numbered about two hundred. The author of the great Arabic Lexicon, called *Kamus*, or the *Ocean*, relates, that in another of his works he had enumerated above a thousand words signifying simply a sword. But besides its unsurpassed richness, the Arabian language is distinguished as one of the most harmonious and expressive that ever existed.

The characters used by the Hamyarites are considered to have been the most ancient among the Arabians, and were called *Al Mosnad*, from the mutual dependency of its letters or parts upon one another. This was neither publicly taught, nor permitted to be used without special permission. The high antiquity of these characters is testified to by several of the ancient Arabian writers. Of the introduction of the characters now in use among these people, I will speak in another part of this work.

We may be sure that the heavenly bodies, and particularly the stars, became objects of contemplation and study to those who, at the earliest period, lived a wandering life on the Arabian deserts, through the pathless tracts of which there was no other guidance. Some knowledge also of the heavenly bodies must have been necessary to the mariners, whenever they adventured out of sight of the shores; and as the Arabians were undoubtedly among the earliest navigators, we have here another reason to justify the opinion that the science of astronomy was known and studied among them from a very early date. The book of *Job*, from the manner in which it speaks of *Orion*, *Arcturus* and the *Pleiades*, is good authority for presuming that the nomenclature and some of the truths of astronomy

were no recent discoveries, but on the contrary were very familiar, and long known to the Arabs.

For these reasons I think the Arabians might be allowed to have good ground for claiming to have been among the first nations that cultivated astronomical science. This view is also indirectly confirmed by Lucian, who says that this science came originally from Ethiopia; but as we know, this term was used in a very extensive sense, and included no less Happy Arabia than Ethiopia Proper. Besides, the frequent intercourse between these countries made it very natural that the people that inhabited them should communicate their discoveries to each other.

We know also that the worship of the stars was a very early species of idolatry among the Arabians. The Arab-Sabeans, in common with some other ancient people, imagined that the Sun, the Moon and the fixed Stars* were habitations of intelligences of a medium nature between man and the Supreme God, whom they called Allah Saalah, or the Most High God. These inferior deities they considered as mediators between man and the Supreme God. They first worshipped these illuminated orbs directly, but in the course of time they invented images, in which, after their consecration, they presumed the inferior deities to be as much present by their influence as in the stars themselves; and therefore that the effect would be the same, whether they worshipped the images or the heavenly bodies themselves. Still, as I have elsewhere said, the ignorant multitude might well have often imagined that the very images were the divinities which they must adore.

The Arabian writers speak also of five antediluvian divinities, who are said to have been men of great celebrity and extraordinary merits; and whose statues the Arabs at first viewed only with reverence, but to which they in course of time were induced to pay divine honors.

These mortal divinities were Wadd, Sawá, Yayhúth, Yáúk, and Nair.

Wadd was presumed to represent heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man, by the tribes of Calb.

Sawá was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of Hamodan. This idol, lying under water for some time after the deluge, was at length, according to some of the Arabian writers, discovered by the Devil, and worshipped by the tribe here mentioned, who instituted pilgrimages to Hodhail, where this idol had its sanctuary.

Yaghúth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the chief deity of several tribes, who dwelt in Jaman.

Yáúk was worshipped under the image of a horse.

Nair seems to have been the principal deity of the tribe of Hamyar, and

* I will here observe that the Arabs as well as the Indians applied themselves particularly to the study of the fixed stars; while the Chaldeans appear to have occupied themselves more with the planets.

was adored at Dhúl Khalaah in their territory, under the image of an eagle, which the name of this idol signifies.

The famous tribe Ad had four deities, of which the first, called Sakia, was supposed to send rain; the second Hafehda, preserved them from all dangers; the third, Bazeka, provided them with food; and the fourth, Salema, restored them to health, when afflicted with sickness, according to the signification of their respective names.

But many of the idols of the Arabs were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which is said to have been introduced by the posterity of Ishmael. These stones had probably been the altars on which offerings had, in the most ancient times, been made, but which, in the course of time, acquired such a sanctity that the ignorant multitude paid at last divine honors to them.

Some of the Arabian tribes, by their intercourse with the Persians, became converts to the Magian religion, of which I will speak in another place.

Some of the Arabs believed that everything had its origin in nature, and that in no other way had anything been created. Some again believed in a Supreme God as the creator of everything, and entertained also the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Some also believed in a metempsychosis, and that of the blood, near the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hormoh, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre, though others say that it was animated by the soul of him who was unjustly slain, and continually cried *Oscuni*—Give me to drink—meaning, of the murderer's blood—until his death should have been revenged; and then it flew away.

The Arabs were very superstitious, and a favorite study among them was the interpretation of dreams. Consequently they had a great many magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and soothsayers, who were called "wise men," and were esteemed in proportion to the renown they were able to acquire for the extent of their knowledge and the success of their interpretations. The chief of them all appears to have been styled the cohen or diviner. It belonged to him to know all things that had ever taken place; to predict all future events; to interpret dreams; and even mention and explain those which had been forgotten; to give answers to any questions that may have been directed to him for information; to relate what was passing in distant places, and to discover lost or stolen goods. Most of these wise men pretended to have been inspired by a peri or fairy. The Arabs believed also in omens, and were addicted to augury and many other popular superstitions; as for instance, the flight of a bird, or the particular mention of an animal, was often an inducement to suspend the most important journey; the tooth of a fox or a female cat was worn as an amulet, to prevent blindness or other injurious influence of female demons; a jealous husband, before setting out on a journey, used to throw a knot

secretly on the stalk of a broom ; when he returned, if he found it tied, he inferred that his wife had been faithful ; if loose, that she had dishonored his bed. Judgment by fire was in common use, and by its decision private disputes were frequently settled. Dice, lots, chess and other games of chance were converted into superstitious practices. They used also the azlam, or divination by arrows, which being kept in the temple of some idol, were to the number of three inclosed in a vessel ; on the one was inscribed, " God command me ;" on the other, " God forbid me ;" and the third was left plain. If the first was drawn out, the interrogator prosecuted his design ; if the second, he deferred it for a time : if the third, he drew again until he received an answer ; not, however, forgetting to repeat his present to the idol each time. We may be assured that the priests, if they saw that he had anything to give, permitted him to draw several times before his wish was satisfied. No affair of importance was undertaken, be it a journey, a marriage, a battle, or a predatory enterprise, without a consultation of these sacred implements. It was a practice among the tribes who believed in the resurrection of the body, to leave a favorite camel starving at the grave of its master, with its head fastened to its tail, and covered with a black cloak, that the dead man, at the resurrection, might instantly have an animal at hand to mount ; but if the camel made its escape, it was considered sacred, and to it was given water and pasture free. On the death of a husband, his widow left the tent, assumed a mean dress, using neither aromatics or ornaments for a whole year. She was forbidden to touch any animal except a dead ass, a sheep or a fowl ; but at the end of the year she resumed her usual habit and customs. But the women never mourned the slain until vengeance was inflicted upon their murderers, when immediately after this their lamentations began. Some thought that the ominous bird—named *hormah*, to which I have before alluded—was sitting on the grave and crying for " drink," until its thirst was quenched by the murderer's blood.

The order in which I have related the history of the Arabs is somewhat different from that I have followed in treating on that of other nations ; but I have done so in imitation of the confusion with which accounts of the ancient Arabians have been communicated to us, and which corresponds with the unsettled life of the majority of the Arabian tribes. We have now seen them only in their childhood ; still they must have awakened our interest, particularly as forming the connecting links between distant India and the nations whom we have been accustomed to view as the parents of arts, learning, and civilization.

But at a future period we shall see the infant tribes of Arabia grown up to manhood, and hear the crash of a hundred thrones falling before the giant strength of these children of nature. We shall be borne along with these impetuous champions of the oneness of God, and pay the tribute of admiration to their heroic deeds and their sublime productions in the midst

of the wrecks with which their astonishing triumphs are to overwhelm the countries inhabited by enervated and slumbering nations. Asking for what purpose is all this done, we shall find in history a satisfactory answer; and penetrated with gratitude towards the benevolent Ruler of the world, we shall learn that nothing occurs but by the paternal care and wisdom of Providence.

LETTER XXXVII.

THE COSMOGONY AND THEOGONY OF THE PHœNICIANS.

AMONG the most remarkable people of ancient times, the Phœnicians ought unquestionably to be numbered, particularly as being the most celebrated commercial nation of antiquity.

The original sources from which a knowledge of this people is to be gathered are: the works of the Hebrew writers; the fragments of the works of Sanchaniathon,* and Dion, their native historians; and also those of Meander and Philoshotes, as quoted by Josephus; and the works of Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Pausanias, Appian, Plutarch, and Apollodorus, and some other ancient writers.

* Sanchaniathon was, according to Athenæus, by birth a Tyrian, but, according to others, a native of Berytus. He is said, by Porphyry, the philosopher, and by Eusebius, to have lived about the time of the Trojan war; but this some think to be an error, for he speaks of Tyre as an ancient city, which they consider could not justly be said of it at the time of this war, as they presume that this city was not founded until about a century preceding that event. Still, I think, old Tyre was of a far more ancient date, and that Porphyry and Eusebius may be right. It is, however, to be observed that Suidas considers Sanchaniathon to have lived a considerable time after the Trojan war. Sanchaniathon compiled, as we are told by Porphyry, the Phœnician history from the ancient monuments and memoirs that were communicated to him by a priest, named Hierombalus, who some writers of more modern date have supposed to be identical with Gideon, as in the book of Judges he is sometimes called Jeroboah; but there seems little or no foundation for such an opinion. Sanchaniathon is also said to have made use of the registers of the city of Phœnice, which he found preserved in the temples, and to have carefully investigated the writings of Taaut, (Thoth Hermes, Mercury,) who was recognized as the first inventor of letters. Sanchaniathon is also said to have written a history of Egypt, and a book on the cosmogony and theogony of the Phœnicians. These works were translated from the Phœnician language into that of Greek, by Philo Biblius, the famous grammarian, who lived from the time of Vespatian to that of Adrian. In the history of Sanchaniathon, which begins with the origin of the world and of mankind, the pedigree of Cain's line is supposed to have been given.

Sanchoniathon, on the authority of Taaut, says that the first principle of the universe was a dark and spiritual air, or a spirit of dark air, and a turbid and obscure chaos; and that these things were infinite and boundless for unnumbered ages; but when the spirit was attracted by love towards its own principles, a mixture followed; that copulation was called desire. Thus was the origin of all that exist; but the spirit did not know or did not acknowledge its own production. From this conjunction or copulation of the spirit with its own principles came Môt, which has been called mud by some, and by others a corruption of a watery mixture; and from this originated the seed of all creatures, and the generation of the universe. Sanchoniathon says further, that there were certain animals without sense, from which proceeded intelligent beings, called Zophasemin—which is interpreted to signify contemplators of heaven, being formed alike in the shape of an egg; that immediately Môt,* with the sun, moon, stars, and larger constellations shone forth; that the air being intensely enlightened by the violent degree of heat communicated to the sea and earth, winds and clouds were generated, and great descents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when by the heat of the sun they were separated and drawn from their proper place, and then happened to meet again in the air, and dashed against each other, thunders and lightnings were engendered; and that at the peals of thunder the intelligent beings, above alluded to, awoke in terror, and male and female moved in the earth and the sea.

In spite of what Eusebius of Cæsarea—who has preserved this fragment—and others have said, it is very evident that Sanchoniathon and those whose authority he followed, did not refer to matters solely, but to the agency of spirit upon matter, the origin of the world.

Sanchoniathon begins his history of mankind with the creation of the first pair of mortals, who, by Philo, his translator, are called Protogonus—the first produced—and Æon—from *Αἰών*, life. Æon is said to have discovered the food which is gathered from trees. The issue of this pair are called Genus and Geneoa, and are said to have dwelt in Phœnicia; but when droughts came they stretched forth their hands to heaven, towards the sun; for him they considered as the sole God and Lord of heaven, giving him the name of Beelsamen, which, as we are told, signifies in Phœnician, Lord of heaven, or in Greek, Zeus. From the issue of Protogonus and Æon were begotten *Phos*—light—*Por*—fire—and *Phlox*—flame. They made the discovery of generating fire, by the rubbing of pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof. These begat sons of giant-like stature, whose names were given to the mountains of which they took possession; so from them were named Mount Cassius and Libanus, Antilibanus and Berothys. Of these giants were begotten

* This word seems here to denote the earth.

Memrumus and Hypsuranius, so named by their mothers—the women of these times having been accustomed to have intercourse with whomsoever they pleased. Here we have another evidence of the promiscuous state in which, in all probability, mankind, or a part of mankind lived, in the earliest times.

Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre, and is said to have invented the manufacture of huts of reeds and rushes, and also that of the papyrus. He also fell out with his brother Usous,* who, we are told, was the inventor of the use of the skins of the slaughtered wild beasts he had been able to catch, for a covering to the body. This Usous is also said to have taken a tree, and after having stripped it of its boughs, to have been so bold as to venture upon it into the sea, which was the first time any one had dared to navigate the waters. He also consecrated two rude stones or pillars to fire and wind, and afterwards worshipped them, pouring out to them the blood of such wild beasts as he had caught in hunting. But when he was dead, those that lived after him consecrated to him, and to the distinguished men of his generation, stumps of wood and pillars, worshipping them, and celebrating annually feasts to their honor. Here we have instances in the most ancient times of worship paid to inanimate things and to departed men.

Many years after this generation, lived Agreus and Halieus, who introduced hunting and fishing, and from whom huntsmen and fishermen are named. Of these were begotten two brothers, who discovered iron and the method of forging it; one of these, called Chrysor, supposed to be the same as Hephaestus, or Vulcan, exercised the art of divination; and invented the hook, the bait and the fishing line, and small boats. He was the first man that navigated the sea, which caused him to be worshipped on his death as a god, under the name of Zeus Michius or Diamichius—Jupiter the Engineer—and some have attributed to his brother the invention of brick walls. From this generation descended two brothers, one of whom was called Technites or the Artist, and the other Geinus Autochthor, interpreted, as the home-born man of the earth. They first introduced the use of straw, or small twigs, in the manufacture of brick, and burnt or dried them in the sun. From these descended others, of whom one was called Agrus—field; and the other Agrouerus or Agrotēs—husbandman; to whom a statue was erected to which worship was paid, and to whom also a temple was dedicated. This generation began to lay out courts about their dwellings, to make fences, and caves or cellars. Husbandmen, and those who use dogs in hunting, derive their origin from them. They are also called Aletae, or Tritons. These begat Aymus and Magus, who taught men how to constitute villages and flocks. In the time of these men there was one Eliun, in Greek Hypsistus—the most high. His wife was called

* Usous is thought to be the same with Ous—i. e. strong—a name long after given to the son of Aram, whom Josephus calls Ouses, and we write Uz.—Universal Hist. p. 87, Vol. 1.

Beruth, and they dwelt about Byblus. They were the parents of one Epigeus or Authochton, who was afterwards called Uranus—heaven; and of his sister Ge—the earth. When their father Hypsistus was killed in a fight with wild beasts, he was consecrated, and his children offered sacrifices and libations to him. But Uranus taking the kingdom of his father, and marrying his sister Ge, had by her four sons, Ilus, Cronus or Saturnus, Betylus, Dagon, or Siton, the god of corn, and Atlas; he had also many children by other wives.

The generations here given before Elun and his wife, by Sanchoniathon, are considered to have been antediluvians—though this historian makes no mention of a flood—and also to have been identical with the genealogy of Cain's line as given in Genesis, with the exception of the fourth and fifth generations, to which there are no corresponding ones in the biblical account. The better to illustrate this subject, I will here insert the following

TABLE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF CAIN.

According to Genesis.

- 1 Adam, Eve,
- 2 Cain,
- 3 Enoch,
- 4 ———
- 5 ———
- 6 Irad,
- 7 Mehujad,
- 8 Methusael,
- 9 Lamech,
- 10 Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-Cain.

According to Sanchoniathon.

- 1 Protonus, Æon,
- 2 Genus, Genea,
- 3 Phos, Pur, Phlox,
- 4 Cassius, Libanus, etc.
- 5 Memrumus, Usous,
- 6 Agreus Haliens,
- 7 Chrysor, or Hephaestus,
- 8 Technites, Geinus,*
- 9 Agrus, Agronerus,
- 10 Amynus, Magus.

Sanchoniathon says that Amynus and Magus begat Mizor,† Well-freed, and Sydye, Just, who discovered the use of salt. From Mizor came Taaut,

* Sanchoniathon places his chief artists in the seventh and eighth generations, while the author of Genesis, on the contrary, according to this table, places them in the tenth. If we suppose the two last generations, and not the fourth and fifth, to be those omitted in Genesis, they will come much nearer. Dr. Cumberland therefore, to obtain a better agreement, conjectures that these two links in Sanchoniathon have been transposed, and that Chrysor should be in the eighth place, and Technites in the seventh; or else that the father, in the seventh generation, might invent these arts, and on that account be celebrated by Thoth or his scribes; and that the sons might bring them to greater perfection in the eighth generation, and that for that reason the author of Genesis took more notice of him.—Cumberland on Sanchoniathon.

As Christian writers generally take it for granted, that the ten generations already given by Sanchoniathon, allude to descendants of Cain, they say that Amynus and Magus must have perished in the flood, or else were already dead, anterior to this event; consequently they deny that Mizor and Sydye could descend from them. Some have supposed that Mizor was identical with Mizraim and Sydye, the same person as Milchizedec Shem. But as these are only conjectures, I think them little worthy of serious attention. Mizor was, however, in all probability a single person, and Mizraim a people, who might well be his descendants.

who invented the first written characters ; but from Sydye came the Dioscuri, or Cabiri,* who were called Corybantes and Samothraces. These were the first builders of a complete ship. From these descended others, who discovered the use of herbs, and the secret of charms.

In regard to Uranus and Ge, we are told by Sanchoniathon, that as Uranus had many children by other wives, Ge became at last very jealous, and reproached him so severely, that they came to a separation. But Uranus could not keep away from her, but returned to her, and violated her person when he pleased, and at last attempted to kill the children he had by her. Ge, however, did not endure this long ; but gathering aid, she made resistance. When Cronus, her eldest son by Uranus, as said before, had grown to be a man—taking Hermes Trismegistus as his counsellor and assistant, as he was his secretary—he also opposed his father, and avenged the violence offered to his mother. Cronus had besides other children—Persophene—Prosepina—and Athena-Minerva ; the former died a virgin ; and by the advice of Athena and Hermes, Cronus made a scimeter and a spear of iron. Hermes then made use of enchanting words, in order to aid Cronus, and to excite in him an ardent desire to fight against his father, in behalf of his mother. The consequence was, that Cronus made war upon Uranus, and driving him out of the kingdom, succeeded to his power. During this war, the favorite concubine of Uranus being in a family way, was taken prisoner ; but no harm was done to her. She was given by Cronus in marriage to his brother Dagon, and gave birth to a son, who was called Demaroon—to whom Uranus was father.

Cronus is said afterwards to have built a wall about his house, and founded Byblus, the first city† of Phœnicia. Afterwards, suspecting his own brother Atlas, Cronus, by the advice of Hermes, threw him into a deep hole in the earth, and there buried him.

At this time the descendants of Dioscuri, we are told, after having built some frail and some stronger ships, made an attempt to navigate the sea ; but being thrown on shore near Mount Cassius,‡ they there consecrated a temple.

The auxiliaries of Cronus, or Ilus, were called Eloim,§ which is presumed to denote the Cronii. But Cronus suspecting his own son Sadid, dispatched him with his own sword. Uranus understanding this, sent Eimormene and Hora—Fate and Beauty—with other auxiliaries, to wage war against him ; but Cronus insinuating himself also in their favor, induced them to remain with him.

* The Cabiri were very remarkable, as we shall see in the course of this work

† Rather an intrenched camp, composed of scattered huts, and perhaps tents, around which a wall of protection might have been raised.

‡ Mount Cassius lay on the coast, about forty miles from Pelusium, in Egypt, on the road towards Palestine.

§ Eloim signify the gods.

Cronus is said to have had by his wife Astarte, seven daughters, called Titanides, or Artemides, and two sons—*Pothos*, Desire; and *Eros*, Love; and by his wife Rhea seven sons, the youngest of whom, as soon as he was born, was consecrated a god. By his wife Dione, he had also daughters. He had also three sons in *Peræa*,*—first, Cronus, of the same name; second, Zeus Belus; third, Apollo.

Dagon, the third son of Uranus, discovered the use of grain for bread; and invented the plough; and was called Zeus Antrius.

Sydye, or the Just, had by one of the Titanides, Asclepius.

Contemporary with the sons of Cronus, were Pontus and Typhon.† Pontus had a daughter, Sidon, who by the extraordinary sweetness of her voice, was led to invent hymns or odes or praises; and, a son, Poseidon, Neptune.

Demaroon's son was called Melicarthus, but became famous under the name of Hercules.‡

Then again Uranus makes war upon Pontus, but being repulsed, joins with Demaroon, who also attacks Pontus, but is put to flight by him, when Demaroon vows a sacrifice for his escape.

But in the thirty-second year of his reign, Ilus—that is, Cronus—having laid an ambuscade for his father Uranus, in a certain midland place, got him into his hands, and committed upon his person the outrage of unmaning him, near a fountain and river. Uranus was now consecrated there, and his spirit, or breath, was separated, and the blood that flowed from the wound dropped into the fountains and the rivers; and the place was exhibited at the time the historian wrote the account of this event.

Astarte, called the Greatest, and Demaroon, surnamed Zeus, and Adodus, king of the gods, now, by the consent of Cronus, received the power over the country into their own hands; and Astarte, as a sign of her sovereignty, put on her head a bull's head. But undertaking a journey through the world, she found a star falling from the sky, which she took up and consecrated in the sacred island of Tyre. We are also informed that the Phœnicians asserted that Astarte was the very same goddess to whom the Greeks gave the name of Aphrodite, Venus.

Cronus, when he made his tour about the earth, is said to have given to his own daughter, Athena, the kingdom of Attica; and on the occasion of a plague, to have made his only son a burnt-offering to his father Uranus.§

* *Peræa* is the Greek name of the country of Basham, beyond Jordan.

† Typhon's father was Nereus.

‡ This is presumed to be the ancient Phœnician Melcartus, or Hercules, whose temple at Gades or Gadira was without images, and which remained to the time of Iulius Italicus.

§ This circumstance is also related in another place, and the observation then made, that it was an established custom among the ancients, that in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a nation or city should give up their dearest child to be sacrificed as an expiation, for appeasing the wrath of the irritated deities. In such cases the victims were

Cronus is said to have been circumcised, and to have forced his allies, or subjects, to submit to the same usage. Afterwards Cronus consecrated another son, called Moth, whom he had by Rhea, and whom the Phœnicians called Pluto, or Death. Somewhat later Cronus gave the city of Byblus to the goddess Baaltis, identical with Dione; and Berytus to Poseidon, and to the Cabiri, and to husbandmen, and to fishermen, who consecrated the remains of Pontus in Berytus.

But before these things were performed, Taaüt, to whom was also given the title of a god,* and who had made an image of Uranus, undertook also to represent the gods Cronus and Dagon, and their attributes by images, and by emblems; as for example, he represented the royal power of Cronus by giving to his image two eyes before, and two eyes behind; and of these four, two winking as in sleep; on the shoulders four wings—two lifted ready for flight and the other two at rest. The meaning of this was, that when Cronus was asleep, he was watching what took place; and when resting, he was flying about. To Taaüt, Cronus is said to have given the kingdom of Egypt.

All these things the Cabiri, the seven sons of Sydac, and their eighth brother, Asclepius, first of all wrote down, as they had been taught by Taaüt; and the son of Thabion, who is said to have been the first hierophant, or regulator of sacred rites, that ever existed among the Phœnicians, reduced them to allegories, and mingling with them descriptions of physical phenomena, he delivered that celebrated orgia to the priests, or prophets, presiding over the mysteries; who, improving these fables, transmitted them to their successors, one of whom was Isiris, the inventor of three letters, and the brother of Chua, the first Phœnician, as he was afterwards called.†

Thus we see that Sanchoniathon informs us how Phœnician idolatry originated, and that it chiefly consisted in the deification of men, who had signalized themselves by their deeds. If we are allowed to presume these fragments to be genuine, then I think we must concede that Sanchoniathon was himself far from considering these Phœnician divinities to be anything but what they really were. It is also to be observed, that the Cabiri, the first transcribers of Sanchoniathon's work, appear, as I will in another place prove, to have entertained a rational belief concerning the Divinity, though enveloped in mystery, and that Sanchoniathon's works were preserved by

sacrificed with many mysterious ceremonies. Cronus, who after his death was converted into the planet Cronus, (Saturn,) therefore, when the country was involved in a disastrous war, taking his only son, by a certain nymph, of the country of Anobret, called Jeud, which in the Phœnician language signified only-begotten, accounted him in royal attire, and sacrificed him on the altar he had prepared for that purpose.

* It is to be observed, as we see in the history of Egypt, that this was a title given to distinguished persons, and which evidently in such cases only denotes their high station or excellent qualities.

† Sanchoniathon apud Euseb. de Prop. Ev. lib. 1.

them, as containing ideas similar to their own. But however this may be, these fragments cannot but be considered as of great importance, and as containing the key to many truths

Bishop Cumberland has attempted to reconcile these records of the earliest times, with the book of Genesis, but without success. Still I do not therefore agree with the authors of the English Universal History,* who say, that the history of Sanchoniathon can never be reconciled with the Bible; on the contrary, I think there are many points of unanimity between these fragments of Sanchoniathon's works, and what we find in Genesis, which prove that both these accounts of the earliest times are founded upon the very same primitive tradition.

After having spoken of the times which lie so far in the back ground, that Sanchoniathon himself, who lived perhaps three thousand years ago, could not penetrate the darkness that surrounded them, we will now take cognisance of the period on which history begins to throw a gradually increasing light. But ere we proceed farther, we will pause and take a brief view of Phœnicia itself, and its principal cities.

LETTER XXXVIII.

SURVEY OF PHŒNICIA AND ITS CITIES.

PHŒNICIA,† or Phœnicia Proper, even in its most flourishing state, was of very small extent, comprising that part of the Syrian coast extending from Tyre to Aradus, a narrow strip of land about a hundred and twenty miles in length from north to south; and probably nowhere more than twenty miles in breadth. It was bounded on the south and east by Palestine, on the north by Syria Proper, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. Its coast was studded with bays and harbors, and covered

* Page 140, vol. 1. The same writers also add, that the history of Sanchoniathon seems to have been founded upon different traditions from that given by Moses; but even in this point, I think they are wrong.

† Whence this name was deduced is uncertain. Some think that it was derived from the Greek word *φοινικη*, which signifies a Palm, from the abundance of Palm-trees which grew there. Some again suppose that it is only a translation of the Hebrew word Edom. This land was also called—but I think in a more extensive meaning—Chus, which some presume to be a contraction of Canaan; but this latter word, with equally good reason, may be a derivation from the former. In the earliest time it was also called Rhabbothin—Calpitis—from the Hebrew word Rabbotsen, signifying a bay, of which Calpos Κάλπος is the translation in Greek, and signifying also a bay or gulf. The Hebrews called it Canaan.

with lofty mountains, many of which ran out into the sea and formed promontories, whose summits, crowned with forests, supplied the most valuable material for the building of the habitations and fleets of the Phœnicians. The larger range of these mountains, says Strabo, bore the name of Libanus. It is presumed that the sea—which beat with great fury against this rocky shore—had separated some of these promontories from the main land, and thus formed small islands at a little distance from the shore. We know there existed many such islands, which in consequence of the cities that once flourished upon them, deserve no less notice than the main land itself.

Thus Aradus,* or Arad, the most northern city of Phœnicia, was built on one of these islands; and opposite to it, on the main land, was Antamodus, the name of which is said to have been derived from this city. About eighteen miles to the south of this city stood, and still stands, Tripolis, and at a like distance, Byblus, with the temple of Adonis; and still farther south, Berytus. Continuing our course along the coast, for about the same distance, we come to Sidon; and finally, about fourteen or fifteen miles further, at the southern extremity of the country, stood upon another island, the famous Tyre. The space between these islands was covered with a number of towns of less import, but nevertheless the abode of industry, and also renowned for their arts and manufactures. Among those were Sarephta and Orthosia, and others, forming, as it were, one unbroken city, extending along the whole line of coast, and over the islands, and “which,” as Mr. Heeren justly observes, “with the harbors and seaports, and the numerous fleets lying within them, must have afforded altogether a spectacle scarcely to be equalled in the world, and must have awakened in the stranger who visited them, the highest idea of the opulence, the power, and the enterprising spirit of the inhabitants.”†

These cities were chiefly colonies; and, like all other colonies of the ancient world, were founded either for purposes of trade, or by bodies of citizens who left their native abodes in consequence of civil dissensions. The most ancient of them, “the first born son of Canaan,” according to what we read in Genesis,‡ was Sidon, the foundress of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians and also of Tyre, which was but a mart for her own wares; yet the daughter soon outstripped the mother in power, wealth and celebrity. Thus in the most flourishing period of Phœnicia, Sidon was but the second city of that country in point of extent and power, though still rich and mighty, and protected in a great measure by her excellent harbor from ruin and decline, as long as the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians was in a flourishing state. Strabo tells us also that Arvath or Arad was founded by another colony from Sidon, and that it

* Supposed to be the Arvath of the Hebrews.

† Researches, Vol. 2, Chap. i.

‡ Chap. x. 15.

was indebted for its origin to a civil dissension in this city, which caused the discontented and defeated party to seek a new abode in Tripolis; its name imports a common colony of the three cities of Tyre, Sidon and Aradus, as the same author tells us.

The eldest Tyre, which in ancient times bore the name of Sor, and also called the daughter of Sidon, was situated on the main land at the sea-shore, about two hundred furlongs south of the mother city. But during the siege which Nebuchadnezzar had laid to it, and when it had already famished for a long time, the greater part of the inhabitants took refuge in a neighboring island, which they had meanwhile surrounded with new walls of defence, and where stood the celebrated island-city of Tyre;* which, favored by its strong position, not only soon equalled but also eclipsed the ancient city of that name. The new city, including the old one, had a circumference of nineteen thousand paces, or about three American miles; which, by modern accounts, is allowing it too great an extent. The narrow limits of the island not permitting it to spread out its walls, might therefore be considered the reason why the buildings were, as we are told by Strabo,† more lofty, and provided with more stories than the houses of Rome. The buildings of this city are described as having been generally very spacious and magnificent; but the temple of the principal deity of the Tyrians—the tutelar god of the city—as its name Melcarth‡ signifies—surpassed all the other in splendor and in vastness of size. Its walls were one hundred and fifty feet in height, and its breadth was in proportion, being built of large blocks of stone, fastened together with a kind of cement.

* The name of Tyre some say denotes three different cities, viz: Tyre on the continent, or Palæ Tyrus (old Tyre,) Tyre on the island, and Tyre on the peninsula, after the island was joined to the main land. It is also to be observed that four different places in Phœnicia bore the name of Tyre.

† Strabo, lib. xvi.

‡ This deity was called by the Greeks the Tyrian Hercules, though entirely different from their god of the same name, notwithstanding the mythi of the two are often confounded.

Herodotus—book ii. chap 14,—notices this difference. According to the account which the Phœnician priests gave to Herodotus, two thousand three hundred years had already then elapsed since the foundation of the city of Tyre and that of the temple, which took place at the same time; that is to say, about 2740 B. C. But this account could only have reference to the ancient city and the ancient temple in it, which, however, had long before been destroyed. This new one, we are told by Josephus, (Joseph. contra Apion,) was built by Hiram, the contemporary and friend of Solomon. It was this new temple on the island of Tyre which Herodotus saw about five hundred and fifty years later. Mr. Heeren has, therefore, very judiciously observed that—as we learn from the passage of Josephus, quoted from Menauder—Hiram took down the ancient temples of Melcarth and Astarte, and built new ones, and encompassed the great square of the city, (*χωρὸς τὸν περιχωρὸν*,) compelling the Tyrians to pay him the disputed tribute; we cannot, therefore, well be mistaken in regarding him as the original founder of the island-city of Tyre, and as having, in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants of ancient Tyre, made it the capital. This opinion is confirmed by another passage of Josephus—Ant. viii. ch. 3, 5—where it is said that Hiram dwelt on an island.

The city of Tyre had two harbors, one on the north towards Sidon, the other on the south towards Egypt.*

It is universally admitted that the Phœnicians were Canaanites by descent. They appear to have been governed from the remotest time by chiefs, to whom the name of kings has been given, but whose power was very limited. The several cities seem to have formed separate states; though the larger ones exercised a preponderating influence on certain occasions, and sometimes even a kind of supremacy; as for instance in wars against a common enemy.

It was with Phœnicia as with Syria Proper—though Damascus for some time extended its authority to a great part of the latter—that it never became what justly may be called one state, but from the earliest period, until it became the prey of a foreign enemy, was divided into a number of separate and independent small states, each compassed by a city and the territory around it, though sometimes forming a confederation.

But there were frequently alliances formed between two or more of the Phœnician cities; "indeed," says Mr. Heeren, "it appears very probable that at certain times all the cities of Phœnicia formed one confederation, at the head of which stood originally Sidon, and afterwards Tyre." We see even from what we read in the book of Joshua, that as early as the Mosiac period, alliances among the Canaanitish people were common: which system was, as Mr. Heeren observes, introduced from their weakness and consequent necessity to act in common when a foreign attack was to be resisted. The same learned writer proves also that these confederations were not confined to Phœnicia alone; but prevailed also in the countries colonized by the Phœnicians, as we will show when treating on the history of the Carthaginians. "A common religion;" adds Mr. Heeren, "the worship of the Tyrian Hercules; the national and colonial deity, formed likewise a bond of union between all these cities, both of the mother country and the colonies, and strengthened and preserved the connection between them. It is the nature, however, of all such confederations to be liable to frequent changes; they vary, indeed, according to the political interests, and even the power and views of the separate states. Many changes of this kind must have arisen in this quarter, by the foundation and growing prosperity of the island colonies; and many modifications must have taken place, as these acquired strength, to assume a kind of independence of the parent states."†

That Tyre, under its most flourishing period, exercised a preponderating influence over the other Phœnician cities, might justly be inferred from the description given of it by Ezekiel. We find that Sidon and Arvath were at

* The mouth of the latter, Arian tells us, could be closed by ponderous chains.—Arian. *Hb.* ii. 24.

† *Historical Researches*, vol. 2d, chap. i.

that time her allies, and contributed their supplies of soldiers and sailors;* and when such was the case in respect to the large cities of Sidon and Arvath—the most distant ones—I cannot but agree with Mr. Heeren, in the reasonable conclusion, that all the smaller and nearer cities of Phœnicia were in dependence upon Tyre. It has also, in confirmation of this opinion, been observed by the same high authority, that the subjects and allies of Tyre, and their revolts against it, are expressly and often mentioned by ancient writers; as for instance, we find a most striking evidence of this in the fragments preserved by Josephus of the works of Menander; where we are told, that, when Shalmaneser undertook his expedition against Phœnicia, the allied cities, Sidon, Acre, and many other cities revolted against the Tyrians, and submitted to the king of Assyria. Yea their faithless allies went so far as to fit out a fleet against them, which was, however, defeated by the Tyrians, who thus removed all danger for the present.*

The same relation evidently existed between Tyre and the other Phœnician cities, as between Carthage and Utica, Adrumetum, and other Phœnician cities on the African coast. "It not only seems quite natural," says Mr. Heeren, "that in cities inhabited by one people, and so frequently called upon to struggle against their common and powerful enemies, alliances should be formed, and by alliances a kind of authority be conceded to the mightiest, but it is also consonant with the whole tenor of ancient history that colonies should adopt the government of the mother state." Agreeably to the facts already alluded to, and to the opinion of this learned historian, we may safely conclude, as he does himself, that the Phœnician cities formed together one confederation, at the head of which, in the period of their greatest splendor, and in their independent state, stood Tyre. But at the time of their subjection to the monarchs of Assyria and Persia, the bond that united them necessarily became loosened, and the other cities paid their tribute and furnished their contingents to their new lords instead of to Tyre; the latter, however, still preserved its rank and continued to be considered as the chief city of Phœnicia.

It appears, nevertheless, very evident that each of the Phœnician cities stood under the rule of its own proper government, and that they consequently so far are to be considered as states independent of each other. It is also equally certain that the chief authority was lodged in the hands of hereditary kings, who possessed very limited powers. The revolutions effected by the parties into which the inhabitants of every city was divided, sometimes raised new families to the throne. Even under the supremacy of Persia the royal dignity continued, though the Phœnician kings then were but vassals of the great king; and obliged to furnish him with ships

* Ezekiel xxvii. 8—11.

† Ant. lib. ix, 14.

and money, and to attend him, when commanded in his military expeditions.* We also know that there were kings in Arad and Byblus, as well as in Tyre and Sidon, and even as late in the time of Alexander.†

Besides the king there were also magistrates,‡ who, as Arian says, conjointly with the kings, sent ambassadors. The authority of the kings was also undoubtedly circumscribed by religion; that is, by the influence of the priesthood, who appear to have here, as in Egypt, ranked next to the kings. There was also at certain periods a general congress of the great Phœnician cities usually held; where the kings, in council with the sanhedrims, deliberated upon such affairs as concerned all the confederated states.§

Ezekiel gives us a picture of the power and splendor of the Tyrian kings, and also of the means by which they were acquired, in the following words, which I take from the translation of the celebrated Orientalist, Michaelis, as found in Heeren.¶ “With thy wisdom and with thy understanding, hast thou gotten the riches: with gold and silver hast thou filled thy treasury, by means of the greatness of thy commerce. Full of wisdom, sealest thou great sums; thou dwellest in a garden of God, ornamented from thine infancy with precious stones, clothed with fine garments.”¶ “From this remarkable passage,” says Mr. Heeren, “it may at least be gathered that the revenue of the Tyrian kings, and without doubt that of the princes of the other cities also, was derived from commerce; but whether from the customs—or, which seems more probable, from a monopoly of some of the branches of trade, or from both—cannot be decided.”

This is all we know of the government of the Phœnician cities and their internal relations. Of their foreign and colonial affairs we have more extensive information, as will be related in the following letter.

* Herodotus viii. 67. The kings of Sidon and Tyre formed part of Xerxes council of war; the former taking precedence of the latter. “Was this merely personal?” asks Mr. Heeren, “or according to the rank of the cities, among which Sidon, as the parent city, stood as the head?”

† Arian ii. 20.

‡ Arian calls them *τοις εν τελεσι*.

§ Diod. lib. 2. As when a council was held respecting a revolt from the Persians. Even the very circumstance that some of the Tyrian kings, as, for instance, Pygmalion, were named tyrants, seems to prove that they should not all be considered so. There is mention, too, of a time when the royal dignity was entirely banished from Tyre, and its place supplied by Suffetes. This was after the siege of Nebuchadnezzar.—Heeren's Researches, v. ii. ch. 1.

¶ Researches, vol. ii. ch. 1.

¶ Ezekiel xxviii. 4, 5, 12 and 13. The precious stones mentioned in the last verse are the sardias or the ruby, the topaz, the diamond, the beryl or chrysalite, the onyx, the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald or chrysoprase, and the carbuncle; and, besides, gold. Evidence enough of wealth and extensive trade.

LETTER XXXIX.

COLONIES AND FOREIGN POSSESSIONS OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

THIS subject has been so ably treated by Mr. Heeren, that it would be only a proof of vanity were I to attempt to substitute anything of my own derived from other sources. I will therefore on this subject, and on Phœnician commerce and navigation, follow the authority of this celebrated historian, and limit my labors chiefly to give a condensed view of his writings on these important subjects. Still I must state my own opinion, when I think myself justified in dissenting from what has been advanced by Mr. Heeren.

One of the means by which nations have spread over the earth, has been colonization ; and commercial communities have often availed themselves of colonies to extend their trade, and facilitate the acquisition of wealth. No people of antiquity, as far as we know, the Greeks perhaps excepted, distinguished themselves for their colonies, so much as did the Phœnicians.

Colonies have been generally planted by commercial nations, and especially by those in the enjoyment of some degree of civil liberty ; yet it must be admitted, that a great number of them have had their origin in the persecutions their founders had to suffer in the mother country. Many have also originated with persons who have wished to save themselves from foreign tyranny, and the oppression of conquering princes and people. But though I agree with Mr. Heeren in the opinion, that despotic empires have never, or rather seldom, given rise to flourishing colonies, I do not think it very proper to designate the manner, in which commercial nations have generally brought such communities into existence, as a peaceable civilization, though this term may be justly applied to that of the Phœnicians. On the contrary, the manner in which the Portuguese, the Dutch, and particularly the English, and the Spaniards, founded many of their colonies, cannot be called a peaceable one, but rather a most unjustifiable and atrocious mode of robbing foreign nations of their just possessions, to enrich themselves. This is also indirectly acknowledged by Mr. Heeren himself, by his admission that foreign settlements are liable to abuses,* and directly in saying that the system of colonization has always been attended with striking disadvantages. Still

* *Researches*, vol. ii. chap. 2.

it cannot be denied that he is in the right, when he maintains that such settlements have, in a great measure, promoted the cause of civilization ; and that in colonies many improvements are easily and necessarily made, which could scarcely be adopted where everything has become fixed and settled ; and that their new foreign relations, and the enlarged sphere of action which their necessities open to them, soon lead them to views different from those entertained in the mother state ; and that it is from the bosom of colonies that civil liberty, in almost all ages, has sprung forth. In illustration of this opinion, Mr. Heeren properly observes, that Greece had no Solon till the colonies of Asia Minor had obtained their highest degree of splendor ; and while the parent country could only boast of a single legislator, whose object was to form citizens, and not merely warriors, nearly every colony of Greece and Sicily possessed its legislators. In this way, indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the colonies it has founded ; and thus, amid the rise and fall of empires, the progress of man in civilization steadily advances. Tyre and Sidon sunk before the decrees of fate ; but before their fall, they beheld hundreds of flourishing colonies, which they had founded, destined to propagate the arts they had discovered, and the civilization they had attained. Such would also be the case with Europe, were it possible that it should again be covered with the darkness of barbarism. The colonies she has founded in all the other parts of the world, would then be the instruments by which Providence would preserve and advance her arts and her learning.

But the system of colonization has, as Mr. Heeren admits, its disadvantages. It excites the thirst for conquest and for wealth, and jealousy toward other states ; which causes have often brought ruin upon colonizing and commercial nations. "Still," is the judicious remark of the same writer, "thirst of conquest appears above all to be opposed to the interests of commercial states. Friendship and peace with the nations with whom they have dealings, would appear the most likely means of keeping their ports open, and of obtaining commodities with which to freight their vessels. But unfortunately it has never been thus. In ancient, as in modern times, subjection has been the cry of the strongest, and with this upon their lips, the Carthaginians subjugated Spain ; the Spanish, America ; and the British, India."

The Phœnicians, however, though very jealous of their commerce, as appears from the mystery with which Herodotus tells us they surrounded it, seem not to have been bent upon conquest, but rather on extending their trade by peaceful colonization ; still they did not entirely abstain from war and conquest. "For although the extent of their territory," says Mr. Heeren, "did not allow of their raising numerous armies from among themselves, they very early adopted the system of carrying on their wars by means of hiring troops : a system to which all commercial states have had, and always must have, recourse, in their continental wars. It

is, however, not merely the relatively small number of idle and useless men, nor the facility of procuring the means of subsistence, which prevents the formation of powerful armies in such states; we must also take into consideration the low esteem in which soldiers are held in countries where the merchants are everything, and especially in republics, where the hired soldiers are regarded as the paid servants of the citizens."

Tyre, therefore, hired troops from Asia Minor and the neighboring countries, as Carthage did from almost every part of Africa and of Europe known to antiquity. The other Phœnician cities also furnished their contingents, both of land and sea forces. From these states the garrison of Tyre itself appears to have been taken. "They of Persia, of Lydia—Lud—and of Lycia—Phut," says Ezekiel, "were thy warriors; they hanged their shields and helmets in thee; they of Arvad were in thine army about thy walls, and kept watch before thy walls; they hanged their shields upon thy towers, and have thus made thee illustrious."* Still foreign mercenaries were probably not employed but upon extraordinary occasions.

The situation of Phœnicia rendered it impossible for its inhabitants to extend their territory in Asia by conquest; but a wide range was open to them in the neighboring islands of the Mediterranean; and of all these none appears to have had greater attractions to them than the nearest and largest—the island of Cyprus.† We know not only that the Tyrians established themselves in this island, but also that they made it one of their provinces; for the Cyprians revolted against Tyre when Shalmaneser invaded Syria. Cittium‡ was the principal settlement of the Tyrians upon this island, which, together with the smaller islands of the Archipelago and the coasts, they named after this city. The Tyrians had also colonists in the other cities of the island.

The course of Phœnician colonization was from the east to the west along the shores of the Mediterranean, or so we may infer from the remains of early traditions, which have been preserved from the ancient history of this people, and from the situation of their country. "For what else," says Mr. Heeren, "was that Tyrian Hercules,—of whose expedition to Iberia, to make war upon the son of Chrysaor,—the rich-in-gold—we have been told—if not the tutelary god, first of the mother nation, then of the colonies also; and thus generally the *symbol* of the Phœnician race? And the history of his expeditions along the coasts of the Mediterranean, what is it, if not an allegorical relation of the outspread of the people by trade and navigation, and of the general civilization which resulted therefrom?"

* Ezekiel, xxvii. 10, 11.

† Joseph. Ant. ix. 14.

‡ Mr. Heeren thinks Kittim to be identical with Cittium. That this name was also given to the neighboring islands, seems evident from Josephus.

The Greek poets and mythologists have handed down to us these traditions, though transformed to various shapes and even confounded with others, to suit the purposes of their epic poems and narrations. Yet Diodorus appears nevertheless to have preserved the pure mythos in its original shape.*

Hercules, we are told, undertook his expedition with a numerous fleet, which assembled at Crete; an island forming one of the principal links of the Phœnician chain of colonies. Its place of destination was Spain, a country abounding in gold, and where Chrysaor—the father of Geryon—reigned. Hercules passed through Africa, where he introduced agriculture, and built the great city of Hecatompylos;† and from thence arrived at the strait, which he crossed even to Gades. Spain submitted to him, and he carried away the oxen of Geryon as booty; taking his way back through Gaul, Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

Mr. Heeren has given the following plausible explanation of this allegorical narration: "It is only," says he, "among a maritime people that this mythos could have originated, as a fleet is fitted out for the undertaking. That this took place at Crete, the most convenient island, shows that the party did not extend their views toward the western Mediterranean, until they had well established their dominion over the eastern islands. Neither did they undertake these expeditions for the mere purpose of destruction and conquest. They carried civilization with them; they instructed the barbarians in the art of agriculture, and accustomed them to fixed dwellings. And where did this take place? Precisely in those countries which were colonized by the Phœnicians; that is, in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But the express object of this expedition was, that very land which was the main source of Phœnician wealth, and the principal seat of its trade; namely, the southern and western parts of Spain. Thus the traditions, as they have been handed down to us by poets, are in accordance with historical facts. The Phœnicians gradually spread themselves along the coasts of the Mediterranean. They came at last to the pillars of Hercules, and even went beyond them. But in every part their colonies were confined to the sea-coast, and hence it may fairly be concluded that they owed their foundation to commerce."‡

* The expedition of Hercules into Spain is given by Diodorus as the tenth of his labors. Mr. Heeren considers the whole narrative of Diodorus to have been taken directly from Timæus, or borrowed from a Greek epic poet, who had transferred the Phœnician tradition of the Tyrian Hercules to the Greek Deity of the same name, with only such alterations as were necessary to the plot of his poem. This opinion, he thinks, with good reason, is confirmed by what Diodorus relates of the inhabitants of the Balearic islands, among whom a tradition prevailed, that Hercules had conquered the country of Geryon on account of its treasures of silver and gold.

† Hecatompylos was a large city in the interior of the Carthaginian dominions, which afterwards was conquered by them. Dio. lib. 1.

‡ Researches, vol. ii. chap. 2.

These colonies were spread in a very unequal manner along the coasts of the Mediterranean, being in some districts crowded and numerous, while in other parts there were but few, or even none. The principal colonial dominions of the Phœnicians were also the principal seats of their trade. To these especially belonged the territory of Carthage,* on the northern coast of Africa, and the southern and western parts of Spain. Their settlements were more rare on the great islands of the western Mediterranean, Sicily and Sardinia, which they appear to have considered only as stations for their more distant navigation, and which therefore were the same to them in their voyages to Gades and the pillars of Hercules, as is the Cape of Good Hope to the modern navigators in their passage to India.

The Greeks appear to have been the first nation with whom the Phœnicians came in contact; yet a comparison of the situation of the colonies of the two nations would almost lead one to conclude that a tacit agreement had existed between them, to keep as much as possible out of each other's way.

It appears as if they voluntarily ceded to the Greeks many countries which there is good reason for supposing they had colonized at a very early period. They left to them the coast of Asia Minor and the Black Sea, southern Italy and the greater part of the Sicilian coast; and they scarcely interfered with them on the shores of Gaul. But in their colonial dominions, properly so called, they would on the other hand suffer no Greek or other foreign settlements. "The stories," says Mr. Heeren, "respecting their sacrifices of strangers to their gods, seems to have been fictitious, and spread abroad for the purpose of excluding foreigners from their colonies."

But the Phœnician colonies, favored by their happy situation, rapidly increased in prosperity and soon became independent, if they were not so from the first. The cause of this is very evident. The Phœnicians like many of the commercial nations who have lived after them, extended their settlements beyond the limits over which they were able to maintain their authority. To this it may be added, that Tyre was not situated like Carthage, in the centre of her colonies; consequently, though perhaps being able to raise equally numerous armies, she could not so easily render them effective. Carthage, almost without effort, could transport her armies to Sicily and Sardinia. But if Tyre had made the attempt to move an Asiatic army into Spain, it is probable she would have failed. If we therefore except the neighboring island of Cyprus and a few others of more importance at a greater distance, especially the settlements containing mines worked by the natives, it will be found, that the relations of Tyre with her colonies were limited to the ties of commerce, and the obligations imposed by their mutual sense of justice, and that these, with

* Still it appears to me questionable, if Carthage itself ever was dependent upon the mother country.

their religion, formed a strong bond which knit the whole together. This bond was the common worship of the national deities by common rites and sacrifices, at which ambassadors, sent expressly by the different cities, assisted. "Was not this policy," asks Mr. Heeren, "though generated, as perhaps it was, by circumstances, the wisest, best and most rational, which the Phœnicians, in their situation, could follow? They gave up nothing by so doing, but what after a great expense of labor and treasure they would have been compelled to relinquish. The ports of their colonies were open to them; and they enjoyed for centuries all the valuable blessings which a peaceable and undisturbed commerce is wont to bestow." Had England followed the same wise policy in regard to her American colonies, the United States would perhaps have yet remained dependent upon her; but the folly and pride of some of her statesmen, and the jealous rivalry of others, caused her to adopt measures at once unjust, unwise, weak and vacillating, and which resulted in the loss of one of her most precious jewels.

The period at which the Phœnician colonies were founded can only be determined in a general manner. That of the foundation of Carthage is uncertain. There can, however, be no doubt that the establishment of some of the settlements beyond the sea, took place at a very remote antiquity. There is indeed little cause to doubt the early foundation of Tartessus and Gades, and there is none at all respecting the migration of Cadmus to Bœotia, and the building of Thebes; facts which prove that at least fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, Phœnician colonies were founded beyond the seas. The foundation of most of them, however, was probably laid in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, during which the trade and navigation of Tyre made wonderful advances; that is, from the year 1000 to 550 B. C. During this period also, according to the best evidence we possess, Utica and Carthage were founded, as is confirmed by the fact that the greater part of the Phœnician colonies are expressly called colonies of Tyre. This city seems not to have acquired much celebrity until about that period, or after the time of Homer, who seems not to have been acquainted with it, though he often speaks of Sidon. Still the paintings and inscriptions on the walls of the Egyptian monuments, if we are to believe some of the Egyptian archæologists, indicate that the Tyrians in a still remoter period were very powerful.

After these preliminary and general observations we will now take a more particular view of the Phœnician colonies. "It is thus only," says Mr. Heeren, "that an adequate idea of the importance of this nation in the history of the world can be obtained; it will also pave the way to the inquiry respecting their commerce."

The islands of the Mediterranean nearest to Phœnicia, as well as Cyprus and Crete, and the smaller ones of the Archipelago, the Sporides and the Cyclodes, and again, those towards the north as far as the Hellespont,

almost without exceptions were colonized by the Phœnicians. The cities on the isle of Cyprus, according to the testimony of one of the most credible writers, were nearly all of Phœnician origin* and the whole island seems to have been reduced to a Phœnician province. It was undoubtedly of the highest importance to that people, as it supplied them in abundance with all the materials for ship building. The mythology of Crete proves that the Phœnicians had settled there, where the worship of Hercules also was naturalized; and the fable of Europa, of which this island was the scene, was certainly of Phœnician origin.† The cities of the isle of Rhodes,‡ Jalyssus, Camirus, and Lindus, followed the Phœnician worship; and the vestiges of it in the lesser islands of the Archipelago will be found carefully collected in the work of Bochart.§ The Phœnicians had also a considerable establishment on the island of Thasos, on the Thracian coast. In one of their voyages of discovery, they ascertained that the mountains of this island abounded in gold, which soon attracted hither numbers who worked these mines, in which Herodotus saw the shafts and galleries.||

The Phœnicians, however, left or were driven out of all these countries and islands, as the Carian race, and the Hellenic, issuing from Greece, filled with their colonies not only the islands but also the coast of Asia Minor.

There is, however, no account of the Phœnicians ever engaging in any hostilities with the Greeks for the possession of these countries, probably because the principal course of their sea trade was directed to other regions, which they considered more productive and more important; or perhaps it was their expulsion from these islands that turned their attention to those in the western part of the Mediterranean.

Though the Phœnicians had no colonies on the Egyptian coast,¶ they had a large settlement in Memphis itself, where one entire district was inhabited solely by them.** “A very strong proof,” says Mr. Heeren, “that they carried on, by the medium of the inhabitants of that quarter of Memphis, a part in the primitive caravan trade of Eastern Africa.”

It is very probable that the Etruscans rather than the Greeks prevented the Phœnicians from establishing any settlements in Italy, because we

* Diod. c. ii.

† Apollod. iii. 1. If, as Hoeck has rendered probable, Europa, in the most ancient Phœnician mythos, is to be understood not as signifying a part of the world, but the Phœnician deity, Astarte, whose worship was spread with the Phœnician colonies. This will evidently confirm the interpretation given above of the mythos of the expedition of Hercules. Note: *Researches*, vol. 11. ch. ii.

‡ Rhodes itself, as I have elsewhere said, was not built till a later period.

§ Bochart, p. 406,

|| Herod. book xi. 44, and vi. 47.

¶ “Because,” says Mr. Heeren, “it was a fundamental maxim of the Egyptians to suffer no vessels, either of their own or of foreigners, to enter the mouth of the Nile.” Still we know that Psammetichus permitted the Greeks to found mercantile establishments in Egypt.

** Herod. ii. 112.

know that they endeavored, with all their might, to continue to retain their footing in Sicily, the only place where they came in direct contact with the Greeks, as declared rivals. It must, however, be observed, that as the Greek writers frequently designate the Carthaginians by the name of the Phœnicians, there is great difficulty to distinguish between the colonies of the former and of the latter. But still there are decisive proofs that the Phœnicians Proper had founded establishments in Sicily, long before the rise of the Carthaginian powers. "Long before the Greeks emigrated into Sicily," says Thucydides,* "the Phœnicians had occupied the coast of that island, and the smaller one in its neighborhood; but when the Greeks began to frequent it they retired to Motya, Soloes, and Panormus." Diodorus's account of the colonies the Phœnicians Proper successively founded;—in proportion as their navigation and commerce increased—in Sicily, Sardinia, and the neighboring islands, is still more conclusive.

When the Carthaginians began to be powerful, and to appropriate to themselves the navigation of the western Mediterranean, they usually followed in the footsteps of the mother-country, and inherited, as it were, their possessions and establishments, by sending new colonists into the old places which had fallen into decay. It may therefore be presumed that those very cities which became the most celebrated of Sicily—as, for example, Motya, Soloes and Panormus together with the mountain city of Eryx, where the worship of Astarte—or Venus Erycina—continued a lasting monument of the Phœnician civilization—were also among the most ancient Phœnician settlements.

Though the Phœnicians had settlements in Sardinia, they never made, as far as we know, the least pretension to dominion over that island. In regard to the Balearic islands, Diodorus tells us that they were first occupied by the Phœnicians, one hundred and fifty years after the building of Rome; but it is impossible to decide from the records of this famous historian, whether he is speaking of the Phœnicians Proper or the Carthaginians; but Mr. Heeren considers the first to be the more probable, as well from this connexion in which this passage stands,† as from the respective situations of Tyre and Carthage, at the time mentioned; Tyre being then by far the greater and more powerful commercial city of the two, and still in full possession of a maritime commerce with Spain.

There can be no doubt that Spain was one of the chief colonial countries of the Phœnicians; and the principal seat of their commerce. The principal settlements were situated in the southern part of the present Andalusia, on both sides of the Strait, from the mouths of the Anas—Guadiana—on both sides of the Guadalquivir, to the frontiers of Granada, and even to Murcia. The aborigines dwelling in this district were the Tartetani; but this tribe had so frequently intermingled with the Phœni-

* Thucyd. vi. 2. Polyb. i. 55. Diod. i.

† Diod. b. i.

‡ Diod. b. i.

cians, as to give rise along the coast to a mixed race, who were called the Bastuli.*

When it is remembered, that even in the time of Homer, tin and amber were well-known articles of Phœnician commerce, there can be no doubt that colonies of the Phœnicians had been in existence long before his time. The name Tarshish, or Tartessus, mentioned in the Mosaic records among the tribes descended from Noah and dispersed after the flood, cannot, Mr. Heeren thinks, with any direct certainty be referred to Spain; but when we consider the allusions made by Isaiah† and Ezekiel‡ to the ships of Tarshish, I think that the Mosaic records allude to the tribe that inhabited the district of Tartessus, in Spain; though I know well that few will be willing to admit that the Phœnicians, at the time these records were written, had any commercial intercourse with Spain.

* It appears that in this district must be sought the celebrated Tartessus, Gades, Carteia, as well as the pillars of Hercules; and there is but little difficulty until we come to fix the particular situation of each. The embellishments of the poets, who made this distant region the scene of many of their fables, have so confused and distorted historical facts, that at last even the very historians themselves knew not upon what to rely. Respecting even the pillars of Hercules, the greatest diversity of opinions have been held; some have sought for them in the Atlantic Ocean, near Gades; others at Gibraltar; and others elsewhere; scarcely, however, can a doubt now be entertained, but that the rocks of Calpe and Abyla, upon which Gibraltar and Centa, on the opposite coast, now stand, gave rise to this appellation, and to the long chain of fables which refer to them. Tartessus is surrounded with much greater difficulties; a river Tartessus, an island Tartessus, a place Tartessus, are spoken of, and have been sought for, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; and lastly, we are told of a whole district by the name of Tartessus; but as in ancient geography all names applied to the then known furthestmost countries of the earth are vague and uncertain, such is the case with this; and it would therefore be a useless task to attempt to determine the exact spot where Tartessus formerly stood. Among the oriental nations, who heard nothing more from the Phœnicians—who would not give any explanations on that subject—than the name of this distant country, it was considered, in a general manner, as the furthestmost place towards the west, without any one being able to give more accurate information respecting it. But, in the commercial geography of the Phœnicians, Tartessus was evidently understood to designate the whole of southern Spain, that had been subjected to their authority. It was consequently a very indefinite term, probably much the same as that of the West Indies among the moderns; and thus perhaps we have a river, an island, or a territory of this name, because that country comprised all these. Now when the river Tartessus is spoken of, we understand it to be the Bœtis, or Guadalquivir, which, by flowing into the sea in two streams, forms an island where, from the usual commercial policy of the Phœnicians, it is highly probable that their first settlement was made; and it is for this reason that Strabo has here placed the city of Tartessus. But as they extended their dominion the name extended also; and thus arose a district of Tartessus which increased to a considerable size. The name Tartessus was also applied to nearly all the colonial cities in the neighborhood. These are Mr. Heeren's views of this subject, and I cannot but give them my hearty approbation; and agree with him, that if there ever was a city Tartessus, it was certainly *one* of the most ancient, probably *the* most ancient of the Phœnician colonies; and consequently that it is not probable that this city should have been Seville—the ancient Hisopolis—as this city is situated too far from the coast to have been the first settlement of the Phœnicians.

† Isaiah xxiii.

‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 25.

Gades* is to be regarded as having been one of the first Phœnician settlements of Spain, and is said to have been founded at the same time with Utica; the foundations of the latter city took place two hundred and seventy years before that of Carthage.† According to this statement the foundations of Gades must be placed about one hundred years after the time when it is generally supposed the Trojan war took place. The same account is also given by Pempontius Mela; and although these statements are indefinite as regards date, yet they must be regarded as of great value; because they very clearly prove, that the most lively intercourse with Spain existed during the most flourishing period of Tyre, and of Phœnicia.

From the little we know of the mutual relations between these colonies and the mother country, it appears that the Phœnicians at first visited new countries merely as merchants,‡ and made no attempt to plant settlements until after a closer acquaintance with the natives, they found it necessary for the enlargement and better security of their trade. Whether these colonies from the beginning were dependent upon Tyre is uncertain; their

* Next to Tartessus, the island city of Gades, or Gadeix, is most deserving of attention. It was a general maxim of the Phœnicians, as well as the Carthaginians, to choose islands at a short distance from the continent for their settlements; these proving the most secure marts for their wares. This custom they also preserved in Spain. At a very small distance from the coast, and beyond the pillars of Hercules, were situated two small islands in the Atlantic Ocean. The largest of these was about nine miles in circumference, and from its situation and state left nothing to wish for. The smaller island, according to Strabo, usually bore the name of Erythea. Pliny tells us that the ancient Gades was built upon this latter island. Here, on the most remote point of the known world, beyond which all was viewless, except the immeasurable waste of ocean, the Phœnicians fixed their abode and built a city, that became one of the most remarkable of the world; and which, favored by its fortunate position, has continued such, notwithstanding all the political and commercial changes that have taken place, up to the present day.

This enterprise so justly celebrated in their annals, was also sung by the poets; who make the islands of Gades and Erythea, where reigned the triple-bodied Geryon, the furthest point of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. To him, we are told, was dedicated the famous temple that stood at the northern extremity of the largest island, and which, even in the time of the Romans, was regarded as one of the most remarkable monuments of antiquity.

A third city equally worthy of attention, and whose name already betrays its Phœnician origin, was Carteia. It stood probably in the vicinity of the present Gibraltar, probably near to Algiziras. This city Mr. Heeren supposes to have been identical with Calpe.

Of the other Phœnician cities, Malaco and Hisoapolis—the present Malaga and Seville—best deserve notice. The first derives its name from the excellent salt fish which it exported in large quantities, as Strabo tells us. The other was built on the Guadalquivir, at the highest point of tide-water, and where it was navigable for ships of considerable burthen.

† Velerius Paterculus (l. i. 2,) expressly says, that Gades was founded nearly at the same time as Utica; and adds, that it was about the time of the reign of Cadmus; that is, about 1100 B. C. Aristotle has recorded the date of the foundations of Utica in his work *De Mirabilibus*, c. cxlvi; and also adds, that it was thus stated in the Phœnician annals: *'ἐν ταῖς φοινικαῖς ἀποροπαις*. See Diod. book 1.—Heeren's Researches, vol. ii, chap. 2.

‡ Diod. book 1.

character, so far as their object was the working of the mines, seems to decide the question in the affirmative. How, unless this had been the case, would the Tyrians have been able to turn them to so good an account, that they should have been represented as the principal source of their opulence? How else would they have kept strangers away? The numerous emigrations that were constantly taking place, as well as the intermixture with the natives, seems to lead to the same conclusion. A passage, too, in Isaiah,* tends to show that their dominion, like that of all other mining colonies was, not very mild. However this may have been, it is very evident that the Phœnician colonies in Spain, if not independent from the first, became so at a very early period; for when the Phocæan Greeks first arrived at Phœnician Spain—which took place in the period of Cyrus, or in the sixth century before the Christian era—they found Tartessus existing as a free state, with its own king, who treated the Greeks in so courteous a manner, as plainly to show that he was not unaccustomed to the visits of strangers.† This prince, whose reign is said to have extended to eighty years, was named Arganthonius. There can, therefore, scarcely be any doubt but that the territory of the Phœnicians upon the main land of the Spanish peninsula, fell under the dominion of a monarch perfectly independent. But with regard to Gades, the case was otherwise. This state appears to have had a republican government, and to have been the chief of the neighboring small colonies on the coast, much the same as Carthage was in Africa; with this city it soon entered into a friendly alliance, which continued to the time of the Roman wars, to whom its willing submission then purchased it the rights of municipality.

The columns of Hercules formed the boundaries of the world, as known to the ancients. The countries beyond these, and Gades, were enveloped in the thickest obscurity, which the Phœnicians endeavored to increase by a mysterious secrecy. We hear nothing beyond this point of great and flourishing colonies, such as Gades. Strabo, nevertheless, speaks of no less than three hundred cities, said to have been founded by Tyre on the western coast of Africa, but which afterwards fell a prey to the Gætuli

* See Isaiah xxiii. 10. This obscure passage is thus translated by the learned Gesenius :

“ Pass like the Nile, through thy land, O daughter of Tarshish,
No girdle longer obstructs thee.”

Thus Isaiah, while he is describing the downfall of Tyre, cries out to the Tartessians, “ Rise now for liberty in your emancipated country, for your chains are broken ! ” The exegetical commentator may decide whether, in this comparison with the Nile, the expression *daughter of Tarshish* alludes to the Tartessian people, or may also be referred to the river Tartessus—the Guadalquivir—which it is said shall as freely flow through the free country of Tartessus as the Nile through Egypt. The sense is the same, the metaphor alone being changed.—*Researches*, book ii. chap. 2. Gesenius *Commen.* i. 732, refers the words to the people.

† Herod. b. 1.

and Lybians. This number, exaggerated as it appears to be, would not make the fact itself improbable, if it did not seem to be opposed by the circumstance of Hanno's having described the coast in his voyage, as a land in which no earlier settlements had been made. The date of Hanno's voyage, however, is itself uncertain, and it may very well have happened, that these earlier settled colonies were destroyed before it took place. "Who," asks Mr. Heeren "would a hundred years hence be able to find any traces of the present colonies of Great Britain on the coasts of Australia, if it should be their lot to be subjugated and destroyed by its savage natives?"

Another tradition was spread abroad by numerous writers of antiquity respecting a large island beyond the pillars of Hercules, which was taken possession of by the Phœnicians.* This tradition probably refers to Madeira, and the statement of Diodorus is too definite to give us room to doubt that the Phœnicians Proper settled there before the Carthaginians.

"The whole body of traditions respecting the fortunate isles beyond the pillars of Hercules," says Mr. Heeren, "which poets and philosophers have so metamorphosed and adorned, would have become of themselves fluctuating and uncertain, even though the Phœnicians had not designedly cast over them a veil of mystery; a practise which they also followed with regard to their settlements on the European coasts, of which they would let nothing transpire, although the wares they brought from them prevented the fact of their visiting them from remaining altogether a secret.† It would, indeed, be entirely at variance with their general custom, and with their whole system of commercial policy, if they had not in various places of the northern coasts of Spain, and especially in the *Casiterides*—Scilly islands—established settlements, although no definite account of them had been preserved. Let no warm imagination, however, refer any of these traditions to a discovery of America. The Phœnicians might very well circumnavigate Africa and penetrate to the Atlantic Sea; but to sail across that ocean to America was almost impossible, for their navigation, even in its most flourishing state, like that of all other nations of antiquity and the middle ages, was confined to the coasts. Had, indeed, any accident driven a single ship to that distant shore, it would have been impossible to have turned the discovery to any advantage."

On the northern coast of Africa the Phœnicians had another wide range of colonies; still they were not spread over this whole coast, but were mostly settled about the central part, which attracted them by its situation and great fertility, and afterwards formed the proper territory of Carthage, or the present Tunis. The settlements they formed here were convenient depots for their more distant trade to the west, as for their traffic with the

* Diod. book 1.

† Herod. iii. 115.

interior of Africa,* and the great prosperity, to which these places attained, is the clearest proof of the wise foresight with which they had been chosen. Next to Utica, Carthage appears to have been the most ancient Phœnician settlement on this coast of Africa, and next in a southern direction, Adrumetum, Tysdrus, Great and Little Leptis, and other lesser places came, which in the end became, not exactly subject, but rather allies of Carthage, and so formed together a federative state, which took its name from that of the parent country. From their later relations with Carthage, it is almost certain, that within a short period each had formed a little independent state, with its own proper government within itself, and its own little territory around it, without any further connexion with the mother country than a mere friendly alliance.

But though, as I before observed, the principal direction in which the Phœnician race extended itself by colonization, was towards the west, there are some traces of Phœnician settlements both on the Persian and Arabian Gulf. It seems also very natural that as soon as their land trade through Asia had reached the coasts of the Indian Ocean, they would have been induced to found some colonies even there. The names of two islands in the midst of the Persian Gulf, Tyrus or Tylos, and Aradus, appear strikingly to be of Phœnician origin, and here, in recent times, have been discovered vestiges of Phœnician workmanship and architecture. In another letter we will speak more fully of these places.

The access to the Arabian Gulf was long closed to the Phœnicians by the Edomites or Idumæans; but when the kingdom of Judah, after the subjugation of the Edomites by David, extended its boundaries so as to take in Eloth and Eziongaber, the Phœnicians did not let the opportunity escape of opening the way to them by treaty,† and “the navigation,” says Mr. Heeren, “which they in common with Solomon, carried on upon the Red Sea, drew so many of them to these cities that they may be fairly regarded as their colonies. But besides this, it seems that the Phœnicians fitted out ships from the western bay of the Arabian Gulf, the present Suez and the Heropolis of antiquity. Theophrastus, in speaking of the frankincense trade of Arabia Felix, mentions the merchants who carried on this trade in their ships, from the city of Heropolis, and the bay named after it, with the land of the Sabæans.‡ This navigation, too, was certainly ancient, even in his times. Who could then have carried it on except the Phœnicians?”

“Thus then,” the same author adds, “this remarkable people spread themselves, not by fire and sword, and sanguinary conquests, but by efforts peaceable and slower, yet equally certain. No overthrown cities and desolated countries, such as marked the military expeditions of the Medes

* Diod. book 1.

† 1 Kings, ix. 26 27.

‡ Theophrastus Hist. Plant. ix. 4.

and Assyrians, denoted their progress ; but a long series of flourishing colonies, agriculture, and the arts of peace among the previously rude barbarians, pointed out the victorious career of the Tyrian Hercules." Here we see a vindication of the benevolent plans of Providence, and learn why it was permitted to the Israelites to take possession of Canaan, and drive away its ancient inhabitants to cluster on the coast, or to seek refuge in foreign countries ; for, as we have seen, most of the Phœnician colonies were founded after the Israelites had taken possession of Canaan. Had not the Phœnicians introduced the first germs of civilization among the barbarous nations of southern and western Europe, and still more through their colonies, among those on the northern coast of Africa and of the islands in the Mediterranean, mankind would now have been far less advanced in the progress towards a higher state of civilization. In all ages, commercial communities have been the pioneers of knowledge among barbarous and half civilized nations. Thus the desire of wealth has been an instrument in the hands of the Supreme Ruler of conferring benefits upon the whole human family ; and thus the sordid passions, no less than the noble feelings of man, have been made to promote the plans of Providence.

LETTER XL.

NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

"Who are those that fly like a cloud,
And like doves to their holes ?
They are vessels from Spain,* who bring thy sons from afar ;
Their gold and their silver with them."—Isaiah ix. 8, 9.

"It requires no great sagacity," says Mr. Heeren, "to develop the causes by which the Phœnicians became a commercial and seafaring people. They were in a manner constrained to it by their situation ; for the commodities of interior Asia becoming accumulated in vast quantities upon their coasts, seemed to demand a further transport. It would, nevertheless, be an error to assume this as the first and only impulse to their navigation, which most likely had the same origin here that it generally had among commercial nations ; it sprung from piracy. The seeming advan-

* Tarshish in the original.

tages which this affords are too near and too striking to be overlooked by uncivilized nations ; while the benefits to be derived from a peaceable and regular commerce, are too distant to come at first within the scope of their ideas. It was thus that the piratical excursions of the Normans gave the first impulse to the navigation of the western countries of Europe. But among nations who are not like the African nests of pirates, held back by despotism and other unfavorable circumstances, good gradually grows out from this original evil. A trifling advance too in civilization soon teaches man how greatly the benefits of trade surpass those of plunder ; and as the latter diminishes, the former increases."

This is just the state in which the navigation of the Phœnicians is first presented to our notice, in the time of Homer. At this period they are said to have visited the Greek islands and the coasts of the continents, as robbers, or merchants, according to circumstances. They came with trinkets, beads, and baubles, which they sold at a high price to the inexperienced and unwary Greeks ; and they thus found opportunities to kidnap the Greek boys and girls, whom they sold at a great price in the Asiatic slave-markets, or who were redeemed with heavy ransoms by their parents and countrymen.* But when the Greeks grew formidable upon the seas, and the Athenian and Ionian squadrons covered the Mediterranean, the relations between them and the Phœnicians must naturally have assumed a different aspect, as piracy was then no longer tolerated. The connexion, however, between these two nations seems to have been very slight in the flourishing period of Greece. There is no trace of an active intercourse between Tyre and Athens, or Corinth ; and no vestiges of commercial treaties, such as frequently were concluded between Carthage and Rome. The reason of this has been presumed to have been, in some measure, commercial jealousy ; besides, the principal course of trade among all great maritime nations must ever be directed towards their colonies. The Greeks could also the more easily abstain from purchasing of the Phœnicians, as they could import nearly all the wares they required from their own colonies in Asia Minor, which maintained the same intercourse with the countries of inner Asia as Tyre and Sidon, and obtained and exported, in a great degree, the same Asiatic merchandise. To these reasons for the little intercourse between the Phœnicians and the Greeks, must also be added, that during the greatest splendor of the latter—that is from the commencement of the Persian wars—the Greeks and the Phœnicians were not only rivals, but open political enemies. The hatred of the Phœnicians against the Greeks, is proved by nothing more fully than by their willingness to lend their fleet to the Persians ; and by the active part they took in the several Persian expeditions to Greece.

* See *Odys.* xi. 402, etc., and *Herodotus*, book i.

The Phœnicians, however, still possessed the advantage of furnishing the Greeks with certain articles of the most costly description, and in great demand, which could be obtained only from the Phœnicians. To these belonged especially, perfumes and spices, which they imported from Arabia, and which were absolutely necessary to the Greeks, in their sacrifices to the gods. They also provided them with the manufactures of Tyre; its purple garments, its rich apparels, its jewels, trinkets, and other ornaments, which could be obtained nowhere else of so excellent workmanship, or so much in accordance with the prevailing fashion.

It is therefore the commerce of the Phœnicians, with their own colonial countries, and more particularly with Spain, that especially demands our attention.

The Phœnicians, as well as all commercial states in their infancy, regarded the representative of the value of things more important than the things themselves, and consequently they preferred the possession of countries producing silver and gold. The working of mines, therefore, was the business to which they most sedulously applied themselves; and nothing could cause them to desist, if gold or silver mines were the object that called forth their enterprising spirit. This passion to obtain the precious metals, induced them to brave the dangers of the Arabian desert and of the Red Sea, until they reached Happy Arabia and the Ethiopian coasts; and the same desire made them patiently endure the long sea voyages across the Mediterranean, and through the Pillars of Hercules to the western boundaries of Africa and of Europe.

Spain was the Peru of the Phœnicians. She was in ancient times the richest country in the world for silver, and had also an abundance of gold and of the less precious metals, among which, as we are informed by Strabo, tin was the principal. The most productive mines of silver were found in the districts which the Phœnicians comprised under the general name of Tartessus or Tarshish. When the Phœnicians first arrived in Spain, it is said they found silver there in such abundance, that they not only loaded their ships with it to the water's edge, but made their common utensils, anchors not excepted, of this metal. Thus laden, they returned to their country, which lost no time in taking possession of this rich region, and in founding the colonies of which we have already spoken.* When the Phœnicians first settled here, artificial mine-works were superfluous, because the silver-ore lay exposed to view, and they had only to make a slight opening to obtain it in abundance.† Diodorus tells us that the inhabitants themselves were so unacquainted with its value, that they made their most common instruments of this metal. The demands of the Phœnicians, and their avidity to possess it, first taught the natives of

* See Arist. de Mirab. cxlvii.

† Strabo, b. i.

- Spain the value of silver. Though at first these strangers, who brought with them many useful things, might have been welcome by the inhabitants, the lot of the latter became very wretched when the insatiable foreigners saw it necessary to open the mines,* in order to furnish themselves with cargoes for their ever-returning fleets.

But in addition to the mines, the Phœnicians were attracted to Spain by the great fertility of the southern part of the country, as is proved by the testimony of Strabo and Diodorus. Spain, we are told by these writers, was regarded as the only country that was at once rich in metals, in corn, in wine, in oil, wax, fine wool,† and fruits, which, under its genial sun, attained to the highest perfection. The trade in salt-fish was also a branch of the earliest commerce of Spain.

The trade of the Phœnicians with their Spanish settlements was carried on by barter, as we are told by Ezekiel and Diodorus. They brought on their side Tyrian wares—probably linen—the usual clothing of Spain; perhaps, also, trinkets and toys, and such articles of finery as are eagerly coveted by barbarians. In exchange for these, they obtained the natural productions of the country, among which silver was received—not as money—but as merchandise.

From Gades the Phœnicians fitted out their vessels for the tin-islands and the amber-coasts; but where these are to be sought can only be conjectured, for they were kept a secret, as it was greatly to their advantage to keep away all rivals, especially from the amber-trade, whose high price, equal to that of gold, would have been much reduced by competition. Still there is every reason to presume that the British isles were the seat of the tin-trade; though nothing is known beyond conjecture respecting the native country of amber. It is however probable, that the Phœnician ships visited the Baltic sea and the coast of Prussia.‡

Let us now take a glance at the commerce of the Phœnicians with Sicily and Carthage. It would appear from Diodorus, as if their settlements in both these countries were founded with no other object in view, than that of facilitating intercourse with Spain; and so far as Sicily alone is concerned, he seems to be right. It was very natural that, during such a long voyage in those early times, they should feel the want of a harbor to which they might retreat in case of storms or accidents. And

* The narrative of Diodorus proves that shafts were opened, and the subterraneous water forced out by machines.

† So excellent, according to Strabo, was even then the Spanish fleeces, that a talent was given for a ram of this breed.

‡ Although the navigation of the Phœnicians was along the coast, yet it must not be understood to have confined them always to the shore, and to have prevented them at all times from braving the open sea. "If this had been the case," asks Mr. Heeren, "how could they have performed the voyages across the Mediterranean?"

although they here established a barter-trade with the natives, and thus managed to get possession of the rich produce of the islands for themselves, yet it is probable that the Greeks soon deprived them of all, except the original object of their settlement.

The case was unquestionably different with regard to Africa. If we merely look at the long line of commercial establishments formed upon this coast, it will be difficult to believe them all intended solely for the preservation of the trade with Spain. Though unfortunately we have not the least positive information respecting the commerce with these African colonies; yet if the nature of things alone should not establish its existence, it is sufficiently proved by the close and friendly alliance which Carthage always maintained with Tyre. Mindful of their Phœnician origin, the Carthaginians sent sacred embassies upon certain occasions to the temple of the Tyrian Hercules. Persons on such an errand were found in that city when captured by Alexander;* and during its siege the Tyrians sent part of their treasures, together with their wives and little ones, to Carthage, where they found a secure place of refuge.†

Having thus pointed out the direction and extent of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians towards the west, let us now turn our course eastwards, and trace their progress upon the two great south-western gulfs of Asia, the Arabian and Persian. It is however, evident, that their navigation here could not have a like undisturbed continuance with that of the Mediterranean; because, as the proper dominions of the Phœnicians never extended as far as to either of these gulfs, it depended upon their political relations to determine how far they could make use of the harbors they possessed on these shores.

"Their navigation upon the Arabian Gulf," says Mr. Heeren, "arose out of their connexion with the Jews, and the extension of the dominions of the latter under David." But I think that the words which inform us that Hiram sent "shipmen that had *knowledge of the sea*, with the servants of Solomon,"‡ indicate that these Phœnician seamen had previously navigated the Red Sea, and were therefore well acquainted with its waters. I think, therefore Mr. Heeren may possibly be mistaken, when he says, that, respecting the date of the origin of the navigation of the Phœnicians upon the Arabian Gulf, history leaves us in no doubt, and that it certainly took place under Solomon, from the ports of Elath and Ezion-geber.§ Still I concede that from that time they may have begun to carry on a regular trade from these parts, and that so far Mr. Heeren may be right.

In regard to the situation of Ophir, whither Hiram and Solomon are

* Arian, b. ii. 24.

† Diod. book ii.

‡ See 1 Kings, ix. 37.

§ These ports were situated on the two points where the Eleanitic gulf of the Red Sea ends.

said to have sent their ships, much difference of opinion exists among the learned, many of whom have wasted considerable time and labor on this topic. Some would have it in Ceylon, others in Happy Arabia, and others again on the eastern coast of Africa. Mr. Heeren's opinion, however, seems to me to be the most probable. He says, "that like the name of Thule and Tartessus and others, we may safely infer that Ophir denotes no particular spot, but a certain region or part of the world, such as the East or West Indies in modern geography; and that Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the south, lying on the African, Arabian, and Indian coasts, as far as at that time known; and that when the Phœnicians entered upon this new line of trade, they only took possession of a previously well-established navigation, and in nowise set out upon a voyage of discovery."

From its occupying three years, as is said, to perform this voyage, it might at first appear to have been to a very distant region; but if we take into consideration the half-yearly monsoons, and that the vessels visited the coasts of Arabia, Ethiopia, and the Malabar coast of India, and also that the expression, *in the third year*,* may admit of an explanation that would much abridge the total duration, the distance will not appear so great. The commodities which they brought back with them, prove also that they visited the countries just now alluded to, especially Ethiopia, and probably India.†

We learn from the Hebrew writings, that the profits of this navigation were immense; but even if not exaggerated, it ought not therefore to be supposed that Tyre was indebted to this trade for her power and opulence. It seems very evident that this trade was very limited, and it formed the lesser branch of Phœnician commerce—as the merchants procured the

* Heeren's Researches, vol. ii. ch. 3. As the periodical winds of the Arabian Gulf vary from those of the Indian Sea, and the same southerly wind continues to blow only for three months—namely, from January to April—a vessel coasting along the shores of India, of Ethiopia, and of Arabia, and which would naturally touch and trade at several places, could not return the same year it set out. If, for instance, it left Celana in the month of October it would be unable to return with the south wind into the Gulf before the spring of the third year from its departure. Thus the year of its return would be the third in number, although its absence in reality would be but eighteen months. Salt, (*Travels to Abyssinia*, p. 103), in contradicting the statements of Bruce, says that the Arabians perform this voyage in one year; but he does not mark the date of their departure from Celana, nor reckon the time spent at their immediate stations, which seems to be the essential point.

† 2 Chron. ix. 21,—According to Michaeli's translation. But the place spoken of in this verse is Tarshish, which Mr. Heeren himself acknowledges, as we have seen, to denote Spain, and which cannot well be doubted. Still, some of the merchandise spoken of in this place, as for instance, ivory, apes and peacocks, prove that it could not be Spain from which these were brought, as they were not there to be found; but in Ethiopia and in India. Consequently, the name Tarshish, as some have supposed, must have been given to other places besides Spain; or the author of the Chronicles, or his copyists, committed an error.

same commodities by another route; besides, no diminution is observable in the splendor of Tyre after the probable interruption of this navigation, when the Jews were driven from these two seaports, which there is good reason to presume to have taken place during the civil wars that arose upon the death of Solomon, when the Edomites revolted.

The case was different with their navigation in the Persian Gulf. For though the exact point to which they traded to the Arabian Sea is uncertain, there can be no doubt that from this point they had a communication with the Indian coasts. But as the Phœnicians shared only in the trade across the Persian Gulf with the Babylonian Assyrians and Chaldeans, we shall dwell on this subject in another place.

Besides the regular voyages of the Phœnicians, they were accustomed to fit out expeditions for the purpose of discovery, which often led the way to an enlargement of their commerce; though they sometimes had no other results than the extension of their geographical knowledge. Herodotus has preserved some particulars respecting a few of these enterprises. In one of them towards the Hellespont, which they undertook at a very early period to explore Europe, they discovered the isle of Thasos, opposite the Thracian coast, and were amply repaid for their pains by its productive gold mines, which they worked with wonderful skill, as Herodotus tells us. But the same writer also relates that this people, by the command of the Egyptian king, Necho, undertook and successfully performed the circumnavigation of Africa,* as I have elsewhere mentioned. Many doubts have been expressed in regard to this circumnavigation, and among others by Mannert,† and Gosselin.‡ But Rennel and Heeren have most ably refuted their objections. That no advantage was taken of this discovery, was

* "That Africa is closely surrounded by the sea, except where it borders on Asia, Necho, king of the Egyptians, was the first we know of to prove. That prince, having finished his repair of the canal leading out of the Nile into the Arabian Gulf, dispatched certain natives of Phœnicia on ship-board, with orders to sail back through the Pillars of Hercules into the North (Mediterranean) Sea, and so return to Egypt. The Phœnicians consequently having departed out of the Erythrean Sea, proceeded on their voyage in the Southern Sea; when it was autumn they would put ashore, and sowing the land, whatever might be the part of Libya they had reached, await there till the harvest time; having reaped their corn they continued their voyage; thus, after the lapse of two years, and passing through the Pillars of Hercules in the third, they came back into Egypt, and stated what is not credible to me, (Herodotus,) but may be so perhaps to others, namely, that in their circumnavigation of Libya (Africa) they had the sun on the right hand, (that is on the north.)"—Herod. book 4, c. xlii. Just the very circumstance that Herodotus tells us that the sun was said to have been to the right or north of those who executed this expedition, is an evidence that the circumnavigation had really taken place; because, as they had passed the equator they must have had the sun to the right; but which circumstance, as then unknown, and scarcely then imaginable, appeared incredible to Herodotus.

† *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, i. 49, etc.

‡ *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, i.

probably owing to the check the Phœnicians as well as the Egyptians shortly afterwards received from Nebuchadnezzar.

Mr. Heeren thinks that the Phœnicians carried the nautical art to the highest degree at that time known, or of which it was then capable; and says that they gave a much wider scope to their enterprises and discoveries than either the Venitians or Genoese during the middle ages. Though I may entertain some doubt of the former of these opinions, I fully agree with this learned historian in regard to the latter. "Their numerous fleets," he adds, "were scattered over the Indian and Atlantic Ocean, and the Tyrian pennant waved at the same time on the coasts of Britain and on the shores of Ceylon."

LETTER XLI.

MANUFACTURES AND LAND TRADE OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

THE merchandise exported by the Phœnicians consisted partly in the produce of their own industry and skill; but in a still greater extent of the wares they received, or imported themselves, from the countries of Asia. The raw materials, which their art and labor fashioned, must have been drawn from abroad, as their own little territory could have supplied but a very small portion of what was necessary to satisfy the demands of their numerous and large customers, scattered all over the world. From these circumstances it is therefore very evident that the Phœnicians must have had an extensive trade by land; and although no express information respecting it has been handed down to us, yet Ezekiel makes many allusions to this traffic.*

Among the inventions of the Phœnicians, their dyes held indisputably the highest rank. The beautifully colored garments of Sidon are cele-

* The whole of the xxvii chapter of Ezekiel refers to this subject, and is very valuable for the historical information it conveys. As for instance, it contains a geographical description of the commercial countries so precise, that one might almost imagine Ezekiel had a map of the world before him. It relates in a particular manner to the land-trade of Tyre, then threatened with ruin by Nebuchadnezzar. The difficulties which occur in regard to the geographical names have been satisfactorily removed, or at least as far as possible, by Bocchart and Michaelis. Without these contemporary documents, the extent of Tyrian commerce might have been conceived, but could not have been proved; for the statements of the Greek writers upon this subject are extremely short and meagre. The sketch, however, of the Hebrew poet affords us an interesting picture of the great international commerce of the interior of Asia, which enlarges our narrow ideas of ancient trade, by showing us that it connected nearly all the countries of the known world.—Heeren's *Researches*, vol. ii. ch. 4.

brated by Homer, and the Tyrian purple* unquestionably formed one of the most general and principal articles of luxury in antiquity.

Another product of Phœnician skill was glass; of which they are said to have been the inventors, and long enjoyed the exclusive manufacture.† The glass-manufactories continued, according to Pliny, during a long succession of centuries; their principal seats were at Sidon and the neighboring Sarepta.

The Phœnicians used to cover the ceilings and the walls of their apartments with glass;‡ but no window-panes appear to have been used among them.

Under this head of Phœnician industry may also be ranged ornaments of dress, implements, utensils, and various trinkets. The nature of their trade, which for a long time was confined to a traffic by barter with rude uncultivated nations, among whom such commodities have always a quick sale, must at a very early time have turned their attention to this branch of industry. Homer mentions a skilfully wrought chain of amber and gold brought in Phœnician ships into Greece.§ Ezekiel speaks of artificial works in ivory, supplied by their trade with India and Ethiopia; and "How many other branches of their skill and industry," says Mr. Heeren, inquiringly, "may the lack of information have consigned to forgetfulness?"||

* It is an error to consider this purple as of one particular color. The expression among the ancients signified rather the whole class of dyes manufactured from an animal substance; namely the fluid of the shell-fish. It thus formed a distinct species of dye, differing from the vegetable dye, which was composed of various vegetables, (colors herbacei.) Now the first species comprised not merely one, but a great number and variety of colors: not only purple, but also light and dark purple, and almost every shade between. There were two species of testaceous animals made use of for this dye; one, *buccinum*, found in cliffs and rocks; the other, *purpura*, (the proper purple shell,) was taken from the sea. They were both found in such great quantities that, according to Pliny's expression they covered, as it were, the shore; and not merely on the Phœnician coast, but the whole of the Mediterranean, and even the Atlantic. In the Mediterranean, the countries most celebrated for them were the shores of the Peloponnesus and Sicily, and in the Atlantic, the coast of Britain.

The best works upon the dyes of Phœnicia have been written by Italians. The chief work is *Amati de Restitutione Purpurarum*. To this is appended a Treatise by *Copelli, de Antiqua et nupera Purpura*. An excellent addition to these two works is contained in Don Michele Rosa's *Dissertazione della Porpore e della Materie Vestiarie Presso gli Antichi*.

† The sand, or *vitrum*, used for this purpose, was found in the southern districts of Phœnicia, near the little river *Belus*, which rose at the foot of Mount Carmel, out of the Lake Gendova, (probably Megiddo.)

‡ The various significations, however, in which the Greek expression *ωλος* is used, and which properly means any transparent material, as crystal, various kinds of stones, and the like, render it impossible to determine with certainty whether glass itself, or some other transparent substance, is spoken of.

§ *Odys.* xv. 459.

|| "If we may assume," says the same writer, "that the ornaments worn by the Jewish

The trade of the Phœnicians with the nations of the interior of Asia, may be fairly divided into three branches, according to its three principal directions. The first of these comprises the southern trade, or the Arabian-East-Indian, and the Egyptian; the second, the eastern, or the Assyrian, and Babylonian; and the third, that of the north, or the Armenian-Caucasian.

It is evident, from the various particulars mentioned by the Hebrew and other writers, that the first of these three branches of commerce was the most important. We call it the Arabian-East-Indian, not because we assume it as proved that the Phœnicians themselves journeyed over Arabia to India, but because they procured the merchandise of the East Indies in Arabia, which at that time was the great market for Indian wares. With regard to Arabia itself, however, they kept up an intercourse with every part of it, even its eastern coast, and that bordering on the Arabian Sea.

In a commercial point of view, Yemen was particularly important in two respects: first, on account of its own productions; and secondly as the great mart of Indian and Ethiopian merchandise, as we see by the following passage: "Wadan and Javan brought thee (Tyre) from Sanaa sword-blades, cassia and cinnamon, in exchange for thy wares. The merchants of Saba and Racma traded with thee; the best spices, precious stones, and gold brought they to thee for thy wares. Haran, Canna, Aden, and Sabao,* traded with thee."† These places were situated in the two districts of Hadramaut and Sedscar, the richest and most fertile of Yemen.

The commerce of the Phœnicians, however, was not confined merely to Southern Arabia, but stretched along the eastern coast on the Persian Gulf. "The sons of Daden carry on thy trade, and to large countries went thy merchandise; with horn, ivory, and ebony, did they requite thee for thy wares."‡ But if these words prove an intercourse between Phœnicia and the Persian Gulf, they also show the connexion that existed between the Phœnicians and the inhabitants of India. The large countries to which the Phœnician trade extended beyond Daden,

ladies were of Phœnician manufacture, which can scarcely be doubted, then the passage in Isaiah iii. 18—28 will give us a more accurate view of them." "In that day will the Lord take away the ornaments of feet-buckles, and the cauls, and the little moons; the ear-rings and the little chains; (bracelets?) and the veils; the frontlets, and the feet chains, and the girdles, and the smelling bottles, and the amulets; the rings for the fingers, and the nose-rings; the holiday clothes, and the petticoats, and the mantles, and the pockets; the mirrors, and the shifts, and the turbans, and the flowers." (Gesenius's translation in German.) In the following verse is mentioned, "the well-curled locks," etc.

* Some of these places, as Adon, Canna, Haran, all celebrated seaports of the Indian Ocean, as well as Sanaa and Saba, or Mariaba, still the capital of Yemen, have retained the names unchanged to our day.

† Ezekiel xxvii. 19—24 —According to the celebrated Michaelis's translation.

‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 15. Michaelis's translation. Daden is one of the Boharien islands on the Persian Gulf.

could be no other than India ; if this be not evident from the situation of that country, it seems sufficiently proved by the nature of the commodities mentioned. Ivory and ebony could have been procured in Daden only from India, as there were no elephants in Arabia ; and by the horn is probably meant the tusk of the narval, or sea-unicorn, which is a native of the Indian Sea.

Having thus pointed out the principal directions of the Phœnician-Arabian commerce, we will now endeavor to trace the intermediate agents by which it was transacted, and the mode in which it was conducted.

From the nature of the country, it is evident that this could only be done by caravans. These were usually formed by nomad tribes of herdsmen, who, from their mode of life, were much better adapted to it than the inhabitants of towns.* We have a confirmation of this opinion in the picture drawn by Ezekiel of the Tyrian land trade, in which we always see represented the nations bringing their wares to the Tyrians ; but never the latter going forth for them. We have in another place shown that the Syrian and Arabian deserts were occupied by nomadic tribes, who wandered about with their herds and flocks, and, living in their tents, acknowledged no authority but that of their sheiks and emirs. These formed the caravans, by letting or selling their numerous camels, with their guides and drivers, to the merchants. "Arabians, and all the emirs of the Kedarians traded with thee, and brought thee dromedaries."† It seems as a natural consequence, that from mere carriers these men would soon become dealers ; and hence it is by no means uncommon to find among these nations certain tribes very opulent. This is evident from the spoils the Israelites took from the Midianites, one of those tribes which, from the earliest times, were engaged in the caravan trade as carriers. The same observations may also be applied to the Edomites, one of the chief tribes from whom the Phœnicians obtained the merchandise of the south.

All the nomad tribes roving about northern Arabia, were comprised by the Greeks under the general name of Nabathian Arabs, but properly belonging only to those of the district of Hedjas. Diodorus, who gives us a description of the elegance displayed in the manner of their life, does not forget their caravan trade to Yemen. "No small number of them," he says, "follow the business of carrying to the Mediterranean frankincense, myrrh, and other costly spices, which they purchase of persons who bring them from Happy Arabia." This account seems evidently to indicate that they did not themselves travel to Yemen, but obtained their

* See General Introduction, p. 25, Heeren's African Nations, vol. i.

† Ezekiel xxvii. 21. *Kedar*, a tribe in the neighborhood of Happy Arabia, always appeared rich in cattle, and as trading with them.

goods of the caravans which came from that country, in order to carry them still further.

The great markets for the merchandise which the caravans exported, were on the borders of the desert. Thus, in the territory of Edom, in a situation admirably formed for the purpose by nature, Petra grew into opulence, and gave its name to the whole of northwest Arabia.* Here was accumulated, in vast abundance and security, a great variety of wares brought from the southern regions. According to Diodorus, it was three hundred stadia from the extremity of the Red Sea.†

According to Strabo, the caravans consumed seventy days in going from Yemen to Petra, and passed in their route a place named *Albus Pagus*,‡ which is situated on the Red Sea, on the boundaries of the fertile country of Nejed, belonging to Central Arabia. Hence it is evident that the caravan road, extending along the Red Sea, most probably touched upon Mecca, the ancient Macoraba, and so arrived at the frontiers of Happy Arabia. By this route the caravans would enjoy the advantage of passing through fertile regions, while farther into the interior they would have had to traverse long and dreary sandy regions. The number of days' journeys agrees well with the distance.§

The same author has left us also a few particulars respecting the trading routes of eastern Arabia. It was the inhabitants of the city of Gerra, on the Persian Gulf, who especially carried on the caravan trade. They kept up a commercial intercourse with the marts of Hadramaut; the journey to

* Now Karah. According to the recent maps of Syria, it is, at the present time, a place where many caravan-roads meet. Care must be taken not to confound it with Moba Carrak, to the east of the Dead Sea, to which the name of Carrak has been given improperly. In the neighborhood is Mount Hor, a place resorted to by pilgrims, and where is shown the grave of Aaron.—Heeren's Researches, vol. ii. chap. 4.

† It seems, therefore, scarcely doubtful, that it must be sought somewhere near *Wadi Muta*, (the Valley of Moses,) so celebrated for its ruins. The description given of it by Burckhardt, confirms the statement of Diodorus. By cutting through the solid rocks, a way has been made into a narrow valley, through which flows little streams, while the overhanging rocks often intercept the sight of the heavens. A handful of resolute men might here maintain themselves against an army. Where this valley begins to open, lay the ancient city of Petra. The ruins of buildings found here are no earlier than the time of the Romans; but the temples and numerous sepulchres hewn out of the rock, are probably of a more remote origin. Even as early as the time of Alexander, Petra was the mart of the Arabians for their spice and frankincense trade. At that time a great fair was held in its neighborhood, which there is no reason to doubt had been established at a much earlier period. The same writer also tells us, that Demetrius Poliorcetes attempted, at the command of his father Antigonus, to fall upon the merchants here in a treacherous manner, and to plunder them of their wealth, but the attempt failed.

‡ *Ἀλβὴ Κωπή* of the Greeks, and the *Havra* or *Avara* of the Arabians. See Strabo, p. 1113.

§ From Macoraba to Petra is reckoned one thousand two hundred and sixty geographical miles, which, divided by sixteen, the ordinary distance caravans travel in a day, amount to seventy.

which occupied forty days, the roads stretching across the great sandy desert in the southeast of the peninsula, and not along the coast.*

Besides this, there existed, as we learn from Ezekiel,† a direct intercourse between the eastern coast of the peninsula and Gerra and Phœnicia. For, he says, the merchants of Daden brought the merchandise of the Persian Gulf to Tyre, whose route, consequently, must have lain through the northeastern part of the land. This fact is still further proved from Isaiah, who, when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion, forgets not to mention the interruption it would cause to its commerce. "In the wilderness of Arabia ye will be benighted. Oh, ye caravans of Daden ! To the thirsty bring out water, inhabitants of Tema ; bring forth bread for the fugitives. For they fly before the sword and before the fury of war."‡ The trading caravans of Daden, which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed, were to be driven from their usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable Tema, out of compassion, would bring them water and bread. Tema was situated on the western border of the fertile province of Nejed,§ by which, therefore, the road passed. From this road the caravans were to be compelled to turn, in order to hide themselves in the desert.

Though this was the usual caravan route leading from Gerra to Tyre, it is not to be inferred that it was the only one. There must have been a time when the interior of Arabia, of which we are now so ignorant, was well known ; and this is proved by the number of places mentioned by Ptolemy.¶

From the foregoing observations the following results may be adduced : First. It is evident that Arabia was the great seat of the Phœnician land-trade, and that into this there was interwoven a connection with the rich countries of the south, Ethiopia and India. Caravans, composed of various tribes, penetrated through the wastes of Arabia in every direction, even to its southern and eastern coasts ;¶ here they traded either directly or indirectly with the Phœnicians, whose seaports became at last the great marts of their valuable merchandise, whence it was shipped off and spread over the west at an immense profit to these merchants.

Second. This commerce must have been the more lucrative, as it was—according to Ezekiel—carried on altogether by barter. It is everywhere spoken of as an exchange of one kind of merchandise for another ; and even the precious metals were considered as merchandise. What an

* The distance in a direct line from Hadramaut to Gerra, is not less than from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred miles, and would consequently require a forty days' journey.

† Chap. xxvii. 15.

‡ Isaiah xxi. 12—15.

§ See Isaiah lx. 6—9.

¶ Many caravan roads in the interior of Arabia are marked upon the map of Dr. Brehmer's *Entdeckungen im Alterthum von Dr. N. H. Brehmer, Weimar, 1822.*

¶ Twenty-seventh degree north latitude. See Gesenius's *Commentary on Isaiah*, i. 697.

immense profit the Phœnician merchants must have made from the overflowing silver mines of Spain, by exchanging their products for gold in Yemen? What a profit they must have had on other wares, which the Arabians in a manner were obliged to take of them, and in which they had no competitors!

Thirdly. The intercourse with Arabia must have been greatly facilitated by the similarity of the languages of the two nations. These were only dialects of one tongue;* and though differences might occur, still there could be no great difficulty in making each other understood.

The commerce of the Phœnicians with Egypt must be considered as a second branch of their southern land-trade. Their intercourse with this nation was one of the earliest they formed; as Herodotus tells us, that the exportation of Assyrian and Egyptian wares was the first of their trading operations. Even the Mosaic records mention their early connections with Egypt; and Ezekiel, in his picture of the Tyrian commerce, enumerates the wares which Tyre obtained from the banks of the Nile. "Fine cottons and embroidered work† from Egypt spreadest thou over thy pavilions; dark blue and purple from Peloponessus were thy coverings."‡

Some particulars have also been preserved respecting the form and manner of the commercial intercourse between the Egyptians and Phœnicians. It was carried on by land and not by sea, for the entrance to Egypt by the latter was forbidden to foreigners previous to the reign of Amasis. The first trace of this commerce is found in the earliest tradition

* On the eastern bank of the river Halys, began the empire of a mighty language which was spoken from this river eastward as far as Tigris; and from the heights of the Caucasus to the southern coast of Arabia; and which, with some variations, preserved everywhere a distinctive and original character, being usually styled the Semetic. Its dialects were the Cappadocian, in the countries on the banks of the Halys; the Syrian, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates; and the Assyrian on the further side of the Tigris, in Kurdistan, or the ancient Adiabene; the Chaldean in Babylonia; the Hebrew and Samaritan in Palestine; the Phœnician in the maritime cities of Phœnicia, and their extensive colonies; and lastly the Arabic, extending not only over the whole of the Arabian peninsula, but also over the steppes of Mesopotamia, which have at all times been frequented by wandering hordes of Arabs. Several of these dialects still survive; while others are known only through their literary fragments. It can scarcely be doubted that at some remote period, anterior to any historical records, one mighty race possessed this vast plain, varying in character according to the nature of the country which they inhabited. The boundary of these Semetic dialects was on the east Tigris, if we accept another language of the same origin which appears to have pervaded Assyria Proper.

† Mr. Heeren, in his *Researches on the Egyptians*, (vol. i. *African Nations*,) has shown that weaving was one of their principal occupations, and that cotton was a native of their soil. Embroideries of cotton and with cotton, were common in Egypt, and considered master-pieces of art, as is proved by the linen-coralet, embroidered with cotton thread, which Amasis presented to Polycrates, of Samos.—Herod. iii. 47. The paintings on the Egyptian walls give us also an idea of the embroidery works of the Egyptians.

‡ Ezekiel xxxvii. 7. The reader, if comparing the usual English translation, will be aware of the superiority of that here given by the great German Orientalist.

of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. "After the victory over Anteus, he went into Egypt, and there destroyed Busiris, who dyed his hands in the blood of the stranger."*

In Memphis, as has elsewhere been said, the Phœnicians occupied an entire and separate district, as we are informed by Herodotus. These facts cannot but convince us of the extensive transactions the Phœnicians carried on with Egypt.

One of the principal articles exported by them to that country was wine, large cargoes of which were shipped twice a year from Phœnicia and Greece.†

The second great branch of the Phœnician land-trade spread towards the East. It comprises their commerce with Syria and Palestine, with Babylon and Assyria, and with the countries of eastern Asia.

Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians. Their own mountainous country was very little adapted to agriculture, whilst Palestine produced corn in abundance. "Judah and the land of Israel traded with thee; corn of Minnith, honey of raisins, oil and balm gave they to thee for thy wares."‡ The corn of Judea excelled even that of Egypt.§

Syria Proper also supplied its various productions, according to the nature of the different parts of the country. "Damascus traded with thee on account of thy great riches, and the multitude of thy wares; and brought thee wine from Chalybon,|| and wool from the wilderness."¶

* Dio. book i. "Who sees not," says Mr. Heeren, "that civilization is the thing here meant? And that Busiris, being one of the ancient kings of Thebes, this tradition refers to the Phœnician commerce with Upper Egypt; Thebes being then the principal seat of the commerce of interior Africa."

† The earthen vessels, in which according to the custom the wine was preserved, were applied to an extraordinary purpose by the Persians, when they ruled in Egypt. They were placed as cisterns in the three days' desert which divides Syria from Egypt, in order to make the communication easier for strangers. See Herod. iii. 5, 6.

‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 17.

§ The other productions mentioned by Ezekiel, are also such as Palestine was famous for producing of a superior quality. The strong wine, which has been native there from time immemorial, was offered to them in abundance. The balm was collected in the vicinity about Lake Genezareth; and is of the same sort as that known under the name of Balsam of Mecca.

|| The wine of Chalybon—Helbon—supposed to be the modern Haleb—Aleppo—was the best that Asia produced, or at least was esteemed as such. It was the only sort which was served at the table of the Persian kings, who had the custom to admit nothing to their table but the greatest delicacies that each province of the empire brought forth.

¶ Ezekiel xxvii. 18.—The wool of the wilderness was one of the products supplied by the pastoral tribes, who wandered with their flocks over the Syrian and Arabian deserts. The fleece of these sheep is the finest known; it is improved by the heat of the climate, the continual exposure to the open air, and the care these people bestow upon their flocks, which constitutes their only business, all of which help to render it more precious. The Arabian sheep, distinguished from the European by their immense tails, were known to Herodotus. "Arabia," he says, "possesses two extraordinary breeds of sheep, neither of

It is very easy to perceive the importance of this commerce of the Tyrians in wool, when we reflect upon their manufacture of woven goods and their dyes. It also converted the very wilderness, so far as they were concerned, into an opulent country, which afforded them the finest and most precious raw materials for their most important manufactures. By this commerce they also cemented and preserved a good understanding with the nomad tribes of Arabia and Syria; a matter of the highest importance, as it was by them that the rich produce of the southern regions came into their hands.

The great point, however, to which the trade of the Phœnicians was directed in the east, was Babylon. We have, however, not much authentic information on this subject. Still Herodotus positively states that this commerce was one of the most ancient. At the beginning they exported Egyptian and Assyrian wares—the latter comprising the Babylonian—to the Mediterranean.* Ezekiel also mentions this commerce,† but, like Herodotus, only in a general manner, and without at all setting forth its nature and objects.

"In proportion, however," says Mr. Heeren, "as the silence of history upon this interesting subject is remarkable, the conjecture is strengthened that the trading route between Babylon and Tyre lay through a long uninterrupted desert; the natural consequence of which would be, that, even supposing it not purposely concealed, this commerce would have become but little known. But even in this desert itself are found vestiges which seem to denote its course and magnitude; the ruins of Palmyra and Balbek,‡ these cities being probably links of the commercial chain which cemented Tyre and Babylon."

"If it be believed," adds the same author, "from the high antiquity of Palmyra and Balbek, that they were built just at the time when the land-trade of the Phœnicians, and especially of the new island-city of Tyre,

which is found elsewhere. One of these has long tails, not less than three cubits; and were they suffered to drag down behind them, they would become sore by rubbing the ground. The shepherds, therefore, make small carriages, and fasten them under the tails, to each animal one. The other kind of sheep have broad tails, each full an ell in width." Herodotus is only so far mistaken, as he takes a mere variety for a distinct species; all other circumstances he here mentions are known to modern travelers and naturalists.

* Herod. b. i.

† Chap. xxvii. 23.

‡ The first of these, as said in another place, lay in the fruitful valley called Cœle-Syria, between Libanus and Anti-Libanus; consequently, not within Phœnicia Proper. Palmyra, on the contrary, was situated in the midst of the Syrian desert, three days' journey from the Euphrates, upon one of those gems of the desert, called oases, of which I have several times alluded in the course of this work. The Jewish annals, as we know, ascribe the building of both these cities to Solomon. "He built *Baalath and Tadmor in the desert*."—1 Kings ix. 18. Baalath, the temple of the sun, is the same as *Balbek* or *Balbeck*, or *Baalbeck*, the valley of the sun. The first is also expressed by the Greek appellation, *Heliopolis*.

was so rapidly spreading, it must be admitted that a share in this trade entered into the design of Solomon their builder,* as is shown from the navigation to Ophir. Their lying, too, exactly in the direction of Babylon, and the great highway of eastern commerce running, certainly at a later period, through them, and thus becoming the cause of their magnitude and splendor, render it, at least, probable that they had fulfilled the same destination in earlier times. Even now, according to Seetzen, all the commercial roads from Damascus to the Euphrates, run by Palmyra, where they first divide.† This, indeed, is the path prescribed by nature herself. Taking this for granted, Balbek may be considered as the point of departure; it being the general custom of the east for caravans to assemble at some distance from the chief city. In three days they reached Emesa—Hems—another celebrated city in Syria, on the borders of the desert. The distance through this sea of sand then required from four to five days to bring the traveler in sight of Palmyra. From this oasis to the Euphrates again required a journey of from three to four days to bring the caravan to Thópsacus, where it usually crossed over the stream on the opposite side; the traveler having the choice of either following the course of the river, or passing through the steppes of Mesopotamia.‡

We have now only to consider the third and last branch of the Phœnician land-trade, which would have remained entirely unknown had it not been casually mentioned by Ezekiel. "Tubal and Meshech traded with thee,§ and gave thee slaves and vessels of brass for thy wares. Togarmath gave thee horses of common and noble breeds, and mules, for thy wares."|| The geographical difficulties to which these names gave rise, have been removed by Bochart and Michaelis. It seems certain, that Tubal and Meshech denoted the regions lying between the Caspian and Black Seas, the abode of the Tibarenians and the Mosches, and probably also of the Cappadocians. With regard to Togarmath, the conjecture runs very strong in favor of its being Armenia. The truth of these conjectures seems corroborated by the fact, that the wares enumerated are exactly such as these regions produced. Cappadocia, together with the Camarian districts, from the very earliest times, was the chief seat of the slave-trade, and continued so during the entire period of ancient history. The finest races have always been preferred for slaves; and we know, that at the present time, the harems of the Turkish and Persian nobility are peopled with the most beautiful of the Circassian and Georgian women. The Phœnicians, in

* I think rebuilder.

† *Monatliche Correspondence*. 1808.

‡ This route is also marked out upon Paultre's Map of Syria, which describes both the ancient and modern caravan-roads.

§ Tyre.

|| Ezekiel xxvii. 13, 14.

their eager pursuit of wealth, soon found a way to these countries, and seem to have known how to take advantage of the prevailing taste in this merchandize. Their business in this unjustifiable traffic seems to have been very extensive.

The mines of these regions were also no less attractive. Copper appears to have been very abundant in these regions. Xenophon was astonished at the great quantity of metal-household utensils which the Carduchians possessed at the time when the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand Greeks took place. These countries are, even in our times, equally rich in copper, which now forms the principal article of their trade with Bagdad and Bosra.

Armenia, finally, is also recognised by its wares. It is described as a land abounding in horses; and in this respect, as well as in the distinction which Ezekiel makes between those of an inferior and a more esteemed breed, no country of Asia answers so well as Armenia. In the nobler race we easily identify the Nyssean horses, the noble coursers of antiquity, no less famous for their color than for their beautiful proportions; they alone were deemed worthy to draw the cars of the Persian princes.

This trade was also evidently carried on by barter, and without the use of caravans. The route lay through inhabited and civilized countries, that might in part, at least in the time of the Persian empire, be traversed upon the royal highways, which, as we in another place will show, led from the Eastern satrapies to Sardis.

Phœnician commerce forms a very important link in the history of the civilization of mankind, and was one of the chief means by which Providence has disseminated the seeds of knowledge, and promoted the general welfare of the human race.

LETTER XLII.

RELIGION OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

THE Phœnicians are supposed first to have worshipped only one God, to whom they gave the name of Baal. This I consider merely as a conjecture, unsupported by sufficient evidence to induce us to accept it as anything more than probable. Yet we may be sure, whatever their primeval creed may have been, they soon became worshippers of a multitude of deities. The chief of these, in order as we find them on their own records, are as follows:

Beelsamen—a name, which, in Phœnician, signifies Lord of Heaven—

meaning, as most think, the sun; *Cronus*, or *Baal*, who is presumed to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* anciently worshipped at *Berytus*; *Astarte*, *Cronus*, or *Baal* the second, *Zew Belus*, or *Baal*;^{*} *Apollo*, *Melicarthus* and *Melcartus*, or *Hercules*. These were the chief deities of the Phœnicians; but they seem not all to have been of their own invention, as a part were probably borrowed from the Assyrians and other nations.

That the Phœnicians believed in one supreme Creator of the world is very probable, but there may be some doubt whether they conceived him to be a spiritual God; yet I can scarcely think such was their conception of the Deity.

It has been most generally supposed that the Phœnicians represented Beelsamen under no form whatever; for meaning by him, in a more especial manner, the sun, which they had daily before their eyes in all his majestic glory, it is thought most likely that they addressed their worship of this deity to himself directly, according to the ancient rites we have alluded to in the theology of the Phœnicians.

The several Baals were probably represented under their proper attributes, but we know nothing particular of these idols. *Baal* was sometimes a god, and sometimes a goddess. *Astarte* is also sometimes termed a god, but generally a goddess; in the Phœnician mythology she was wholly a goddess, and we here find her mentioned as the mother of many children. She is particularly named the goddess of the Sidonians, and in Hebrew *Ash-tareth*. She is supposed by some to have been represented as *Isis* was, with cows' horns on her head, for the purpose of representing the moon's increase and decrease; for she was undoubtedly consecrated to that heavenly body, and adored under the title of *Queen of Heaven*; being then the same as the Phœnician *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*. But as there were many Baals, so there were also many *Astartes*. She went under different names, and was probably represented under various forms. She is said to have consecrated Tyre, by depositing on its site a fallen star.

Of *Apollo* very little is to be said. He is taken for the *Phut* of *Moses*, and *Put*, whence the *Pythius* of the Greeks.

Hercules, or, *Melcartus*,† was the great and ancient god of Tyre. His temples had no images in them; a strong evidence of his high antiquity. This custom seems, however, afterwards to have been deviated from, as we shall see when we come to treat of the siege of Tyre by Alexander.

Among their deities we may also mention *Thammuz*, or *Osiris*—*Adonis*—and the *Patacei*, the images of which they carried about in the prows,

* Here we have no less than three divinities called *Baals*, who are said once to have been mortal men; thus it seems very questionable if the name *Baal* always indicates the sun, as some of the learned have told us.

† So called from *Melce-cartha*—the king of the city.

or, as Suidas tells us, in the sterns of their ships. Of the Cabiri we will speak in another place.

Baal had a great number of prophets and priests. We read of four hundred and fifty that were fed at Jezebel's table only. They used to offer burnt-offerings and sacrifices to their god or gods, and to dance about the altar with violent gesticulations. When they had worked themselves up to the height of frenzy by this means, and by a violent straining of their voices, they began to cut and lash their bodies with knives and lancets; this done, they betook themselves to prophecy,* as it is called.

Astarte had also many prophets and priests. We are informed that Jezebel kept four hundred of them at her court. This goddess appears to have been worshipped with much pomp and mystery. Women are said to have been employed to weave hangings for her tabernacle. When she was adored as the Queen of Heaven, or the moon itself, they offered up to her cakes, which were preserved for that service with great ceremony.† They also burnt incense to her, and poured out drink-offerings to her. At Byblus she was especially worshipped; for there she had a temple as the Venus of Adonis. And there such women who would not conform to the custom of shaving their heads at the annual time of lamenting Adonis, were bound to prostitute themselves for hire to strangers, during one entire day, and the money thus received was presented to the goddess.‡ Her temple at Aphoc, on Mount Libanus, seems to have stood open for purposes of amorous intercourse between the sexes. This was here practised and permitted, as some conjecture, because at this place Venus first threw herself into the arms of Adonis; or, as others assert, because this was either the first or the last place where they enjoyed each other. Her principal temple appears to have been that at Tyre, built by Hiram; though she was called the Sidonian goddess.

The Phœnicians are said to have paid great honor to their Hercules, and his worship was performed with great solemnity. The priests who were present on these occasions were all clad alike in Egyptian linen. They offered the incense to the god with a loose flowing garment; the priestly vest was adorned with broad streaks or stripes of purple; their feet were bare; their heads were shaven; they must be pure from any pollution, as it was thought contracted from the other sex. The fire on his altar was never allowed to go out; and women were not permitted to enter the temple. Such were the chief ceremonies, as far as we know, employed in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules.

Adonis, or *Osiris*, or *Thammuz*, was the son, it is said, of one *Cinyoras*, an Assyrian, who founded the city of *Paphos*, in the island of *Cyprus*. Some say that the Phœnician name of *Adonis* was *Gingris*. But what-

1 Kings xiii. 28.

† Jeremiah vii. 18.

‡ Lucian de Dia Syr.

ever his name was, it is agreed by all, that he was a most handsome youth. On the one hand, it is related that Venus was enamored of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to Proserpine; that when Venus came to demand him of her, she refused to deliver him up; and that this refusal caused a dispute between them, which was decided by Jupiter, who decreed that the youth should be one-third of the year with Proserpine, and another third with Venus, and that during the last third he should dispose of his time as he pleased; but that Adonis, captivated by the charms of Venus, spent two-thirds of his time with that enchanting goddess; and that Diana, taking offence at this, sent a wild boar to put an untimely end to his life. On the other hand, we are told, that Adonis was the son of his own half-sister Myrrah, and that to hide the guilt of so unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world, he was exposed on the mountain, where he was nursed by nymphs, and became a famous sportsman; that Venus, seeing him at his manly exercise, was smitten with love for him, and bestowed her favors on him; that Mars, conceiving a violent jealousy at it, changed himself into a wild boar, and killed the handsome youth; that Venus fell into a deep sorrow, and followed him to the subterranean world to demand him back; and that Proserpine, at first refusing, was at last persuaded to consent, that he should pass one-half of the year with her, and the other half with Venus, who then returned with joy to the earth, acquainted her followers with the success of her descent, and ordained a festival to be celebrated in commemoration of it. Some think that what is here related of Adonis and Venus is, though in a different dress, the story of Osiris and Isis, which I have related in the history of the Egyptians. In consequence of the alleged death of Adonis, there was much grief among the women, especially at Byblus; but it was succeeded by great joy for his recovery.

The learned Jew Maimonides, relates* that the ancient Zabii held Thammuz—Osiris—to have been an idolatrous prophet, who preached before a certain king the doctrine of worshipping the seven planets and the twelve signs, but that the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death. On the very night of his death, all the idols, from all parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden statue, or the sun, at Babylon, and he acquainted them with the tragical end of Thammuz, when the images wept and lamented all night for Thammuz, and as soon as it began to dawn, all flew back to their places. Hence, he says, was derived the custom of mourning over Thammuz. Finally, it is said, that he was the son of a heathen king, whose image the Jewish women adored with tears, refrained not from offering sacrifices to it.†

But whoever Adonis or Thammuz was, and whatever was meant by

* In Mere Nebochim.

† Philost. apud Seld.

his worship, the custom of mourning over him was universal among the women in those parts of Asia. They began their outcries as soon as they saw the river Adonis running with a red face,* or surface, as at certain times it did. They then scourged themselves, and afterwards proceeded to perform their sacrifices for the dead; and on the morrow pretending he was revived, and had ascended through the air to the higher regions, they shaved their heads; and at Byblus, at least those who would not comply, had to prostitute themselves. Some relate, that on a certain night, while this ceremony lasted, they laid an image in a bed, and having gone through a bead-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the priest, anointing the mouths of the assistants, whispered to them that salvation was come, and the deliverance brought to pass. Upon this their sorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken, as it were, out of its sepulchre. Others say, the priests of Osiris in Egypt wrote to the women of Byblus, signifying to them that they had found that god. They sent this letter in an earthen pot, as some say, or in a small ark or head, as it is called, made of the papyrus, which came by sea of its own accord to Byblus. This voyage is performed in seven days, and it no sooner appeared in port, than the women danced, feasted, and rejoiced as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented.† This religious custom made so lasting an impression on the women of those parts, that it has not yet altogether expired.

There are different modes of explaining these mysteries and worship. Some say that Adonis was the sun, Venus the upper hemisphere of the earth, and Proserpine the under. Therefore, when the sun was in the six inferior signs, the ancients said that he was with Proserpine, when he was in the six superior, with Venus. By the boar that slew Adonis, they meant winter; for they made the boar the emblem of that rigid season.‡ Or by Adonis they meant the fruits of the earth, which are first buried, and afterwards appear flourishing before the sight. When, therefore, the seed was thrown into the ground, they said Adonis was gone to Proserpine; but when it sprouted up, they said he had revisited the light with Venus. And hence it probably was that they sowed corn and made gardens for Adonis—for they had also such a custom. Finally, Plutarch considers Adonis to be identical with Bacchus. The same writer also informs us that Isis had a temple at Byblus, where they worshipped the earth which had concealed Osiris's coffin. This Byblian Isis is generally considered to have been Astarte.§

Herodotus tells us that the Phœnicians used to circumcise; but Josephus|| asserts, that none of the nations who were included under the vague

* Lucian de Deo Syr.

† Procop. et Cyrill.

‡ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. ch. 21.

§ See the English Universal History, vol. i. pp. 402 and 403.

|| Cont. Ap. lib. i.

names of Palestine and Syria, practised that rite, except the Jews; but the Phœnicians may have used it in more ancient times, and have laid it aside before the time of Josephus. The Phœnicians also abstained from the flesh of swine.

We will now say a few words of their progress in the sciences and the arts, and also of their manners; but as it is very little is known of these subjects, we cannot give any detailed account of them. We are told that the Sidonians—under which name the Phœnicians generally might well have been comprehended—were endowed with minds capable of any enterprise, and susceptible too of every acquirement of knowledge. Many of the sciences were successfully cultivated by them, and mathematics, and astronomy, as well as mechanics, were applied to mercantile, nautical, architectural, and manufacturing purposes. They are said, at a very early period, to have cultivated philosophical studies, as appears from the fact that a Sidonian, by the name of Moschus, taught the doctrine of atoms even before the time of the Trojan war.* Besides which, it is also related,† that Abdomenus of Tyre, offered subtle propositions to Solomon for solution. In later times, we know that Sidon produced Boëthus, and Diodotus; and Tyre, Antipater, and Apollonius, who were all men distinguished for their learning.

The Phœnicians made far greater progress in the arts than in the sciences; still the arts cultivated among them were chiefly of a utilitarian character.

That much luxury prevailed, at least during the flourishing period of the Phœnicians, is very evident, but it is not therefore to be inferred that they spent their time in debaucheries; they appear rather to have been constantly busied in augmenting their wealth, as are the inhabitants of the Low Countries of our day, and to have been satisfied with the comforts bestowed by riches, without permitting themselves to be led by their sensual appetites to overstep the bounds of a wise moderation.

I will here add some particulars gathered from the ancient paintings of Egypt concerning this people. Their features appear to have been well formed and regular, with more of the European cast than was possessed by natives farther south. Their hair was flaxen, their eyes blue, and their complexion of that florid but somewhat dark hue, which is peculiar to the inhabitants of the latitude of Tyre. They filled their hair with white powder, and covered it with a net-work of blue beads, or a close cap made of chints was worn over it; upon this was a fillet, tied behind with a loop, and two long ends like those used in Egypt; like them it was also made of scarlet leather. Their dress was distinguished from that of the other Canaanitish tribes by a cape or short cloak, fastened at the neck,

* Pausanias apud Strabo, l. xvi.

† Menander and Dios apud Joseph. l. viii. c. 2. et cent Ap. l. i.

and reaching to the elbows. This was made of one piece, and passed over the head when put on, and a cross-shaped opening embroidered around the edge was made in front to allow the head to pass. It was confined at the waist with a golden girdle, which, in war, was of great length, passing around the body many times, and tied in front in a large bow or knot, with long hanging ends; the two sides of the tunic folded widely over each other, and were not left square like those of the neighboring tribes, but sloped away in order to interfere as little as possible with the action of walking. The inner garment resembled that of the other ancient nations. It was of fine linen cloth, bound about the waist, and descending nearly to the ankles. The mantles and tunic were of wool, as their stiff heavy folds sufficiently indicate, and must have been of fine texture, as the contour of the arms and chests is represented as visible beneath the mantle, which, as well as the tunic, were both edged with a deep gold lace. Their colors seem to set at rest the difficult question as to the tint denoted by the 'Tyrian dye, to which allusion has already been made. They are both purple and scarlet, and are so made that one half the person is clothed in one color, and the other half in the other.* Both colors were extremely bright, as the Greek and Roman authors uniformly represent them to have been. The scarlet part of the mantle has a pattern of large purple spots upon it, which appear to have been formed during the process of dying, either by sewing on patches of cloth of the shape of the spots, or by applying some of the earths to protect the purple in those places from the re-agent which turned the rest scarlet. This agrees perfectly with the account given by the elder Pliny,† of the mode in which woollen cloth was dyed of the Syrian hue.

The arms and accoutrements of the Sidonians‡ were worthy of the fame and riches of their city. The helmet was of silver, with a singular ornament at the crown, consisting of a disc and two horns of a heifer, or of a crescent-moon. Their armor consisted of a plate of the same white metal, probably silver, quilted upon a white linen garment, which was

* A similar party-colored dress prevailed in Europe about the time of the crusades; this fashion was probably imported from Syria, where it might have remained from a very remote period.

† *Historia Naturalis*, lib. ix. c. 28.—The cloth was first steeped twice, for five hours each time, in the preparation from the shell-fish, called *purpura*. This process dyed it of a rich deep purple—*purpura nigricans*. Afterwards it was again immersed in a preparation from another shell-fish, called *murex* or *buccinum*, whereby an intensely bright scarlet was produced.

‡ The Sidonians appear, in accordance with the representations on the Egyptian walls, to have been the allies of the Pharaohs in their wars with the other Canaanitish tribes, on all the occasions there represented, except in the war of Ramses Meiamoun, when they were confederated with the Ekronites of Philistia. Their statesmen and merchants wore their hair and beard long, with the fillet round the head. Their warriors cut their hair, beard, and whiskers short.—W. Osburn's *Ancient Egypt*.

laced in front, and reached up to the armpits, being supported by shoulder straps. The shield was large and circular, like that of the Philistines. It was of iron, rimmed with gold, and ornamented with golden studs or bosses. The sword was of bronze, two-edged, and shaped like the modern poniard. The spear was a long lance. Their ships* were sailing vessels, and bear an exact resemblance to those of the Philistines. Such was the fame of the Sidonians for their nice taste, fine design, and fertility of ingenious inventions, that whatever was elegant, extraordinary, rare or pleasing, either in apparel, vessels, or toys, was called by way of excellence, *Sidonian* workmanship or design.

LETTER XLIII.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

WE are informed by Josephus† that the Phœnicians had once been in possession of faithfully kept records of their affairs, but these unfortunately have long since been lost. We have, as is already said, but a few fragments left us of the works of their ancient writers, which furnish indeed but scanty materials.

Menander, of Ephesus, and Theophilus have left us a few lists of the judges and kings of some of the Phœnician cities, which are quite discordant in regard to the time given to the reign of different kings and judges of Tyre, and as far as regards a chronological computation, are not of the least use.

I will here observe that the Phœnicians, as well as many other nations, boasted of a very high antiquity; attributing to themselves, as a nation, an existence of no less than thirty thousand years, as we are told by Africanus.‡

* Their larger ships the Phœnicians generally divided into round ships or *Gauli*, and long ships, galleys, or *Triremes*. When they formed a line of battle of them, the *Gauli* were at a small distance from each other in the wings, or in the van and the rear; the *Triremes* again they placed in the centre, in a very compact body. If at any time during a voyage, they observed that a strange sail kept company with them, or was steering the same course, they did everything possible to get rid of it, and are said even to have hazarded a shipwreck rather than permit the stranger to discover their place of destination when it was to be kept a secret, as was often the case.—Strabo, l. 3.

† Joseph. cont. Ap. l. i.

‡ African. Apud. Syncell. p. 17.

The first Phœnician king mentioned by the Greeks is Agenor, of whose family the following fabulous account has been handed down to us.

Agenor and *Belus* were, as Apollodorus tells us, the sons of Neptune by *Lybia*, daughter of *Epaphus*, who is said to have ruled over a part of Egypt. *Belus* remained in Egypt and married *Anchinæ*, daughter of *Nilus*, who gave birth to *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Agenor* again emigrated from Egypt, and settled in Phœnicia, and became the father of a numerous race. He married *Telephossa*, or *Telephe*,* by whom he had *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix*, and, according to Pausanias,† *Electra* and *Thasus*. Other writers give to *Agenor* several other wives‡ *Europa*§ was stolen by *Jupiter*, transformed into a bull,|| and carried to *Crete*. *Agenor*, being extremely grieved at the loss of his daughter, as was but natural, sent his son *Cadmus* with a large sum of money in quest of her; but as he did not succeed, and dared not return without her, he resolved to go and settle elsewhere. With this design, having fitted out a small fleet, he put to sea, and landed in *Thrace*, where he was so fortunate as to discover a gold mine in *Mount Pangæus*. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to pursue his design, he was advised by the oracle of *Delphos*, to leave *Thrace*, and proceed to *Bœotia*. He obeyed the oracle; and having driven out *Hyantes* who opposed him, and permitted the *Aones*, who voluntarily submitted to him, to live in the country mixed with the Phœnicians, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city, which he called *Cadmea*; but which was afterwards named *Thebes* by *Amphyon*, and *Zethus*¶—the two sons of *Antiope*, in honor of *Thebe* their aunt, by their mother's side.**

* According to Stephanus.

† Pausan in Bœot.

‡ *Pherecides*, as quoted by Apollonius, gives him two wives, the one named *Domno*, by whom he had *Phœnix*, *Isœa*, and *Melia*; the other called *Argiope*, who was mother to *Cadmus* and *Europa*. *Plutarch* mentions a fourth wife, called *Diorippe*, who gave birth to *Sipylus*. *Antonius Liberalis* a fifth, named *Cassionæa*, by whom he had a daughter, by name *Carina*. And *Cedrenus*, a sixth, who he calls *Tyrus*, alleging that the city of *Tyre* took its name from her.

§ Some writers make her the daughter of *Phœnix*, and not of *Agenor*.

|| That is, she was carried in a ship named the Bull, or bearing the sign of that animal in her stern.

¶ These are said to have put themselves in possession of the throne, during the minority of *Leius*, the son of *Labdacus*, the grandson of *Cadmus*.

** The different accounts given of *Agenor* by different writers make it impossible to arrive at the truth; still most of them appear to agree that he was by birth an Egyptian; but that from some reason or other he emigrated to Phœnicia, where he settled and became the father of a numerous race; and all the Greek writers agree in stating him to have been the first king of Phœnicia, and the founder of *Sidon* and *Tyre*. But in the succession of the kings some of the Latins place *Belus* the elder before him; and many of the moderns, upon the authority of *Josephus*, (*Ant. l. i. 6.*) make *Sidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*, founder of the city of *Sidon*, which was so called from him. As to the city of *Tyre*, *Josephus* tells us that it was founded two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon's temple*: and

Isœa and Melia, Agenor's two daughters, are said to have married Ægyptus and Danaus, their cousin Germans. Cilix settled, in accordance with Apollodorus, in Cilicia, and gave his name to that country. The same writer says also that Thasus built the city of Thasos in Thrace, which is also confirmed by Pausanias. Of Electra we know nothing more of her than that one of the gates in Thebes was said to have been named from her. Plutarch informs us that Mount Sipylus was called so from Sipylus. Of Cadmus we will speak when treating on the history of the Thebans.

The Greek writers say that Phœnix succeeded his father in the kingdom of Phœnicia, or rather of Sidon; they pretend also that the country had borrowed its name from this king. Eusebius adds that he was the first who discovered the scarlet color, which, he says, was therefore called at first Phœnicus, and afterwards with a small alteration, *Puniceus color*.

The next king mentioned by the Greeks is *Pholis*, who is said to have flourished in the time of the Trojan war, and to have been a faithful ally to the Greeks, using his utmost endeavors, though without success, to persuade Sarpedon, king of Lycia, to join with them. Homer honors him with the epithet, *Most Illustrious*.

These accounts which we have received from the Greeks are unquestionably in part fabulous, but probably founded upon real historical facts. I think also that we have not much more reason to rely on Josephus when he tells us that Sidon was founded by Sidon, the son of Canaan. Though the Hebrew writers in some instances speak of the Sidonians, they mention not their kings until the time of the prophet Jeremiah, who speaks of ambassadors sent by the king of Sidon—but without giving the name of this prince—to Zedekiah, king of Judah.*

Kings of
Sidon.

Justin (l. xviii. c. 3) tells us, in express terms, that the city of Tyre was built before the destruction of Troy, by the Sidonians, who, being driven out of their own country by the king of the Ascalonians, were forced to seek new seats. There can scarcely be any doubt that, as I have said before, Tyre was founded by Sidon, but in regard to the time when it took place there exists no certain information, but we may be sure that it was long before the time of the Trojan war, and even before the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. Most of the ancient writers also agree that Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix and Cilix were the children of Agenor, and that with them a great many Phœnicians and Syrians went into Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and there introduced letters, music, poetry, and other arts, sciences and customs of the Phœnicians. I think it very probable that these emigrations of the Phœnicians took place in consequence of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites; because it appears very probable that the Canaanites who had been driven out of their own country, sought for refuge in the foreign and distant countries, with which those of their countrymen who carried on commerce and navigation were acquainted, and where it would be easiest for those who had lost their ancient homes to found new ones, and repair the severe losses the victorious Israelites had inflicted upon them. The probable time when the Israelites took possession of Canaan appears well to correspond with that when Cadmus is supposed to have arrived in Greece.

* Jeremiah xxvii. 3.

We know also nothing of the kings or judges which reigned at Tyre before Abibal, with whom Josephus and Theophilus Antiochenus begin the list of kings which they have furnished us from Menander and Dios,* both authors, as Josephus says,† of unquestionable credit.

Kings of Tyre.

Abibal, as Josephus calls him, or *Abeimal*, as he is named by Theophilus, is the first king of Tyre mentioned by Menander and Dios. But they tell us nothing of the time when he ascended the throne, or what he performed; still it is evident that he was a contemporary of David, and probably was on inimical terms with that prince, as may be inferred from the circumstance that David counted the inhabitants of Tyre among his enemies.‡

Abibal or Abeimal.

Hiram, whom Josephus also calls *Irom*, and Theophilus names *Hieromus*, or *Hieromenus*, and whom Tatian and Zennarus style *Chiramus*, succeeded Abibal. We are told of Hiram that he maintained strict friendship with David to whom he sent ambassadors, but for what purpose we do not know. He also presented to David cedar-trees, and sent skilful workmen to build him a palace in Jerusalem. Upon the death of David, and the accession of Solomon to the throne, the friendship which Hiram had entertained for David prompted him to send ambassadors to the son upon the news of his accession to the government, expressing great joy to see the royal power continued in the same family. Upon the return of these ambassadors, Solomon embraced the opportunity of sending to him a letter in the following words:

Hiram about 1000 years B. C.

“King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting: Be it known to thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to Jehovah; but being perpetually in war, and under the necessity of fighting his enemies and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend to this great and holy work, he has left it to me, in time of peace, both to begin and to finish it, according to his direction, as well as the prediction of Almighty God. Blessed be His great name for the present tranquillity of my dominions! and by His gracious assistance, I shall now dedicate the best improvements of this liberty and leisure to His honor and worship. Wherefore, I make my request, that you will let some of your people go with some servants of mine to Mount Libanus to assist them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the Sidonians understand it much better than we do. As for the workmen’s reward, or wages, whatever you think reasonable shall be punctually paid to them.”

* Dios, by birth a Phœnician, wrote a history of Tyre, extracted from the public records, which were carefully preserved in that city; and Menander compiled the lives and actions of princes, both of the Greeks and of other nations, as also Josephus tells us, from the public archives of those places he treats on.

† Josephus contra. Ap. l. i.

‡ Psalms lxxviii. 7.

Hiram returned the following answer: "Nothing could have been more welcome to me, than to understand that the government of your deceased father is devolved, by God's providence, into the hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a successor; His holy name be praised for it! That which you write for shall be done with all care and good will, for I will give order that there shall be exported such quantities of the fairest cedars and cypress trees as you shall have occasion for. My people shall bring them to the sea-side for you, and from thence ship them away to what port you please, where they may lie ready for your own men to transport them to Jerusalem. It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us such a provision of corn in exchange, as may agree with your convenience; for that is the commodity which we islanders want most."*

Solomon is said to have been so pleased with Hiram's answer, that he, in return for this generous offer, ordered a yearly present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil to be given to Hiram.† It seems to import that a treaty, stipulating this condition, had been agreed upon between these two princes. Besides the cedar-wood and other materials for building of the temple, Hiram sent to Solomon a man—who appears to have been very skilful and famous in Tyre for working in gold, silver, and other metals—to assist and direct him in that difficult undertaking.‡ This is another proof of the great advance the Phœnicians had made in the mechanic arts, and at the same time a proof of their great superiority in this respect over the Hebrews. Among other things which Solomon offered to Hiram, in return for the great services he had rendered to him, were twenty cities in the land of Galilee, not far from Tyre, but which Hiram, upon a view of them, refused to accept, as they appear not to have pleased him.§

Hiram also assisted Solomon, as we are told, in providing himself with a fleet; furnishing him with as many builders and shipwrights as he had occasion for; and after having thus aided him in building, rigging and fitting out his navy, he sent him expert pilots and skilful mariners to conduct him to the land of Ophir.||

Dius, as quoted by Josephus,¶ informs us, that the love of wisdom—that is, love of literature and learning—was the chief cause of the friendship that existed between Hiram and Solomon; that they interchanged certain

* Joseph. Ant. l. viii. chap. 2. Josephus assures us that the originals of these letters were extant in his time, both in the Jewish and Tyrian records. They also agree very well with what we read in 1 Kings v. 2—9; but, nevertheless, the correctness of that pretended to have been written by Hiram appears very questionable, if we are not to assume that he worshipped Jehovah, or a supreme God, as this letter evidently imports.

† 1 Kings v. 11.

‡ 2 Chronicles xi. 13, 14.

§ 1 Kings iv. 11, 12, 13, and Joseph. b. viii. This part of the country was from this refusal called Cabul—displeasing.

|| 1 Kings iv. 27; 2 Chron. viii. 18, and Joseph. c. viii.

¶ Joseph. l. i. contr. Apion.

enigmatical questions to be solved, upon condition that he who failed in the attempt should pay a forfeiture; and that Hiram finding one question too difficult, paid the penalty. But one Abdemonous, a Tyrian, solved these questions and proposed new ones to Solomon, on condition that he should repay as much to Hiram, if he did not explain them.

The kingdom of Tyre was in a very flourishing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved several cities in the eastern part of his dominions, enlarged Tyre, and either built or repaired the temple of Olympian Jupiter—which stood upon the same island as the island-city of Tyre. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter. He built also one temple to the Tyrian Hercules, and another to Astarte, and embellished them with precious gifts. To Hercules he erected a statue, and is said to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with presents of a very great value.* Hiram appears evidently to have concerned himself chiefly with religious matters; and we hear of no warlike expeditions of his, except against the Euchii, who refused to pay a certain tribute that was due to him. They were reduced to sue for peace in a very short time.

Tatian, on the authority of the three Phœnician historians, Theodotus, Hysicrates, and Moschus, relates that king Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon: he adds, that by her Solomon was induced to worship Aschthoreth—Astarte—the goddess of the Sidonians.†

Hiram is said to have lived fifty-three years, and to have reigned thirty-four.‡

Baleazar, Bazor, or Baleastratus, son of Hiram, succeeded his father, and reigned, according to Josephus, seven years, but Baleazar. seventeen according to Theophilus, and died in the forty-third year of his age.

Abdastartus succeeded Baleazar his father, and died, according to Josephus, in the twentieth year of his life, and in the ninth of Abdastartus. his reign. Theophilus again says, that he attained the age of fifty-four, after having reigned twelve years. He is said to have been murdered by the four sons of his nurse, the eldest of whom usurped the throne, and reigned twelve years.

Astartus, the brother of Abdastartus, recovered the throne, and died at the age of sixty-six, after having reigned twelve Astartus. years.

Astarimus succeeded his brother Astartus, and according to Josephus, lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. He is said Astarimus. to have been murdered by his brother Phelles, who took possession of the throne in his fiftieth year.

* Menand. of Ephes. Diis apud Josep. l. viii. 5, 2.

† Tatian. orat. contra Græcos.

‡ Theoph. Antioch.

Phelles, or Helles, as Theophilus calls him, did not long enjoy the throne, which he had mounted by so unnatural and atrocious a crime, but was murdered in the eight month of his reign by his successor.

Ithobal, whom Theophilus calls Juthabal, son to Astarimus, and high priest of the goddess Astarte—a dignity next to that of king—having thus revenged the death of his father, reigned thirty-two years, and died in his sixty-eighth year, according to Josephus; but Theophilus says that he reigned but twelve years, and died at the age of forty. He is called in the Bible *Eth-baal*, and styled king of the Sidonians.* Josephus calls him king of Tyre and Sidon, whence it has been, with apparent reason, supposed that Sidon at that time was subject to Tyre; as we may infer was the case during the reign of Hiram, from the fact that Solomon applied to him for Sidonian workmen, to aid in chopping timber for his temple. *Jezebel*, wife of Ahab, king of Israel, was daughter of Ithobal. Menander, as quoted by Josephus, informs us, that in the time of Eth-baal, king of Tyre, there was an extreme drought, that lasted from the month Hyperberetæus, till the same month next year. There were prayers, says he, offered for the averting of the judgment, which were followed with mighty peals of thunder. This is presumed by some to be the drought that took place during the reign of Ahab.

Badezor, called by Theophilus Bazor, succeeded his father Ithobal, and reigned, according to this writer, seven years; but, according to Josephus, six years.

Meltinus, the son of Badezor, reigned, according to Josephus, only nine years; but twenty, if Theophilus is to be credited. This prince died in the thirty-second year of his age, leaving behind him two sons, Pygmalion and Barca, and two daughters, Elisa and Anna.

Pygmalion mounted the throne on the death of his father Meltinus; though he was, as Josephus tells us, not more than sixteen years of age. The same historian supposes him to have reigned forty years, and died at the age of fifty-six.† In the seventh year of his reign his sister Elisa, also called *Dido*, is said to have fled from Tyre, and laid the foundation of Carthage. The cause of her flight is commonly related thus: Pygmalion coveting the great riches of his uncle Sichæus, who was a priest of Hercules, and who had married Elisa, resolved to obtain possession of them. But as this purpose could not be accomplished as long as Sichæus was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him; and, while his attendants were engaged in the pursuit of a wild boar, ran a spear through his body, and then, throwing the corpse down a precipice,

* 1 Kings xvi. 31.

† Josephus cont. Ap. l. i.

pretended that the fall had caused his death.* Pygmalion did not, however, reap the anticipated fruit of this foul crime, for he was foiled by the prudent and artful conduct of Elisa. Being a woman of much sagacity, she knew that avarice had prompted her brother to commit the murder of her husband; but carefully concealing her feelings, she changed not her conduct towards him, and manifested her usual friendly disposition, as though she harbored not the least suspicion. Meanwhile, having formed a resolution to leave Tyre, and retire to a distant land, she, under pretence of going to reside with her other brother, Barca, at Charta or Chartaca, a small city between Tyre and Sidon, prayed the king to furnish her with men and ships to convey her effects to that place. Pygmalion looked upon this as a fair opportunity of coming in possession of the treasures which he had so long coveted, although hitherto in vain; for Sichæus, who appears to have been acquainted with the king's avaricious disposition, had carefully concealed his riches. Pygmalion, therefore, willingly granted Elisa her demands; but soon he had cause to regret his confidence; for being assisted by her brother Barca, and several of the most eminent men of Tyre—who were knowing to her secret plan, and had resolved to follow her fortune—her treasures were brought on board the ships, which set sail, and moved out of sight, before Pygmalion was informed of the deception that had been played upon him. It is related that, seeing himself thus deceived, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all possible dispatch, and to pursue the fugitives; but was prevented from accomplishing his design by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The adventurers who had followed the resolute heroine, steered their vessels first to the isle of Cyprus—one of the earliest Phœnician colonies—and carried off from thence a great number of young women; “a commodity,” as has been naively remarked, “they wanted most of all, since their design was to plant a new colony.” From Cyprus they directed their course towards the coast of Africa, and landed at Utica, another Tyrian colony, where they were well received by the inhabitants. From thence they removed, and founded the Carthage—afterwards so famous.† From Elisa's or Dido's brother Barca, the Carthaginian family of the Barcæ is said to have descended, which produced so many celebrated men, and among others Hannibal.

Of Pygmalion, we are farther told that he built the city of Carposia in Cyprus, and that he sent to the temple of Hercules, standing on the island of Gades, a rich present, being the figure of an olive tree, of massive gold,

* Justin and Virgil tell us that Pygmalion murdered Sichæus at the altar.

† This narrative is not to be altogether relied on, though based upon what several ancient writers have told us. Still I think that in its main facts there is some truth. See Justin, i. 18. Josephus contra Apion, i. 1. Eustath in Dionys. Vallerius, vol. ii. Liv. iv. dec. Virg. *Æneid*.

and of most exquisite and ingenious workmanship; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a remarkable resemblance with the natural fruit of that tree.

Elulæus is the next king of Tyre of which we have any knowledge. He reigned in the time of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. This prince, seeing the Philistines weakened by the war, which Hezekiah, king of Judah, had made upon them, seized this opportunity of reducing Gath, which had some time before revolted from the Tyrians. But the Gittites applied to Shalmaneser for aid. This being granted them, the Assyrian monarch marched an army into Phœnicia; but as peace was soon concluded, he withdrew his troops. After a short time, however, Sidon and some other of the Phœnician cities took up arms against Tyre, and put themselves under the leadership of Shalmaneser, who seems to have made great efforts to humble Tyre, the only city in Phœnicia which would not acknowledge him as its master. Besides his land forces, he caused a fleet of sixty sail to be fitted out against them. But the Tyrians, with only twelve vessels of their own, are said to have attacked this fleet, when dispersed, and taken five hundred of the rowers prisoners. This victory proved so evidently the superiority of the Tyrians on the water, that Shalmaneser appears ever afterwards to have confined his operations to the land. But as there was no hope of compelling the Tyrians to submit to his authority but by the capture of their city, and as this appeared to require a long time, he returned to Assyria, and left his troops to continue the siege which he had laid to Tyre. The Assyrian troops, by stopping the aqueducts, and by cutting off all other means of procuring water, brought the inhabitants to great distress; yet, still by digging wells within the city, they obtained a supply, and were thus enabled to hold out for the space of five years, when Shalmaneser died, and the siege was raised.* It may fairly be supposed that Elulæus distinguished himself during this perilous time, and that the Tyrians were greatly indebted to his measures for their salvation. He died after a reign of thirty-six years.

Ithobal II. reigned in Tyre at the time this city defended its independency against Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of so many kings and mighty states. The Tyrians, in spite of all their heroism and the strength of their city, had notwithstanding to yield to the Assyrian monarch, but not until after the siege had lasted thirteen years, and they had prepared themselves new homes on the island on which new Tyre, or as it is also called, the island-city of Tyre stood. The conqueror therefore found the city almost deserted, and his victory, though augmenting the number of his trophies, was of no material advantage to him. Ithobal has been considered

* Joseph. Antiq. l. ix. c. 14.

by some modern historians, a proud and arrogant monarch; and such is the character given of him by Ezekiel.* I think, also, that we may be justified from the expression, "and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas,"† to infer, as some historians have done, that Ithobal was killed in this war by the Assyrians.

There are historians who think that the new city of Tyre, after the destruction of the old city, submitted to Nebuchadnezzar; but this opinion seems to me altogether unfounded. How can we suppose that the Tyrians, when safe from the revenge of their powerful enemy, would acknowledge his supremacy, to which they had refused to submit when menaced by imminent danger? On the contrary, their comparative greater security would inspire them with the more confidence to maintain the independence they had so gloriously defended against such a superior power. I cannot therefore but consider Baal—the successor of Ithobal, according to the Phœnician historians—as an independent king of Tyre.

Baal reigned ten years. It seems to me most probable that this king ascended the throne during the siege of old Tyre, after Ithobal had fallen.

On the death or dethronement of Baal, the executive power was not committed to a king, but to *Suffetes*—judges. This change in the form of government has been considered, by some historians, to have taken place in consequence of the influence of the king of Babylon, who is supposed to have been desirous of this event, in order to make the Tyrians more dependent on him. This opinion, though entertained by Dr. Prideaux, and supported by many other learned writers, I must however reject, as it is not based on the authority of ancient writers. This change, I think, was a voluntarily act of the Tyrians themselves, or rather a consequence of the disturbed state into which they appear to have fallen about this time; for we are told that Ecnibal, the son of Basbeck, was their judge for two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdæus, for ten months, and high-priest Abbar for three months; thus showing that the judges were probably appointed rather by the momentary influence of internal factions, than by the express will of a foreign prince. But however this may be, the royal dignity, after the lapse of some years, was restored, and a person by the name of *Balator* was made king. We are told that upon his death, the Tyrians invited *Merbal* from

Balator.

Merbal.

Babylon, to take the throne. He reigned four years, and was succeeded by his brother *Irom*, who, it is said, reigned twenty

Irom.

* Chap. xxviii. 1, 2, 3.

† Ibid, v. 8.

† Prideaux, in his *Connections*, vol. i. p. 96, says that the word *Suffetes* is derived from the Hebrew word *Shophetim*, also denoting judges; but the learned dean could surely have no authority by which he could prove that the former word is a derivation from the latter, any more than I have for saying that the latter word is derived from the former. The truth is, that we do not know which dialect is the elder, either the Hebrew or the Phœnician; but sure it is that both have the same origin.

years, and in the fourteenth year of whose reign, Cyrus, according to the Phœnician annals, ascended the throne of Persia.*

The judges, as well as the kings who succeeded them, have been supposed by many modern writers to have been dependent upon the monarchs of Babylon. But though the other Phœnicians were subjected to the supremacy of these princes, I find no evidence that such was the case with Tyre, whose inhabitants seem to have been wary of the monarchs of whose power they had had such fatal experience. Still, the losses the Tyrians had suffered during their war with Nebuchadnezzar had naturally much diminished their power and their influence, and resulted in that comparative insignificance alluded to by Isaiah,† during the seventy years that followed. It seems also very probable that the Tyrians, awed by the extraordinary success and eminent talents of Cyrus, and by the formidable power he bequeathed to his son, may have been induced to send presents, as a token of their desire to live in friendship with these monarchs, but I cannot believe that in any other respect they were subjected to the dominion of these mighty princes.

Mapen. *Mapen*, the son of Siron, appears to have been the successor of Merbal. He assisted Xerxes against the Greeks, as commander of the Phœnician fleet, and was one of those who advised that monarch to engage the Grecian fleet at Salamis.‡ It appears from Herodotus as though the Tyrians were at this time tributaries of the Persians, as other Phœnicians undoubtedly were.§ This tribute on the part of the Tyrians I think must have been but mere voluntary presents, like those, as said before, which they sent to Cyrus and Cambyses. The assistance given by the Tyrians to the Persian monarchs against the Greeks is not to be considered any proof of their dependency, for they might have done so from motives of jealousy towards the Greeks, who were their commercial rivals. In short, had the Tyrians, before the time of Alexander, lost their independence, I cannot think they would have made such a desperate resistance against that prince, to whom they first sent presents, but whom they would not allow to enter their city, though this refusal, as we shall soon see, was the cause of the destruction of their city.

Strato. *Strato* seems to have reigned in Tyre after Mapen. Justin has furnished us with the following information of the circumstances which caused his elevation to the throne :

The slaves being very numerous in Tyre, formed a conspiracy during the night, rose in insurrection and murdered their masters. Strato was, however, secreted and saved by one of his slaves. They then took possession of the city, married their mistresses, and put to death all who were not

* Joseph. l. i. contra Apion.

† Isaiah xxiii. 15.

‡ Herod. b. 8.

§ All the Phœnicians, except the Tyrians, lost and never recovered their independence from the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

of their kindred. Thus having not only recovered their liberty, but also having become the sole masters of the city, they resolved to elect a king from among themselves; and unanimously agreed that he, who on the next morning might first see the rising sun, should, as being the most acceptable to the gods, attain to that dignity. In accordance with this resolution, they agreed to meet about midnight in an open field on the east side of the city, and there, without any opposition, bestow the crown upon the person to whom the sun should first show himself. In the meantime, Strato's slave having related the whole matter to his former master, whom he still kept carefully concealed, was by him instructed to turn not to the east, as in all probability the others would, but to the west, and there fix his eyes on the top of the highest tower of the city. The slave did as he was instructed, and was therefore looked upon by all the rest as no better than a madman; it seeming to them proof of a want of common sense, that a man should look for the rising sun in the west. But they were soon made sensible of their error, for while the others stood with their straining eyes, watching the eastern horizon, in expectation of the approaching sun, Strato's slave called out to them to turn round and see the high edifices of the city already illuminated by his rays. But though he was highly applauded by the multitude, he was not deemed capable of so shrewd an idea, and was therefore pressed to name the person to whom he was indebted for it. He refused, however, at first to gratify their curiosity, but at last, upon promise of protection to himself and to the person he should name, he acknowledged that out of compassion and gratitude toward his master, who had always treated him with great humanity and kindness, he had saved both him and his son from the general massacre, and that he had been instructed by him to do as he had done. His companions, on hearing this, not only pardoned him, but viewing his master as one preserved by the particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed the latter their king. Such is what is related of the elevation of Strato to the throne.

Upon the death of Strato his son is said to have succeeded him, and his descendants continued to possess the throne until the capture of Tyre by Alexander, when Azelmic, the only one of them whose name has been handed down to us, reigned in that city.

The political existence of the Phœnicians, which had been very precarious, with the exception of that of the Tyrians, from the time of Shalmaneser, was brought to an end by the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great.

When this famous conqueror approached the territories of Tyre,* the inhabitants sent out to him ambassadors, among whom was Azelmic's

* It appears as if Tyre had regained a part of what it had lost on the main land by the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar.

own son, taking with them presents to the king himself, and provisions for his army. But Alexander, not satisfied with these signs of submission, informed them that he would enter their city, pretending it was his desire to sacrifice to Hercules. But the Tyrians were too cautious to admit so enterprising a monarch with his troops, or even with a part of them, within their walls. They therefore sent deputies to him again to declare their willingness to comply with his demands, but they could not consent to his entering and sacrificing in their city, as they had resolved not to admit even a single Macedonian within its gates. Alexander expressing great displeasure dismissed their deputies. The conqueror of the Thebans and the Persians was either too proud to listen to the voice of justice, or else he yielded to a policy which spoke a more tempting language. However this may be, Alexander caused a council of war* to be assembled, in which he alluded in strong terms to the disaffected state of Greece; the power of the Persians at sea, and the folly of removing the war to distant provinces while Tyre was left behind unremoved; remarking also that if this city was once subdued, the supremacy of the sea would be immediately transferred to him, as he could secure possession of the coasts; and as the Persian fleet was composed chiefly of tributary squadrons, these tributaries would thus be made to fight the battles not of their late, but of their present masters. These reasons having influenced the members of the council to concur in violent measures against the Tyrians, war against them was immediately resolved on.

It must here be observed that Strato, the son of Gerostratus, king of Arad and the neighboring islands, had hastened to sue for peace from Alexander, as the dominions of his father, who had sailed to join the Persian fleet, were in the utmost danger of falling a prey to the Macedonian prince. Strato, who had presented to him a golden crown, attained his aim and saved his father's territory from hostile treatment. It was in the city of Marathus, belonging to Gerostratus, and situated on the main land, which Alexander occupied when he held this council of war.

The inhabitants of Tyre, not dismayed by the threats of Alexander, resolved to make the most vigorous resistance; and they appear to have built their hope, of frustrating the attempts of their powerful enemy, on the situation and the strength of Tyre itself, and on the assistance they expected to receive from the Carthaginians, who were at this time very powerful on the sea; and perhaps also on the justice of their cause. But the conspicuous part which Tyre had so long been allowed to play in the great drama of the world's history was now to be brought to a close. Its insular situation, and the heroism of its inhabitants, were therefore of no avail;

* This council of war is an evidence not only of the prudence of Alexander, but also of the becoming attention with which he still continued to treat those veteran generals who had been in part the instruments of his father's and his own victories.

nor did the expected aid arrive from Carthage, which, in accordance with the plan of Him who directs the destinies of nations, was prevented by intestine discords from assisting the Tyrians, who, as we shall soon see, had to submit to a direful fate.

The island-city of Tyre, situated half a mile from the main land, was surrounded by a strong wall, one hundred and fifty feet high. It was provided with an abundance of provisions, and armed with every species of warlike preparation. The Tyrians were besides furnished with a considerable fleet, while Alexander had none at all. The difficulties with which the Macedonian hero had to contend in this enterprise were consequently very great, and would have induced many other great generals to desist from an undertaking, apparently so hopeless; but Alexander was too confident of his ability, and possessed too resolute a pride, to abandon an enterprise he had once resolved on. Under these circumstances the first thing he did was to join the main land to the island by a mole, or artificial isthmus. For this purpose he caused the sea to be sounded, and found the greatest depth to be three fathoms. This inspired him with confidence of success; and he became still more confident when informed that the bottom was a stiff clay, which served instead of mortar, and held whatever was sunk into it more firmly than could have been effected by art. The ruins of old Tyre furnished materials for the proposed work, which was begun, and under the inspection of the king himself, executed with such astonishing rapidity that it soon rose over the surface of the water, and approached the city. At first the Tyrians had looked upon this undertaking as a rash and desperate attempt, which could never be crowned with success, and therefore, as we are told, had scornfully cried out from their ships to the king, asking him whether he considered himself greater than Neptune. But on seeing the rapid progress of the work, they changed their minds, and feared it would succeed. Therefore from the walls of the city they not only began to assail the workmen with all sorts of missive weapons, but also sent armed vessels on each side of the mole to harass them. To cover the workmen from the enemy's arrows, Alexander caused two large wooden towers to be raised, and covered them with raw hides to prevent their being set on fire. The Tyrians resolved to attempt the destruction of these towers, and for that purpose contrived a fire-ship, whose yards, instead of sails, were hung with rows of baskets, filled with sulphureous matter, and whose hulk was partly filled with dry twigs, over which was strewed all sorts of combustible matter. As soon as they had made this ready, and had got a favorable wind, they towed the hulk to sea, and ran her upon the mole, directly between the towers, and then set it on fire. When the masts began to burn, the weight with which their yards were charged caused them to break, plunging all the baskets full in the fire, and greatly increasing its fury, so that not only the towers, but all the materials that were on the mole were totally consumed.

This loss is said to have greatly perplexed Alexander, and it is also intimated that he began to regret he had undertaken the reduction of Tyre, and that he would have sent ambassadors to the Tyrians with new terms of peace, but that he suspected they would not hearken to any proposals whatever, and would treat his envoys as inhumanly as they had those whom he had sent before the siege to summon them to surrender, and whom they had thrown headlong into the sea. He, however, resumed the work with seeming cheerfulness, caused the foundation of a new mole, broader than the former, to be laid, and consequently capable of holding more towers, ordered new engines to be made, and took measures for procuring a fleet, without which he saw clearly that he should be unable to accomplish his purpose.*

The moderation which Alexander had shown towards Strato, became now advantageous to him in forwarding his plan against Tyre; because Gerostratus, the father of Strato, and king of Arad, and Enylus, king of Byblus, together with most of the Cyprian princes, and also the Sidonian squadron, in all a hundred and twenty sail, arrived at Sidon, and offered him their service.† As at the same time about eighty sail arrived from Greece, Alexander had under his command a fleet of about two hundred vessels, of which a part remained under his immediate orders, and the remainder subjected to those of Andromachus, the Cyprian.

When the mole was brought almost home to the city, ponderous engines were put to work to batter down its wall, while the archers and slingers incessantly harassed those who defended it, for the purpose of driving them from their posts. But the Tyrians became not disheartened. By means of a new contrivance of wheels with many spokes, which being whirled about with an engine, they shattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, and thus covered themselves against their aggressors; a great many of whom they killed, without suffering any considerable loss on their side. Meanwhile, however, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams, that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the besieged, setting all hands to work, raised, in a very short time, a new wall, ten cubits‡ broad, and five cubits distant from the former; and also filled up the empty space between the two walls with earth and stones. By this means they kept the Macedonians for a long while employed, ere they could, with all their engines, make the least impression on this new piece of fortification.

* Arian, lib. ii. c. 17.

† The defeat Darius, the Persian monarch, had shortly before suffered at Issus, induced the tributaries of Persia to buy their own safety by defection.

‡ The cubit, among the ancients, was of different length among different nations; the Roman cubit was little less than the English, the latter being eighteen inches, and the former seventeen and two-fifths. The Hebrew cubit was about twenty-two inches.

The Tyrians, meanwhile, made an attack upon the Cyprian squadron, in the following manner: One part of Alexander's fleet was posted at the mouth of the haven, which fronts the Sidonian shore, and across which the Tyrians are said to have spread sails, in order to prevent the enemy from seeing that they manned their own vessels. One day, about noon,* five chosen Quinqueremes, as many Quadriremes, and seven Triremes, filled with the most expert rowers and brave soldiers, well armed and inured to the sea, slowly and noiselessly rowed out of the harbor, one by one, against the Cyprian vessels. But when advanced within sight of the enemy, they raised a loud shout, and splashed with the oars, in encouragement of each other, and then hastened boldly to attack the Cyprian fleet, which, taken by surprise, and in part quite destitute of defenders, suffered a great loss. Alexander, in the meantime, hearing of this sudden attack of the Tyrians, immediately ordered as many ships as he could spare, and as were well armed, to block up the mouth of the other haven, and prevent the rest of the Tyrian fleet from issuing forth; he then hastened himself with the Quinqueremes he had at hand, and five Triremes, to sail to the other side of the island, and attack the victorious vessels of the Tyrians. The besieged seeing this from the wall, and perceiving Alexander himself there, endeavored, by loud cries, to recall those vessels that had overcome the Cyprians. Finding their cries were not heard, they made several signals for their countrymen to return, who, as soon as they understood that Alexander was approaching them, turned their sails, and hastened towards the haven; but as they had perceived the signal too late, few were able to save themselves by flight; for Alexander's ships falling in suddenly among them, rendered some unfit for sailing, and captured two of the Tyrian vessels at the very entrance of the port. The Tyrians, however, lost not many men, because, as soon as they perceived that it was impossible to save the ships, they saved themselves by swimming.

Alexander, after this victory, caused some of his ships to be joined together, and a vast number of battering-rams to be mounted on them, in addition to those he had already placed on the mole. After having failed in several attempts on some other parts of the wall, the ships were moored along its whole southern side, looking towards Egypt, and the effect of the battering-rams tried the whole distance. At length the wall was shaken, and afterwards a breach, a hundred feet wide, was made. The Macedonians took instant advantage of this opportunity, and, by the help of their ladders, attempted to mount the breach, and take the city by storm; but though encouraged by the presence of Alexander himself, they were

* About that time the Macedonian soldiers were usually busied with their dinner and other affairs of their own, and Alexander was himself in his private pavilion, on the other side of the island-city.

forced by the Tyrians to give way, and retire to their ships with great loss. Alexander intended to renew the attack the next morning ; but the breach having been repaired during the night, he found his object no farther advanced than when he first undertook to batter the walls.

Meanwhile, Alexander had caused several towers to be built upon the mole, and raised to an equal height with the battlements. These towers he had filled with the most courageous men of his army, whom he had directed to form a bridge, with large planks, resting one end on the towers and the other on the top of the ramparts. He then ordered them to endeavor, sword in hand, to gain the wall ; but this attempt had also failed, as the assailants had been opposed by the Tyrians with the greatest bravery, and with weapons* with which the Macedonians were altogether unacquainted. But what most of all disheartened the assailants, and forced them to desist from the attack, was a scorching sand, which the Tyrians, by a new contrivance, showered upon them. For this sand, which was thrown in red-hot shields of iron or brass, getting within their breast-plates and coats of mail, caused them such dreadful tortures, that many in despair threw themselves into the sea ; others dying in the most excruciating agony, with their lamentations struck the greatest dismay into all who heard them. This occasioned the greatest confusion among the assailing Macedonians, and inspired new hope in the Tyrians, who no longer kept themselves on the defensive, but began to act the part of aggressors, by leaving the walls, and charging the enemy hand to hand on his own bridges, with such resolution, that Alexander, seeing his soldiers give way, thought it prudent to sound a retreat, and by that means assume at least the appearance of having voluntarily desisted from the attack.

Such attempts had several times been repeated, but always with the same issue. This had the effect to make all the Macedonian generals present, except Amyntas, desirous to abandon this hazardous enterprise.

In order, therefore, to bring this long protracted siege to a close, Alexander seized the first opportunity to storm the city by a general assault, which was presented three days after the check the Macedonians had received at the storming of the breach, when the sea had become quite calm. Agreeably to his resolution, the king hastened his preparations. First he ordered a line of hulks, on which his battering

* These weapons, we are told, consisted of three-forked hooks, fastened with a cord—one end of which they held themselves—which being thrown at a little distance, stuck in the enemy's targets, and gave the Tyrians opportunity either to possess themselves of these targets, and thus expose their defenceless opponents to showers of darts and arrows, or, if they were resolved not to part with their shields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers. Besides some, by throwing a kind of fishing-net upon the Macedonians that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands ; so that they could neither defend themselves, nor cause the enemy any injury. Others, with long poles, armed with iron hooks, drew them off the bridges, dashing their brains out against the wall or on the mole.

engines were placed, to be towed as close as possible to the wall, and there brought to anchor; the engines were immediately made to play upon the walls, and in a very short time a very considerable breach was effected. Then he caused these hulks to weigh anchor and to be towed off, and other ships, having scaling ladders on board, to replace them. Orders were given to a detachment of light-armed troops, under the command of Admetus, to attack the city on one side, and to another corps of auxiliary foot, headed by Cœnus, to assail it on the other at the same time; while Alexander, at the head of the main force, held himself ready to sustain both assailing parties. For the purpose of dividing the attention of the Tyrians, and to lessen the vigor of their defence, he also ordered a squadron of armed vessels to sail continually around the city, and threaten first one point, and then another, and if any opportunity should present itself, actually to make an attack. This stratagem answered his purpose, because the Tyrians became much distracted, and divided their forces, not knowing where to concentrate their greatest strength. Still they defended themselves very valiantly against Admetus and his Macedonians, who first mounted the walls. This heroic officer was killed by a spear almost as soon as he had set his foot on the wall; but the king himself hastened with fresh troops to the aid of those who had first reached the heights, quickly drove back the Tyrians, and pursued them with great slaughter to the royal palace. Meanwhile the king's fleet broke into one of the havens, and began to sink and burn the ships that were there; and the Cyrians also, on the other side, soon forced their way into that haven which they had hitherto blockaded, and encouraged by the success of the Macedonians, attacked and entered the city from that side.

The Tyrians seeing that it would be in vain to attempt any longer to defend their walls, retired in a body to a strong part of the city, which they hoped yet to be able to defend; but Alexander, who had pursued them, animated his troops to make so furious an attack, that after a heroic resistance and great loss of men, they, in despair, betook themselves to flight, and sought for shelter in different parts of the city. The troops under Cœnus, who had also victoriously entered the city, inflicted on those that resisted a no less bloody defeat. The slaughter was very great; because the Macedonians were vehemently enraged against the Tyrians, partly for their vigorous defence, and partly because when, having seized some of their comrades sailing from Sidon, they had first hoisted them up aloft on their walls in sight of the besiegers—their friends—and afterwards stabbed them, throwing their corpses into the sea. Eight thousand Tyrians are said to have been slain at the taking of the city. The loss of the Macedonians is stated as being so small that it is evident the truth has been concealed.

Alexander's treatment of the captured city was not in accordance with his usual generosity. Besides, thirty thousand of the inhabitants who, according to Arrian, were sold as slaves; the king caused two thousand to

be crucified. This seems to have been done chiefly in revenge for the long resistance of seven months which the Tyrians had made to the proud conqueror; and perhaps also for the purpose of inspiring awe in other nations. But in palliation of the true cause of this inhuman and barbarous treatment, Alexander pretended that he had inflicted it in punishment of the crime of their ancestors, who, having been slaves, had murdered their masters, and whose descendants therefore deserved either crucifixion or to be sold back into slavery as their proper retribution. Towards Azelmec—the king of Tyre, who in the beginning of the siege had been absent on a naval expedition, in conjunction with Autophrodates, the Persian admiral—he evinced great generosity, for he not only pardoned him, when taken prisoner in the temple of Hercules, where he had sought for refuge, but restored him also to the throne, after having re-peopled the city. He spared also the lives of the other Tyrians, who, together with the Carthaginian ambassadors—whose sacred office he duly respected—had taken refuge in the same temple. After this the king, in the presence of his troops, sacrificed to Hercules, and appointed gymnastic sports in the temple, which is said to have then been beautifully illuminated. There, as a lasting monument of his victory, he placed the engines wherewith the wall had been demolished; and also the Tyrian ship, consecrated to Hercules, that he had taken in the naval battle. In consequence of the slaughter and the punishments inflicted on them by the conqueror, and also, as some say, because the Tyrians during the siege, or before its beginning, had sent away the greater part of the women to Carthage, the population of Tyre had been greatly diminished. Alexander, therefore, took much pains to collect from the neighboring places new inhabitants, and consequently thought fit to style himself the founder of Tyre,* of which, in reality, he was the destroyer.†

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian, lib. ii. c. 24. Cent. lib. xiv. Justin lib. xi. c. xviii.

† The ancient historians tell us of a multitude of omens, portending the destruction of Tyre: as for instance, Arrian assures us that on the very night Alexander had formed the resolution to besiege the place, he had a dream or vision, wherein he seemed to be scaling the walls of the city, and in which he was assisted by Hercules, who extended to him his hand to lift him up. Arrian explained this to be an infallible omen of the capture of the city, but he declared that it was also a sign portending that the siege would prove an Herculean labor. Plutarch relates that there was a well near Tyre, which the inhabitants exhibited, and that Alexander slept near it when the place was besieged, and there dreamed that a satyr came and mocked him, which for a long time he ran after in vain, but at last, with the utmost difficulty, he succeeded in seizing on him. The diviners gave him a favorable and flattering explanation of this vision; for dividing the Greek word *satyros* they showed its signification to be—Thine is Tyre. In the besieged city, we are told, a man saw in a dream Apollo flying away; and when he related this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he invented this dream to intimidate them; the man was thus forced to save himself in the temple of Hercules; but when it was told to the magistrates, they thought

Alexander thus gave a death-blow to the great influence the Phœnicians in general, and particularly the Tyrians, had for so many centuries exercised, not only upon the neighboring states, but also upon so many distant countries, some of which were chiefly indebted to these people for the progress they had made in civilization. The mercantile rivalry which had so long existed between the Phœnicians and the Greeks, was thus terminated in favor of the latter. From this day the descendants of those—who had taught the Greeks the use of the alphabet, and introduced among them the first germs of every science then known—had for centuries to come to submit to the supremacy of Grecian kings. The distinguished and honorable place which had been allotted to the Phœnicians, in promoting the civilization of the human race, was dimmed by the more brilliant part which their ungrateful disciples had been destined to act. But nations, as well as individuals, have their proper sphere of action. The Phœnicians and Egyptians were of a character well adapted for invention in the arts, and for the cultivation of the infant sciences; the former were also endowed with that adventurous spirit and avidity for wealth, which led them to transplant their knowledge to distant climes. But the communicative character, and the fascinating manners of the Greeks, were required to render knowledge the common property of mankind. Still it would be ungrateful were we to forget what we owe to the Phœnicians—the pioneers of civilization in Europe—the enkindlers in Grecian bosoms of that flame, which, fed by Ionian genius, rose towards the heavens, and even now is destined gradually to increase in brightness, until its rays shall illumine the whole globe. While basking in the glowing beams of Grecian light, let us not forget those who threw the first sparks of the ethereal fire into the night of darkness that enveloped the European shores. Yet, above all, let us not forget Him, whose ruling hand we have traced in the history of those nations which, in this cursory review, have passed before our eyes. Let us with grateful hearts acknow-

this omen was not to be neglected, and caused the statue of Apollo to be fastened with golden chains to the altar of Hercules. This statue was of extraordinary size; and Diodorus Siculus says, that it had formerly belonged to the city of Gela, in Sicily, and was sent from thence by the Carthaginians, when they took Gela, to Tyre, their mother-city. When Alexander came into possession of Tyre he set Apollo at liberty, and ordered him to be styled Philaxandrus—that is—a lover of Alexander. Plutarch tells us, that Aristander having, from the entrails of a sacrifice offered at the beginning of the seventh month, predicted that Tyre would be taken in that month; that the soldiers, when the general storm was protracted to the very last day of that month, began to deride him; and that Alexander, to save the prophet's credit, ordered this day to be called the twenty-eighth, instead of the thirtieth; which, however, proved needless, as the city was taken the very same day. Curtius has evidently given us an exaggerated account of the labors performed by Alexander's troops during that memorable siege, which, however, was an arduous and difficult undertaking. Diodorus Siculus and Arrian have furnished us with detailed descriptions of it.

ledge the benevolence and the wisdom which Providence displays in evolving the destinies of mankind.

Thus, the study of history, while enriching us with an inestimable knowledge of past generations, is also leading us to a better acquaintance with God. Clearly are we taught that He extends his protecting hand over all his children, and that all are called into being to fulfil some wise purpose. You who think that chance has brought forth all that exists, and that chance decides the fate of nations and of individuals, read history with becoming attention, and you will soon acknowledge your error, and joyfully testify to the great truth, that an Intelligent, All-Wise and Benevolent Being, is the Creator and Ruler of the world.

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CORRECTIONS IN VOLUME I.

Page	Line	
15	25	<i>from above, read</i> —Polytheism <i>instead of</i> Idolatry.
31	2	<i>below</i> " poets and by the monuments, that.
32	5	" " Dead <i>instead of</i> Red.
76	11	<i>above,</i> " One of the largest <i>instead of</i> the largest.
102	15, 16, 17,	<i>from above, read</i> —; still, it is to be observed, this denial is made on the supposition that it is insisted upon that the deluge took place posterior <i>instead of</i> and—anterior.
113	17	<i>from above, read</i> —India; and <i>instead of</i> India as.
113	18	" " " of great authority <i>instead of</i> from whom we learn.
125	9	" " " seem exclusively to have belonged <i>instead of</i> seemed exclusively to belong.
125	18	" " " later <i>instead of</i> always.
125	21	" " " in regard to the conquest of Babylon by the Chaldeans at a very early date rather confirmed by the learning which made them famous <i>instead of</i> to be—mind.
163	3	" " " Leading his troops against Carohemish, he retook this important city, and soon <i>instead of</i> Defecting—he had.
209	15	" " " but <i>instead of</i> and.
209	16	" " " should be regarded <i>instead of</i> regarded solely.
209	17	" " " an extremely happy <i>instead of</i> an extremely happy one.
227	21	" " " of the <i>instead of</i> called.
231	25	" " " better known under the name of <i>instead of</i> whose name was.
263	7	<i>below</i> " fragments <i>instead of</i> monuments.
285	7	" " " in nature; the latter <i>instead of</i> existing in nature and.
285	5, 6	" " " power of nourishing <i>instead of</i> nourishing.
290	13	<i>above</i> " however <i>instead of</i> therefore.
307	9	<i>below</i> " hence some conjecture she was from a <i>instead of</i> she—some.
310	11	" " " some other Asiatic <i>instead of</i> Asiatic.
323	4	" " " by Sesostris who left <i>instead of</i> leaving.
334	20	" " " and he seems to be right in <i>instead of</i> still—error.
334	18	" " " As this conquest resulted in the subjugation of the Canaanites, and <i>instead of</i> because—or.
334	16, 15	" " " who so often before had proved themselves formidable enemies to the Egyptians, that people was not farther disturbed by them. Besides <i>instead of</i> who often—But.
334	14	" " " probable <i>instead of</i> more probable.
391	16	" " " Arabia <i>instead of</i> Syria.
414	2	" " " talent of silver was <i>instead of</i> a talent was.
464	23	" " " the Edomites <i>instead of</i> Syria.
465	22	" " " statues <i>instead of</i> stones.
486	9	" " " before <i>instead of</i> afterwards.
492	16	" " " Philostratus <i>instead of</i> Philostotes.
501	2	" " " ; Tripolis as <i>instead of</i> in Tripolis.
501	14	" " " nine <i>instead of</i> three.
520	10	" " " But it is <i>instead of</i> It is therefore.
546	32, 33	" " " to navigate the ships he sent <i>instead of</i> to conduct him.

ERRATA.

- Page 11, line 4 from below, read—Macanlay.
 Page 16, line 3 from below, read—centuries admitted it to be.
 Page 17, line 15 from above, read—I agree then rather with Müller.
 Page 17, line 19 from above, read—; and though, *instead of* Still as.
 Page 17, line 21 from above, read—less, *instead of* most.
 Page 17, line 23 from above, read—5722, *instead of* 4 04.
 Page 21, lines 23, 29, and 31 from above, read—Babylonia, *instead of* Babylon.
 Page 30, line 4 from below, read—the king of Elam.
 Page 32, line 3 from above, read—Beludjistan on the south, and of Afghanistan on the northeast.
 Page 32, line 6 from above, read—Iran.
 Page 31, line 15 from below, read—Shalmaneser.
 Page 43, lines 1 and 5 from above, read—Meroe.
 Page 51, line 2 from above, read—the Ambracian Bay.
 Page 51, line 2 from below, read—Thessaly; afterwards, *instead of* Greece, after.
 Page 53, line 13 from below, read—First rivalling with Sparta, and afterwards with Mantinea.
 Page 64, line 12 from above, read—Phœceans.
 Page 66, line 15 from below, read—Sabium, *instead of* the Sabine.
 Page 70, line 23 from above, read—Bononia, *instead of* now Bonoreia.
 Page 76, line 7 from above, read—Phœceaus.
 Page 78, line 13 from above, read—than to, *instead of* north than.
 Page 89, line 1 from above, read—Arad.
 Page 89, line 10 from above, read—Hadramaut.
 Page 90, line 3 from below, read—mines, *instead of* rivers.
 Page 112, lines 5, 10, and 23 from above, read—Xisuthrus.
 Page 141, line 18 from below, read—200, *instead of* 2400.
 Page 141, line 6 from below, read—thirty-two, *instead of* sixty-two.
 Page 161, line 3 from above, read—Euphrates, *instead of* Ciroesium.
 Page 168, line 1 from below, read only—Darius the Mede. The following to be considered as left out.
 Page 206, line 13 from above, read—archers, *instead of* horsemen.
 Page 208, line 12 from below, read—Amasis.
 Page 212, line 25 from below, read—Meroe, *instead of* Upper Egypt, or Thebaid.
 Page 212, line 14 from below, read—India, *instead of* Egypt.
 Page 219, line 2 from above, read—most modern opinion seems now to be.
 Page 219, line 6 from above, read—but as this question comes not now properly before us.
 Page 223, line 10 from below, read—note *instead of* rule.
 Page 250, line 10 from above, read—Ramses the Great, or Sesostris is.
 Page 298, lines 10 and 11 from below, the words—and being each in their turn the masters, ought to be left out.



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